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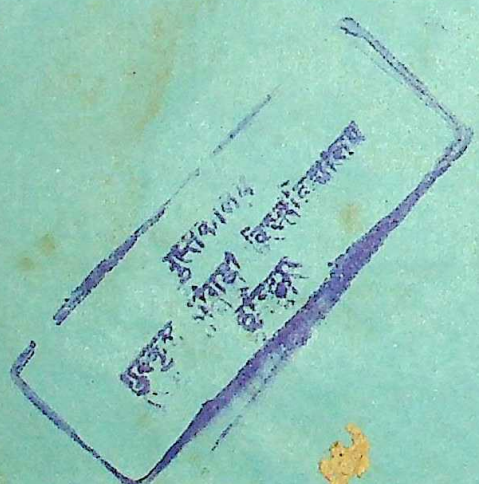
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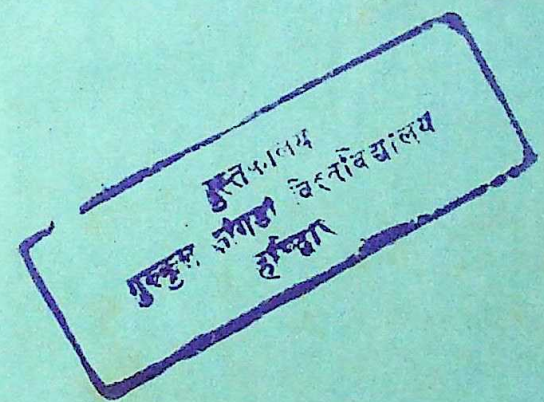
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THE MODERN REVIEW

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No. 1

JULY, 1928

Whole
No. 259

A MONTHLY REVIEW AND MISCELLANY

EDITED BY

RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE

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THE MODERN REVIEW

XLIV 1 JULY, 1928 WHOLE NO. 259

THE PATRIOT

By RABINDRANATH TAGORE

(*Translated by the author*)

sure that Chitragupta, who keeps ict record at the gate of Death, must ve noted down in big letters accu- against me, which had escaped my n altogether. On the other hand. of my sins, that have passed unnoticed ers, loom large in my own memory. ory of my transgression, that I am to relate, belongs to the latter kind, and that a frank confession of it, before it lly entered in the Book of Doom, may its culpability.

all happened yesterday afternoon, on f festival for the Jains in our neigh- od. I was going out with my wife, to tea at the house of my friend nohan.

wife's name means literally a 'bud.' given by my father-in-law, who is ey responsible for any discrepancy its implication and the reality to t is attached. There is not the least of hesitancy in my wife's nature; nions on most subjects have reached rminus. Once, when she had been sly engaged in picketing against cloth in Burrabazar, the awe-struck s of her party in a fit of excessive on gave her the name, Dhruva-vrata, an of unwavering vows.

name is Girindra, the Lord of the so common among my countrymen, character generally fails to act up Kalika's admirers simply know me as band of my wife and pay no heed to my name. By good luck inherited from my ancestors I have, however, some kind of significance, which is considered to be convenient by her followers at the time of collecting subscriptions.

There is a greater chance of hormony between husband and wife, when they are different in character, like the shower of rain and the dry earth, than when they are of a uniform constitution. I am somewhat slipshod by nature, having no grip over things, while my wife has a tenacity of mind which never allows her to let go the thing which it has in its clutches. This very dissimilarity helps to preserve peace in our household.

But there is one point of difference between us, regarding which no adjustment has yet become possible. Kalika believes that I am unpatriotic.

This is very disconcerting, because according to her, truth is what she proclaims to be true. She has numerous internal evidences of my love for my country; but as it disdains to don the livery of the brand of nationalism, professed by her own party, she fiercely refuses to acknowledge it.

From my younger days, I have continued to be a confirmed book-lover: indeed, I am hopelessly addicted to buying books. Even my enemies would not dare to deny that I read them; and my friends know only too well how fond I am of discussing their contents. This had the effect of eliminating most of my friends, till I have left to me Banbihari, the sole companion of my lonely

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debates. We have just passed through a period, when our police authorities, on the one hand, have associated the worst form of sedition with the presence of the Gita in our possession; and our patriots, on their side, have found it impossible to reconcile appreciation of foreign literature with devotion to one's Mother-land. Our traditional Goddess of culture, Saraswati, because of her white complexion, has come to be regarded with suspicion by our young nationalists. It was openly declared, when the students shunned their College lectures, that the water of the divine lake, on which Saraswati had her white lotus seat, had no efficacy in extinguishing the fire of ill-fortune that has been raging for centuries round the throne of our Mother, Bharat-Lakshmi. In any case, intellectual culture was considered to be a superfluity in the proper growth of our political life.

In spite of my wife's excellent example and powerful urgings I do not wear Khaddar, —not because there is anything wrong in it, nor because I am too fastidious in the choice of my wardrobe. On the contrary, among those of my traits, which are not in perfect consonance with our own national habits, I cannot include a scrupulous care as to how I dress. Once upon a time, before Kalika had her modern transformation, I used to wear broad-toed shoes from Chinese shops and forgot to have them polished. I had a dread of putting on socks: I preferred 'Punjabis' to English shirts, and overlooked their accidental deficiency in buttons. These habits of mine constantly produced domestic cataclysms, threatening our permanent separation. Kalika declared that she felt ashamed to appear before the public in my company. I readily absolved her from the wifely duty of accompanying me to those parties where my presence would be discordant.

The times have changed. but my evil fortune persists. Kalika still has the habit of repeating: "I am ashamed to go out with you." Formerly, I hesitated to adopt the uniform of her set, when she belonged to the pre-nationalist age; and I still feel reluctant to adopt the uniform of the present regime, to which she owns her allegiance.

The fault lies deep in my own nature. I shrink from all conscious display of sectarian marks about my person. This shyness on my part leads to incessant verbal explosions in our domestic world, because of the inherent incapacity of Kalika to accept as final any natural difference, which her partner in life may possess. Her mind is like a mountain stream, that boisterously goes round and round a rock, pushing against it in a vain effort to make it flow with its own current. Her contact with a different point of view from her own seems to exercise an irresistible reflex action upon her nerves, throwing her into involuntary convulsions.

While getting ready to go out yesterday, the tone with which Kalika protested against my non-Khaddar dress was anything but sweet. Unfortunately, I had my inveterate pride of intellect, that forced me into a discussion with my wife. It was unpleasant, and what more, futile.

"Women find it convenient," I said to her, "to veil their eyes and walk tied to the leading strings of authority. They feel safe when they deprive their thoughts of all freedom, and confine them in the strict Zenana of conformity. Our ladies today have easily developed their devotion to Khaddar, because it has added to the overburdened list of our outward criterions of propriety, which seem to comfort them."

Kalika replied with almost fanatical fury: "It will be a great day for my country, when the sanctity of wearing Khaddar is as blindly believed in as a dip in the holy water of the Ganges. Reason crystallised becomes custom. Free thoughts are like ghosts, which find their bodies in convention. Then alone they have their solid work, and no longer float about in a thin atmosphere of vacillation."

I could see that these were the wise sayings of Nayanmohan, with the quotation-marks worn out; Kalika found no difficulty in imagining that they were her own.

The man who invented the proverb, 'The silent silence all antagonist', must have been unmarried. It made my wife all the more furious, when I offered her no answer. "Your protest against caste", she explained, "is only confined to your mouth. We, on the contrary, carry it out in practice by imposing a uniformly white cover over all colour distinctions."

I was about to reply, that my protest against caste did truly have its origin in my mouth, whenever I accepted with relish the excellent food cooked by a Muhammadan. It was certainly oral, but not verbal; and its movements were truly inward. An external cover hides distinctions, but does not remove them.

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I am sure my argument deserved utterance, but being a helpless male, I timidly sought safety in a speechless neutrality ; for, I knew, from repeated experience, that such discussions, started in our domestic seclusion, are invariably carried by my wife, like soiled linen, to her friendly circle to be ruthlessly beaten and mangled. She has the unpleasant habit of collecting counter-arguments from the mouth of Professor Nayanmohan, exultantly flinging them in my face, and then rushing away from the arena without waiting for my answer.

I was perfectly certain about what was in store for me at the Professor's tea-table. There would be some abstruse dissertation on the relative position in Hindu culture of tradition and free thought, the inherited experience of ages and reason which is volatile, inconclusive, and colourlessly universal. In the meanwhile, the vision floated before my mind's eye of the newly-brought books, redolent of Morocco leather, mysteriously veiled in a brown paper cover, waiting for me by my cushions, with their shy virginity of uncut pages. All the same, I was compelled to keep my engagement by the dread of words, uttered and unuttered, and gestures suggestive of trouble.

We had travelled only a short distance from our house. Passing by the street-hydrant, we had reached the tiled hut occupied by an up-country shopkeeper, who was giving various forms to indigestibility in his cauldron of boiling mustard oil, when we were obstructed by a fearful uproar.

The Marwaris, proceeding to their temple, carrying their costly paraphernalia of worship, had suddenly stopped at this place. There were angry shouts, mingled with the sound of thrashing, and I thought that the crowd were dealing with some pickpocket, enjoying the vigour of their own indignation, which gave them the delightful freedom to be merciless towards one of their own fellow beings. When, by dint of impatient tooting of horn, our motor car reached the centre of the excited crowd, we found that the old municipal sweeper of our district was being beaten. He had just taken his afternoon bath and was carrying a bucket of clean water in his right hand with a broom under his arm. Dressed in a check-patterned vest, with carefully combed hair still wet, he was walking home, holding his seven-year-old grandson by his left hand, when accidentally he came in contact with somebody, or something, which gave rise to this violent outburst. The boy was piteously imploring everybody not to hurt his grandfather; and the old man himself with joined hands uplifted, was asking forgiveness for his unintentional offence. Tears were streaming from his frightened eyes, and blood was smeared across his grey beard.

The sight was intolerable to me. I decided at once to take up the sweeper into my car and thereby demonstrate to the pious party, that I was not of their cult.

Noticing my restlessness, Kalika guessed what was in my mind. Griping my arm, she whispered : "What are you doing ? Don't you see he is a sweeper ?"

"He may be a sweeper," said I, "but those people have no right to beat him in this brutal manner."

"It's his own fault." Kalika answered, "Would it have hurt his dignity, if he had avoided the middle of the road ?"

"I don't know", I said impatiently. "Anyhow, I am going to take him into my car."

"Then I leave your car this moment," said Kalika angrily. "I refuse to travel with a sweeper."

"Can't you see," I argued, "that he was just bathed, and his clothes are clean,—in fact, much cleaner than those of the people who are beating him ?"

He's a sweeper !" She said decisively. Then she called to the chauffeur, "Gangadin, drive on".

I was defeated. It was my cowardice.

Nayanmohan, I am told, brought out some very profound sociological arguments, at the tea-table. specially dealing with the inevitable inequality imposed upon men by their profession and the natural humiliation which is inherent in the scheme of things. But his words did not reach my ears, and I sat silent all through the evening.

1928—Madras.

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THE KIND OF "PEACE" BRITAIN HAS GIVEN INDIA

(India's Pax-Britannica)

By J. T. SUNDERLAND

THERE lies before me as I write an old number of *The Atlantic Monthly*, dated June, 1908, containing an article, by Mr. J. M. Hubbard, on British Rule in India, in which I find, among much else of similar nature, the following statement regarding the great blessing of peace which the Indian people were alleged to enjoy as the result of the conquest and government of their country by Great Britain. Says Mr. Hubbard:

> India is enjoying peace which has not been disturbed for 50 years; a peace which is not that maintained by force of arms, but which arises from pure contentment. Nowhere else in the world is there such contentment by people under a foreign yoke."

At the very time this article appeared, India was seething with discontent; all Bengal was boiling with excitement and indignation over Lord Curzon's Partition of the province; bombs were being thrown; there were arrests without warrant and imprisonments on every hand, and Lajpat Rai, because he had presumed to plead for a place for India in the Empire like that of Canada, had been seized and hurried away to imprisonment in Burma.

I call attention to these statements of Mr. Hubbard because similar utterances have been coming to us in great numbers for fifty years, all praising Great Britain's so-called Pax-Britannica in India. Indeed, nothing is urged oftener to day in justification of British rule there than the claim that that rule has rescued the Indian people from perpetual wars and bloodshed, and given them the great blessing of peace, such peace as they had not known for centuries, if ever.

Is the claim true? Was India a scene of perpetual conflict before the British came? Did Britain come bringing peace—such peace, such rescue from war and bloodshed, such security, and therefore, such contentment, as has justified her in the past and as justifies her to-day in robbing the Indian people of their freedom and holding them in forced bondage?

If Britain brought peace to India, was it peace only after forcing on her long and terrible wars, wars of conquest, wars bloodier than any she had ever known?

And if the British gave India *internal* peace, did they give her also *external* peace? Or did they force upon her participation in foreign wars almost without number, which cost her the blood of hundreds of thousands of her sons?

Still further. What was the *nature* of the internal peace, such as it was, which they gave India? was it of a kind which meant happiness, health, strength, sanitation of the country, freedom of the people, prosperity of the people? Or was it a peace which meant foreign exploitation of the country, neglect of education, neglect of sanitation, impoverishment and starvation of the people, loss of national freedom, enslavement and degradation of the nation?

Not all kinds of peace are better than war. Has the so-called peace which Britain has given India been better than war? Or has it been, as many Indians and not a few Englishmen believe, worse than any wars that India had ever known before the British came?

Let us see just what are the facts?

First, as to the condition of India before the British made their advent. Was that condition one of such war and bloodshed as the British represent?

So far as we can learn from the best historical records we possess, India, during most of its history before the British came, was more peaceful than Europe, For more than twelve hundred years—from the third or fourth century B. C. to the tenth A. D.—its leading religion was Buddhism, and, as is well-known, Buddhism has taught peace more strongly and secured it among its followers more effectively, during all its history, than has any other great religious faith known to the world.

At the time the British made their appearance in India there was unusual

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tumult. The great Mogul Empire which had been the ruling power for several centuries was just breaking up. That, of course, caused, for a period, much conflict and bloodshed. The British took advantage of that, and by taking the part of one native state or one warring faction against another state or faction, secured such a foothold in the land as otherwise they could not have obtained. From this beginning they pushed on their conquests, by the use of much the same arts, until they had obtained supremacy everywhere. But it cannot be too strongly affirmed that much of the time before the British came, India was better fitted to teach peace to Europe than any European nation was to teach peace to her.

It is true that from time to time in its past history India had had wars on a more or less extensive scale between states or provinces or cities or native princes, much like the wars during the Middle Ages between the states and dukedoms and princes of Germany and France and Italy and England, and occasionally she had suffered more or less serious raids from outside like the cruel border raids of Scotland, with at long intervals a temporary great and devastating raid such as that of Nadir Shah. But never, in all her history, had she experienced any wars involving such vast destruction of life and property as the Thirty Years War of Germany, or the wars of Napoleon, or even the Civil War in the United States; and as to the Great War in Europe of 1914 to 1918, she had never known anything in any way to be compared with that.

Indeed, the bloodiest wars India has experienced in modern times, if not in all her history, have been those which the British themselves forced upon her, first those fought to conquer the country, lasting almost a century, and then, later,—that connected with what the British call the "mutiny" or "Sepoy Rebellion" but which the Indians call a "War for Independence." Said the London *Spectator* of April 27, 1910: "We took at least 100,000 Indian lives in the Mutiny." But that was only one war and a very short one; the number of Indian lives taken in the wars, and wars following wars, of conquest, was many times greater, reaching into the millions.

The world has little conception of the amount of Indian bloodshed in the long succession of wars waged by the British to subdue all the different Indian peoples and states,—wars continuing on for nearly a hundred years, from Clive's battle of Arcot in the south in 1751, to General Gough's battle of Gujrat in the North-west in which the brave Sikhs were finally crushed in 1849. And it should not for a moment be forgotten that on the part of the British these wars were pure aggression—fought to gain forcible possession of a country to which they had no right; whereas on the part of the Indians, they were all patriotic wars, fought against invaders, fought to retain control of their own land.

British historians of India, disiring to justify their country before the world for conquering a great civilized nation and holding it in subjection, are wont to pass lightly over the terribly sanguinary character of these wars. Says Dickinson:

"We (the British) are accustomed to consider the battle of Waterloo one of the most sanguinary ever fought: yet the losses in some our Indian battles of conquest were about double the loss at Waterloo. The loss in our Sutlej battles in 1846 was much more severe than that of Waterloo."

Does it become a nation, which, on coming to India, proceeded for a hundred years to pour out India's blood in such torrents, to boast of bringing her peace?

But not only did Great Britain shed rivers of Indian blood in conquering the country and later in putting down the so-called "Mutiny" of 1858, but from the very first until the present time she has all the while compelled (virtually compelled) Indians in large numbers to serve in her armies, in carrying on wars largely of aggression and conquest, many of them on borders of India, against neighboring peoples, to gain possession of their territory, and others in distant lands to enlarge or strengthen the British Empire there.

Notice first the almost continuous nearer wars which the British have fought (or forced their Indian soldiers to fight) along the borders of India to conquer contiguous peoples so as to annex their lands.

I wonder if my readers are acquainted with John Morley's description of the way which Great Britain, during all her history in India, has been constantly encroaching on her neighbors. Not only is it very illuminating, but it is especially interesting as coming from one who for some years was the Secretary of State for India in the British Cabinet. He calls it "The Rake's Progress."

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Writes Morley :

"First, you push on into territories where you have no business to be, and where you had promised not to go ; secondly, your instrusion provokes resentment, and resentment means resistance ; thirdly, you instantly cry out that the people are rebellious and that their act is rebellion (this in spite of your own assurance that you have no intention of setting up a permanent sovereignty over them) ; fourthly, you send a force to stamp out the rebellion ; and fifthly, having spread bloodshed, confusion and anarchy, you declare, with hands uplifted to the heavens, that moral reasons force you to stay, for if you were to leave, this territory would be left in a condition which no civilized power could contemplate with equanimity or with composure. These are the five stages of the Rake's Progress."

In other words, these are the steps by which Great Britain has insidiously and persistently extended the bounds of her Indian Empire.

A lurid light is thrown upon all this (that is, on the way Britain has *given India "peace"*) by a Parliamentary Report made in 1899 in the British House of Commons, on the demand of John Morley, showing just how many of those border wars there have been, in what localities and their exact nature. The Parliamentary Report revealed the amazing fact that during the 19th century Great Britain actually carried on, in connection with India, mainly on its borders, not fewer than one hundred and eleven (111) wars, raids, military expeditions and military campaigns. Think of this almost unbelievable number—nearly all, as Morley makes clear, wars and raids of pure aggression. Of course, more or less plausible excuses or pretexts were always found to justify them, a "quarrelsome neighbor," "a dangerous neighbor" a neighbour that had encroached upon India in some way and needed to be "punished," the necessity for a "better" or "more natural" or "scientific" "boundary" or "frontier" for India, etc., etc. But with scarcely an exception, their real object was to grab new territory.

Upon whom did Britain put the burden of carrying on these wars and campaigns—the burden of fighting those battles and shedding this blood ? Mainly the Indians. And, why not ? For was not Indian blood cheaper than that of Englishmen ? But was it a great Benefit to India, a great improvement over former conditions, for the Indian people to be thus saved from local conflicts such as they had formerly known—from local wars, longer or shorter, of Indian States against Indian States and Indian Princes against Indian Princes,—and instead to be compelled to lose their lives in these British wars after wars, and campaigns after campaigns, almost without ceasing, against neighboring peoples and nations, and all for the purpose of increasing the territory and augmenting the power of their foreign conquerors and masters ?

It will be illuminating if I give a list of the wars and campaigns, most of them on the borders of India but some of them far away, carried on by Great Britain during the last half of the nineteenth century (from 1859 to 1900), campaigns and wars in which Indian troops were compelled to fight, in many cases to do the main fighting. The list, not quite complete, is as follows :

Two wars in distant China, in 1860 and 1900 ; the Bhutan War of 1864-65 ; the distant Abysinian War of 1868 ; the Afghan War of 1878-79 ; after the massacre of the Kabul Mission, the second Afghan War of 1879-80 ; the distant Egyptian War of 1882 ; the Burmese War of 1885, ending in the annexation of Upper Burma in 1886 ; the military expedition to Sitana, 1858, on a small scale and on a large scale (the Sitana Campaign) in 1863 ; to Nepal and Sikkim in 1859 ; to Sikkim in 1864 ; a serious struggle in the North-west Frontier in 1868 ; military expeditions against the Lushais in 1871-72 ; against the Nagas in 1875 ; against the Afridis in 1877 ; against the Rampu Hill tribes in 1879 ; against the Wuziriz and Nagas in 1881 ; against the Akhas in 1884 ; a military expedition to the Zhob valley in 1884 ; a second to the same valley in 1884 ; military expeditions against Sikkim against the Akazais (the Black Mountain expedition), and against the Hill Tribes of the Northeast in 1888-89 ; another Black Mountain military expedition in 1890 ; a third in 1892 ; a military expedition to Manipur in 1890 ; another military expedition against the Lushais in 1891 ; one into the Miratzel Valley in 1891 ; the serious Tirah Campaign in which 40,000 men were engaged, in 1897-98 ; the military expedition against the Mashuds in 1901 ; that against the Kabalta in 1902 ; the invasion of Tibet in 1904. To these should be added the sending of Indian troops to distant Malta and Cyprus in 1878, and the expenditure of some $10,000,000 in military operations to face what was described as the "Russian Menace" in 1884.

Let it be noted that this list, almost

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unbelievably long as it is, includes none of Britain's wars or military expeditions, some of them of large magnitude and importance in which Indian soldiers had part, occurring in the nineteenth century *Previous to the year 1859*, nor, of course, does it include any of the wars fought by Great Britain (largely with the aid of Indian troops) in the *twentieth century*, culminating in the Great War of 1914 to 1918, in which the soldiers of India did remarkably effective (and sanguinary) fighting in France, Palestine, Syria and Mesopotamia. But the list is sufficiently full to show how almost constantly Great Britain has been carrying on wars during all her Indian history—some of them to enlarge the boundaries of India and some in distant parts of the earth all of them fought purely *in the interest of the British Empire* not one of them fought *in the interest of the Indian people*, yet *India's sons compelled to do a large part of the fighting, suffering and dying* ! *

In view of all these rivers and rivers of blood which British rule has drawn from the veins of India's sons, we can well understand the lines wrung from the anguished soul of one of India's gifted woman poets :

"Lo, I have flung to the East and the West
Priceless treasures torn from my breast,
And yielded the sons of my striken womb
To the drum-beats of England, the sabres of doom
Gathered like pearls in their alien graves,
Silent they sleep by the Persian waves ;
Scattered like shells on Egyptian sands
They lie with pale brows and brave broken hands.
They are strewn like blossoms mown down by chance
On the blood-brown meadows of Flanders and France.
O, England ! O, World !
Remember the blood of my slaughtered ones,
Weep for my dead, my martyred sons," †

So much then for *one side* of the *Pax-Britannica* which Great Britain has given India, a side which Britain persists in calling "peace," but which India calls very bloody and terrible wars.

There is *another side*. Is it any better ? Has it brought any more good, any less suffering, or any less loss of life to the Indian people, than the cruel *war side* has done ?

We have already said, there are kinds of peace that are worse than war. Has Britain given India such peace ?

Practically all Indian authorities and also many eminent Englishmen deny that India's *Pax-Britannica* has been on the whole in the sum total of its effects any more a benefit to the Indian people than was the old *Pax-Romana* a benefit to the nations of the ancient Mediterranean world. Why was not that Roman peace a good ? Because it was created by force. And therefore, as is now recognized, it was really a peace of helplessness, of emasculation, a peace of nations reduced to such weakness, exhaustion and poverty, such loss of men and resources, such destruction of courage and hope, such physical, intellectual and moral decadence, that it was simply impossible to them to fight longer, and they were, therefore, compelled to submit and become subjects and political slaves of Rome. Looked at superficially and as to its immediate and temporary effects, the *pax-Romana* may have seemed a good. But looked at deeply, as we look at it today in the light of history, it is seen to have been a terrible calamity. Instead of advancing the progress of the nations concerned, it arrested their progress, probably for several centuries.

Peace caused by intelligence, justice and goodwill is always a good. It always tends to produce progress and civilization. But peace caused by force by war, by destroying the ability of nations to fight, by reducing nations and peoples to such a degree of poverty, helplessness, emasculation and despair that they cannot fight,—such a peace in the very nature of things is an evil—an evil far outweighing any seeming or superficial good that men may associate with it.

It is in *this light* that intelligent students are more and more judging, and that future generations will *wholly* judge, the lauded *Pax-Britannica* which by blood and slaughter, by all the horrors, ravages and destructions of war Great Britain has forced upon the Indian peoples.

Just what kind of an India has Britain's lauded "peace" produced ? The answer is seen in India's lack of enough schools and education, in her want of sufficient sanitation, in her unparalleled poverty (according to British high authorities one-third of her

* In the light of such revelations as these, one can hardly wonder at the words of Richard Cobden : "We British have been the most aggressive, quarrelsome, warlike, bloody nation under the sun."

† Sarojini Naidu,

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population never knowing what a full meal is), in the untold millions of Indian men, women and children who have died from famines, from plague, cholera, fevers, influenza, malaria and other preventable diseases, who need not have died if the enormous sums of money spent by the government for militaristic and imperialistic ends and needlessly paid to foreigners in the form of fat salaries and pensions, had been expended for India's good for her prosperity, intelligence and health.

Says the *Modern Review* of Calcutta (December, 1920, p. 675):

"England claims to have given India the benefits of 'undisturbed peace.' Our reply is : What kind of peace has it been ? What has it brought to India ? Not only has India's blood been poured out in rivers at home and abroad, but India to-day is poorer, more illiterate, more famine-stricken, more disease-ridden, and inhabited by a worse fed and physically weaker population than any civilized country in these continents. During the many decades of this 'undisturbed peace' which England has blessed us with, India has lost more of her population by death than any other equally populous area on the earth even where peace has been most disturbed and wars worst."

Let me give some terrible facts about the single matter of birth and death-rates in India as compared with other lands. The average annual death-rate in England is only 13 per 1,000 of the population, and in the United States only 12 per 1,000. But *in India, it is from 24 to 25 per 1,000, or fully twice as great.* The average expectation of life (length of life) in England is 48 years, and in the United States 56 years. In impoverished India, *it is only about one-half as long.*

Who can estimate how many millions of unnecessary deaths this means annually ? And to this loss should be added, as a British writer has pointed out, "the incidental suffering of those who die, the widows and orphans and other dependent ones left to suffer as the result of the death of heads of families. Also the loss of productive energy, to the country."*

The high death rate in India is sometimes attributed to climate and sometimes to malaria. But Lt. Col. Dunn, of the Indian Medical Service, says this is incorrect. He declares that if the laws of health were regarded in India to the same extent as in England, and if the same proportion of public money was spent on sanitation, the death-rate in India would be no larger than in England. He avers that one-half of the death-rate is preventable, being due to the want of public health provisions, and the poverty and starvation of the people.

Consider malaria, which causes more suffering and larger numbers of deaths in India than anything else except poverty and famine. Arnold Lupton, an Englishman who speaks with authority, says in his recent book, "Happy India :"

"What a magnificent country India would be if only its malaria were abolished ! And I am quite certain of this, that if instructions were given to the engineers in the employ of the British government in India to abolish malaria, and if they were allowed the requisite sums of money, they would soon make a great change...The banks of the Panama Canal were made into a place that could be visited as a sanatorium in consequence of the successful effort of the American engineers in charge to abolish malaria ; and the malaria of the Panama Canal was the deadliest kind the world has ever known...If only the rulers of India could give their minds to those questions which concern the lives and health and well-being of the Indian people, instead of wasting their energies on other matters of no importance, India might be made a Sanatorium."

A high medical official connected with the British army in Bombay, who for 24 years had been in medical charge of extensive districts in various parts of India, told me in 1914 that the death-rate in India ought to be little or no higher than in England ; because, he declared, where, proper sanitary regulations are observed, India is essentially as healthy a country to live in as England. Her high death-rate is preventable. It is caused by want of sanitation and public health regulations, bad water which the government should remedy, poverty and consequent starvation, and by the want of schools in which the laws of health can be taught to the children.

In the face of all these bitter facts, if we are honest and fair-minded, how can we avoid asking the questions : How great a boon to India has Britain's boasted "*pax-Britannica*" been ? Even if Britain has saved India from the loss of some thousands or tens of thousands of lives in internal wars, does that atone for or should it hide from our view, the vastly greater number of Indian lives she has destroyed in her border and foreign wars, and, above all the uncounted millions who have perished at home for starvation and disease, for whose deaths she is largely responsible ?

Some years before his death, William

* *Indian Journal of Economics, January, 1924.*

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Jennings Bryan made a visit to India to study conditions there. After his return, he wrote and published a pamphlet on British Rule and Its Results, in which he said: "The British have conferred some benefits on India; but they have extorted an enormous price for them. While they have boasted of bringing peace to the living, they have *led millions to the peace of the grave.*"

Says Mahatma Gandhi, and no man weighs his words more carefully than he: "The kind of peace which British rule has brought to India, has been *worse than war.*"

As has already been said, Rome had her *Pax-Romana.* It was the prototype of England's "*Pax-Britannica*" in India. The historian Tacitus in describing that of Rome wrote the grim sentence, *Solitudinem faciunt pacem appellant.* Indian scholars employ this sentence of Tacitus to describe the work of the British in India, translating it, "*They have made a grave-yard, and they call it peace.*"

NON-BUDDHISTIC CAVE-TEMPLES

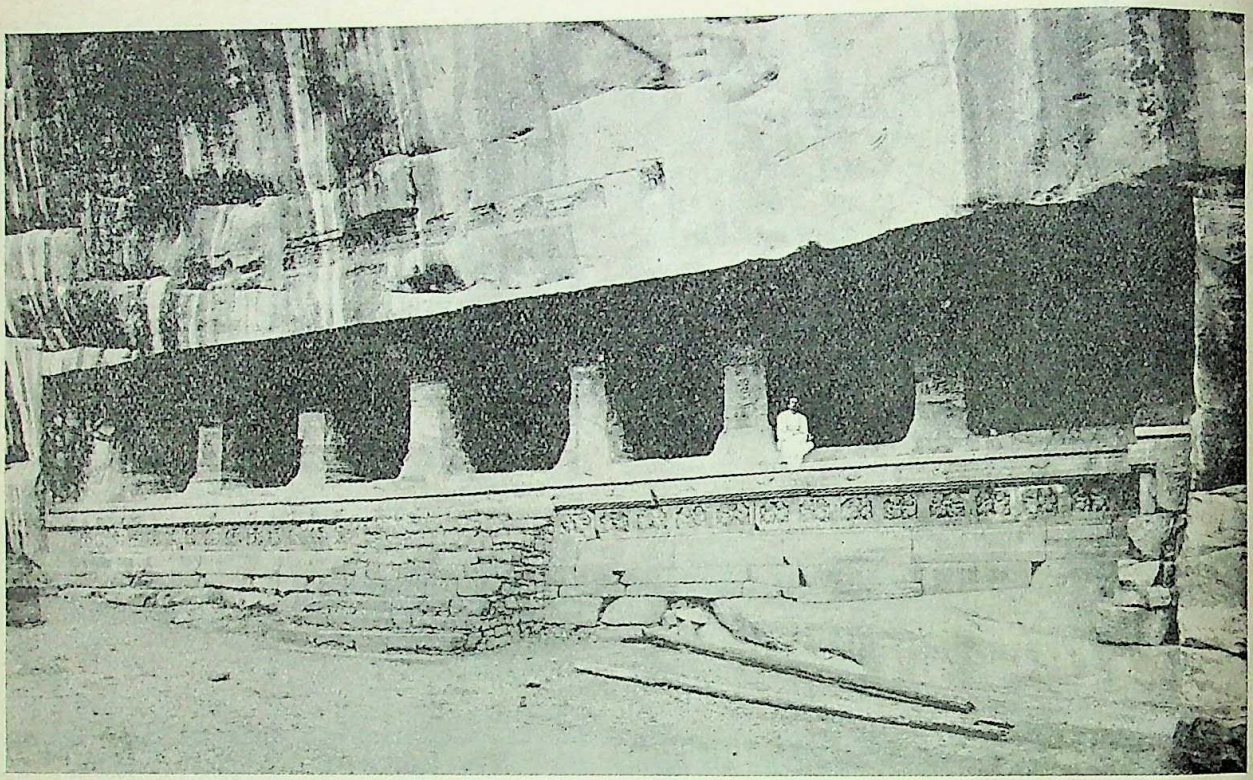
By R. D. BANERJI

THERE is a big interval between the early Buddhist and Jaina cave-temples and those of other sects. The earliest Jaina caves are those on the Khandagiri and Udayagiri hills near Bhubaneshwar in the Puri District of Orissa. Here there are two classes of caves; (a) Temples or shrines and (b) dormitories. The dormitories are exactly similar in arrangement to the great Buddhist dormitories at Karla and Bhaja in the Poona district, Pandulena in the Nasik district, Kanheri in the Thana district of the Bombay Presidency and those at Ellora and Ajanta in the Nizam's dominions. In the dormitories of the Khandagiri and Udayagiri caves there is a stone bench running along the back and the side walls of the verandah, benches for sleeping with one end raised in the cells and arrangements for other creature comforts. It is the absence of such arrangements in certain caves which enable us to recognise the shrines.

The cave-temples excavated by the great Maurya Emperor Asoka and his grandson Dasaratha on the Barabar and Nagarjuni hills in the Gaya district were intended for the occupation of monks of the Ajivika sect. The Ajivikas were a sect which flourished in the 5th or the 4th century B.C. They are known to us from the inscriptions in these caves and Jain and Buddhist literature. We do not know for what reasons cave-temples were dedicated for their use by the Maurya Emperors, because some of these caves in the Gaya district are really shrines, consisting of a round hut-shaped chamber with another, perhaps a verandah, in front. Their sole decoration consisted of the brilliant polish of the severely chaste walls. From the point of view of architecture they are interesting because they have recorded in stone the primitive type of the Ajivika or the Non-Buddhist temple. In Buddhism the *Stupa* or the *Chaitya* is round and any structure intended to contain a *stupa* at one end must necessarily be with a rounded end. But we cannot understand, after the lapse of 22 centuries, what was the necessity of perpetuating the overhanging roof of the Bengali or Bihari straw-thatched round hut. The cave-temples of the Gaya district excavated by Asoka possess narrow and plain entrances but those excavated in the first year of the reign of Dasaratha show a very narrow porch in front of the door. The only cave in the Barabar and Nagarjuni group which bears any kind of ornamentation is the Lomas Rishi cave, but unfortunately it bears no inscription and consequently it can not be dated as precisely as the six remaining ones of this group. The interior was only partly finished and the slightly inclined vertical section of the walls with their brilliant polish in patches prove that its date cannot be far distant from the Sudama or other caves. The most important part of this cave is its facade. On it is an elaborate bas-relief representing one end of

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Facade of Cave No. IV (Vaishnava cave) at Badami, Bijapur Dist., Bombay Presidency

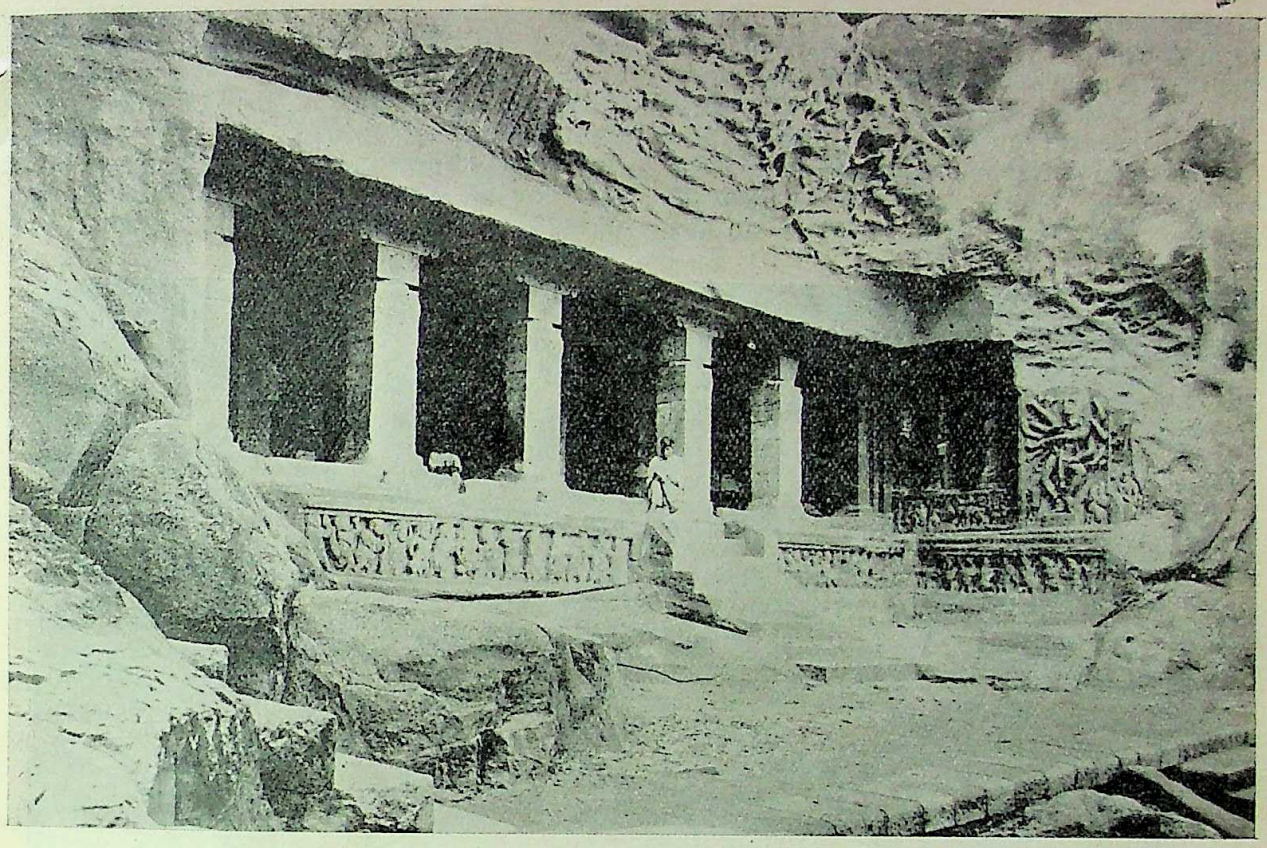
a long wooden hut with a thatched roof. Like the facades of the great Chaitya-halls of Karla or Kanheri it is an exact reproduction of wooden architecture in stone, down to the very nails. We see a hut on a double row of massive square wooden posts, with wooden rafters in the ceiling, the ends of which are so heavy as to hang low on the sides. The opening at the end of this hut is filled up with three semi-circular wooden beams, the interspaces between the first pair of which are filled up with *jali* or *jafri* work and the second with a bas relief, a procession of elephants. The plain entrance of the cave was excavated under this triple *torana*.

There is no such continuity in Jain caves which we find in the case of Buddhist caves. There are Jain caves at Badami in the Bijapur district, at Maungya Tungya in the Nasik district and at Ellora in the Nizam's dominions, but they are eight or more centuries later than the earliest Jain caves on the Khandagiri and Udayagiri hills of Orissa. Even the later group of Jain caves on the Khandagiri are at least eleven hundred years later in date than the great double-storied Rani Nur Gumpha excavated by Kharavela, king of Kalinga. All later Jain caves are shrines and not dormitories and therefore one may be allowed to state that the custom of living in caves appears to have fallen into desuetude after the birth of Christ. Portuguese writers have recorded that Buddhist monks were living in the Kanheri caves even towards the end of the sixteenth century.

Like Hindu temples Hindu caves are much later in date than Buddhist ones. The oldest Hindu cave is cave No. I at Elephanta. There may be older Hindu caves in existence but either we have no data to identify them as such or to date them as precisely as we can date the Kailasa cave at Ellora or Mangalesa's cave No. IV at Badami. It is only recently that the chance discovery of a stray inscription on a metal vase in the pool of water in the right wing of the great cave or cave No. I at Elephanta which enables us to fix its locality and date precisely. The great Trimurti, the principal bas-relief, in this cave, has long been recognised as the most expressive stone carving in India, but before the date of cave No. I was precisely known, it could not be classed as one of the earliest types of the

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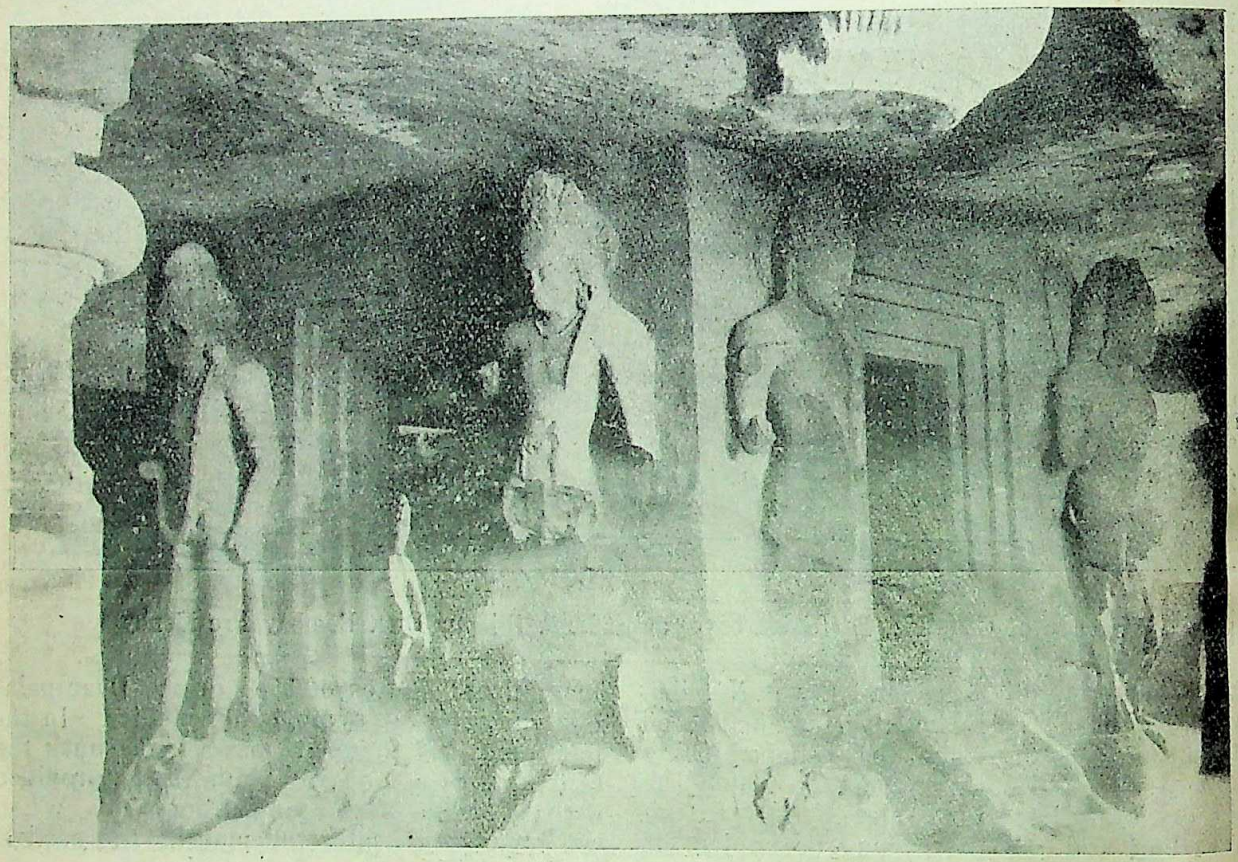
Facade of Cave No. I, (Saiva cave) at Badami, Bijapur Dist. Bombay Presidency

Hindu cave-temple proper. Cave No. I at Elephanta is a large open hall, decorated with a number of huge bas-reliefs. There are two wings on two sides, of which the right one was left incomplete. But in the main hall and the left wing the object of worship was not the great Trimurti or other bas-reliefs but a stone *linga* in a plain square shrine. In the main hall of cave No. I this shrine was not placed in the centre but slightly to the right, because the architect found that if it were placed in the centre then it would obstruct the view of the magnificent central bas-relief from the entrance. We may ask why the great Trimurti was not regarded as the presiding deity of this cave-temple ? The answer is only partially ready. Hindu worship requires *pradakshina* or circum-ambulation. All the bassi-relievi being carved out of rock walls circum-ambulation was impossible in their case. So the Trimurti, the marriage of Siva, the attempt of Ravana to carry away Kailasa and other magnificent bas-reliefs of this cave are simply decorative features. The sanctum was the simple square cell slightly to the right, open on all sides, undecorated save for the magnificent figures of the great Dvarapalas containing the symbol of virility. In the left wing also there are bas-reliefs but the sanctum is a square plain cell provided with a path of circum-ambulation. When we come to consider the plan of the earliest structural Hindu temples of Northern India then we shall able to understand why the architect of this great cave-temple was forced to leave this passage and for what reasons the sanctum in the main hall of this cave is not exactly in the centre of the hall or of the rear wall. Later on, in the 6th century it became the fashion to have a second image for circum-ambulation in front of the sanctum in Hindu cave-temples. Therefore in the period of the Early great Chalukyas of Badami, the sanctum remained a mean insignificant dark chamber behind the rear wall in front of which were excavated a large open hall with the path of circum-ambulation separated from its centre by rows of pillars. This is the plan of the two Vaishnava-caves at Badami the cave-temple at Aihole, later cave-temples on Elephanta island and the Saiva cave at Badami. The same plan has been followed

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to a very great extent in the solitary Jaina cave at Badami. I could not understand the cause of the peculiar position of the sanctum in the main hall of cave No. 1 at Elephanta before the discovery of the early Gupta temples of Bhumra * and Nachna Kuthara † and the excavations of caves II-V on Elephanta island.§ The same idea prevails in the ted. It is now known to be a monument of the time of the early Rashtrakusa king Krishna I and therefore belongs to the last decades of the eighth century A. D. In plan it is an excavation open towards the sky, consisting of a temple surrounded by an open court-yard on all sides. The fourth side has been enclosed with a porch constructed afterwards.



The main-shrine in Cave No. I, right side of the pillared hall, Elephanta near Bombay

Monolithic temples at Mamallapuram in the Chingleput district of Madras as well as in the earlier group of structural Chalukya temples at Aihole and Pattadkal, to which reference will be made subsequently. In the case of the later Hindu caves of Western India, we find that the same idea led to the evolution of the plan of the great Kailasa temples at Ellora. The Kailasa is partly constructed but for the greater part excava- Surrounding the courtyard, on three sides, there are galleries along the rock surface, partly single storied, and partly double storied. The rear or side walls of these galleries are covered with bas-reliefs. The main temple, though excavated out of the rock, rises free in the centre of the courtyard in the same fashion as any other medieval temple In this particular respect the Kailasa is different from all other Hindu cave-temples except the cave-temple of Dharmanatha at Dhamnar in the Rampura-Bhanpura district of Indore State and the Kholvi temple in the Jhalawar State. The only difference between the Kailasa temple and that of Lingaraja at Bhuvaneswar is that while the former is carved out of the

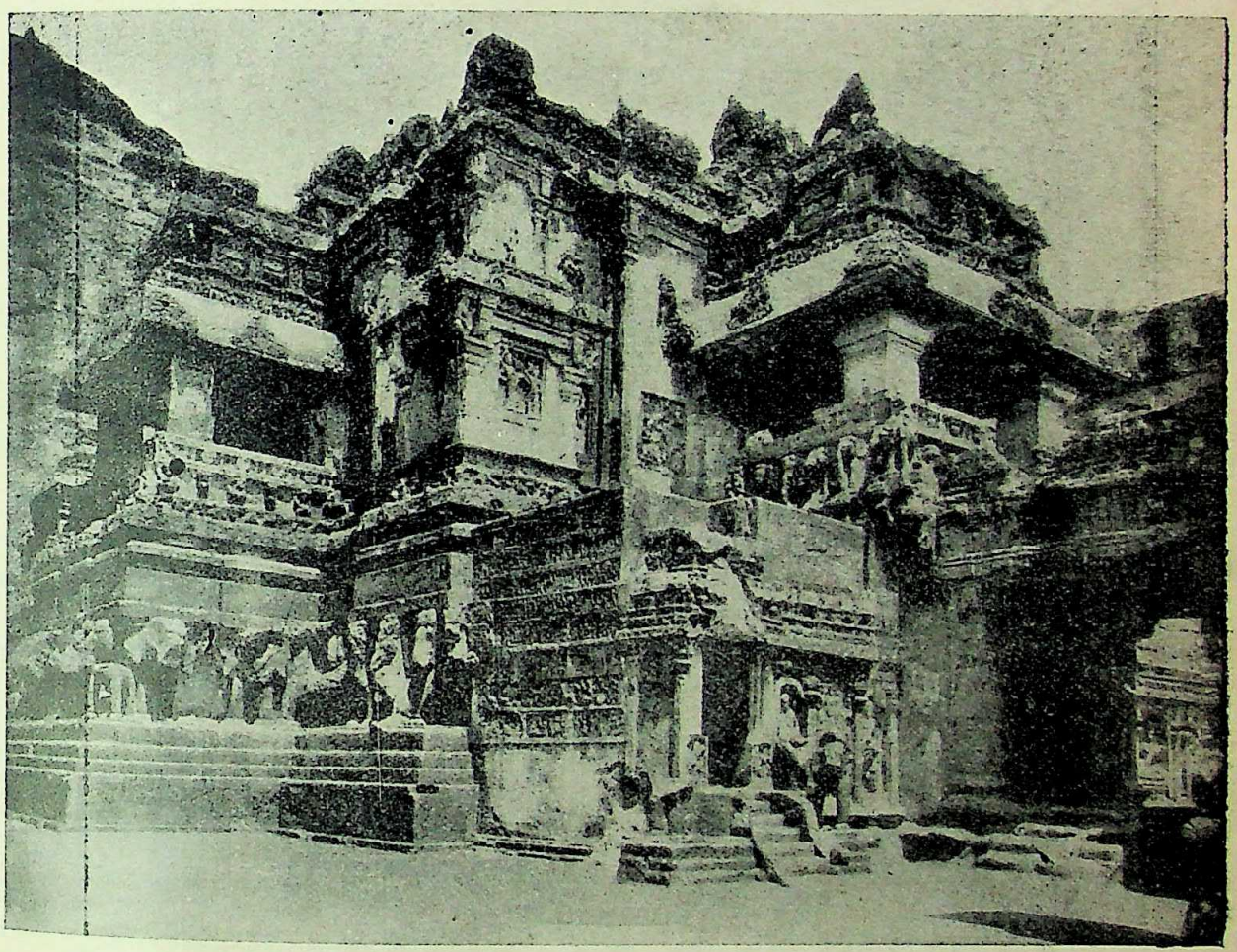
* *The Temple of Siva at Bhumra; Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, No. 16.*

† *Progress report of the Archaeological Survey of India Western Circle for the year ending 31st March 1919, pp. 60-61; pl. XVI-XVII.*

§ *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, 1922-23, pp. 22—23 ; pl. XII.*

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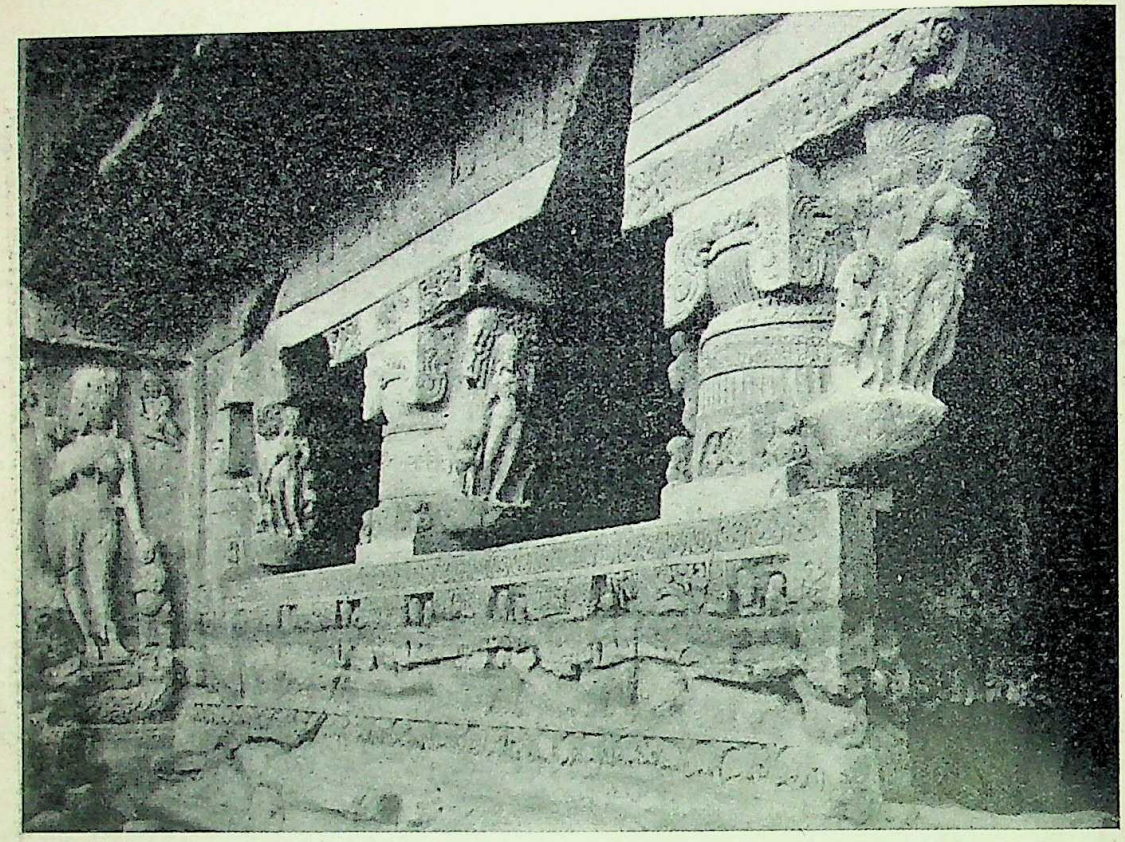
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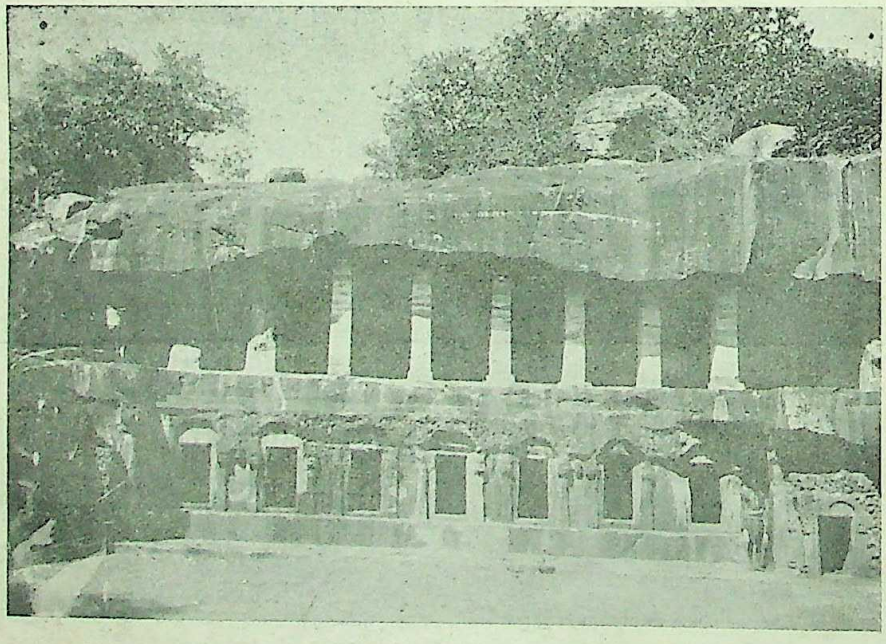
The Mainshrine of Kailasa rock cut temple at Ellora, showing two of the three porches, Nizam's Dominions

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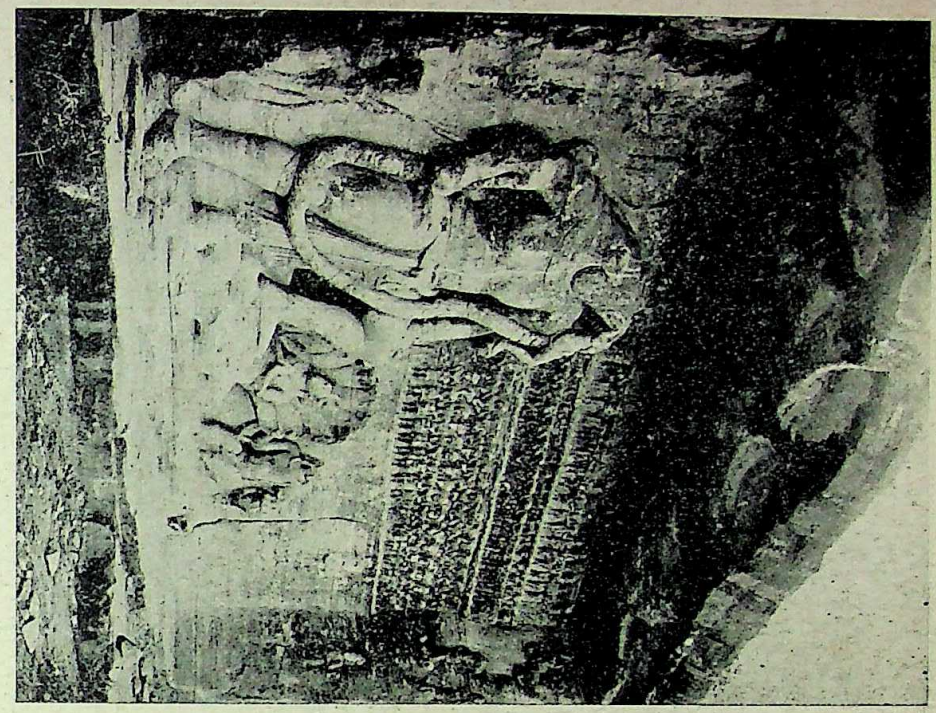
Verandah of the Rameswara Cave, Ellora, Nizam's Dominions.



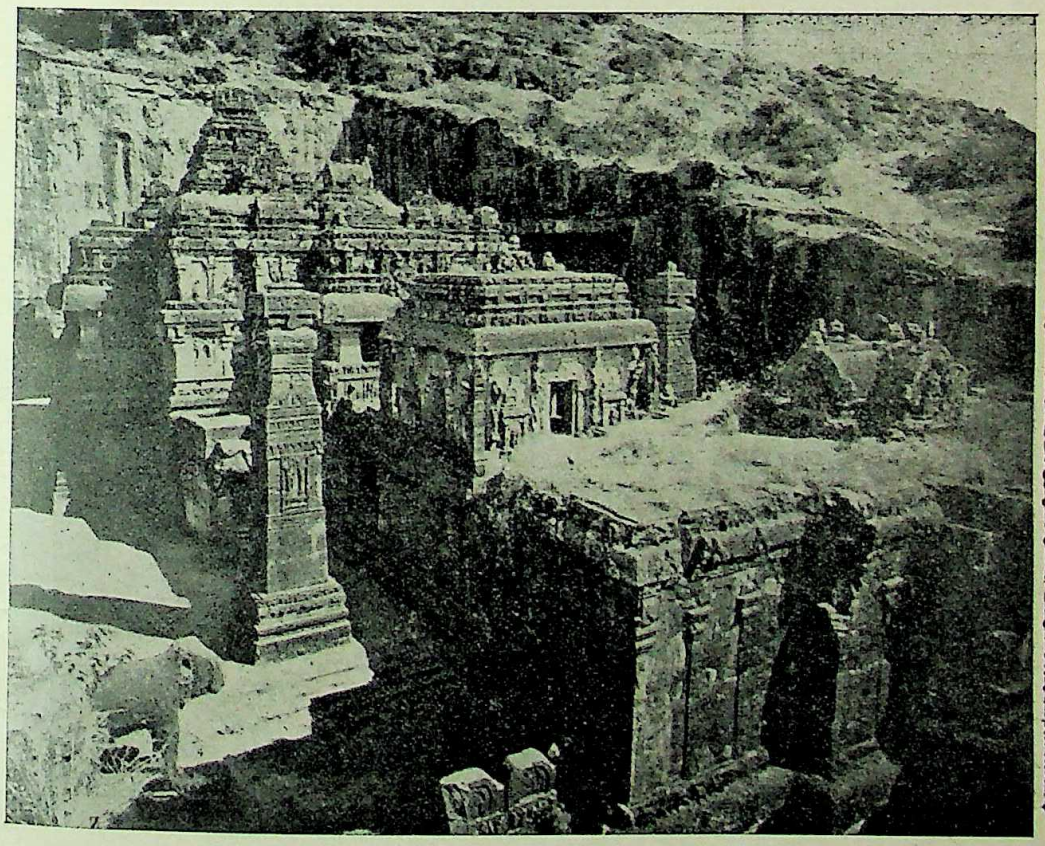
Facade of Rock-cut Jain Monastery excavated by Kharavela,
King of Kalinga, (2nd Century B. C.) at Udaygiri
near Bhuvaneswar, Dist. Puri.

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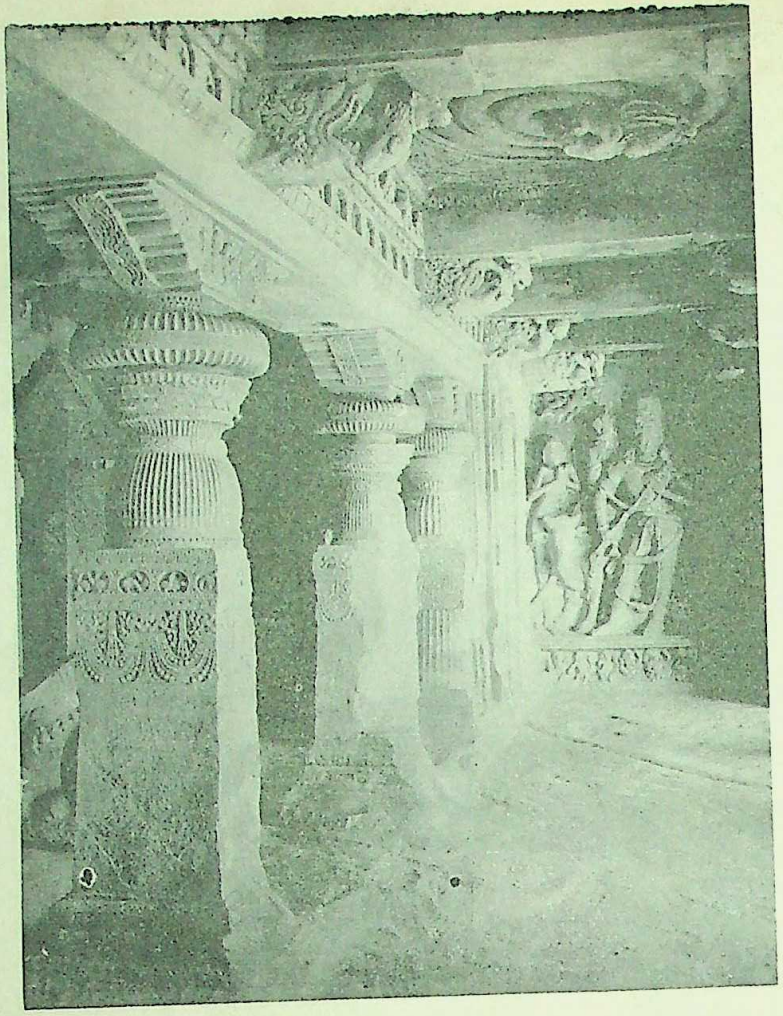


The Varaha Cave (Gupta period), Udaygiri, near Bhilsa, Gwalior State

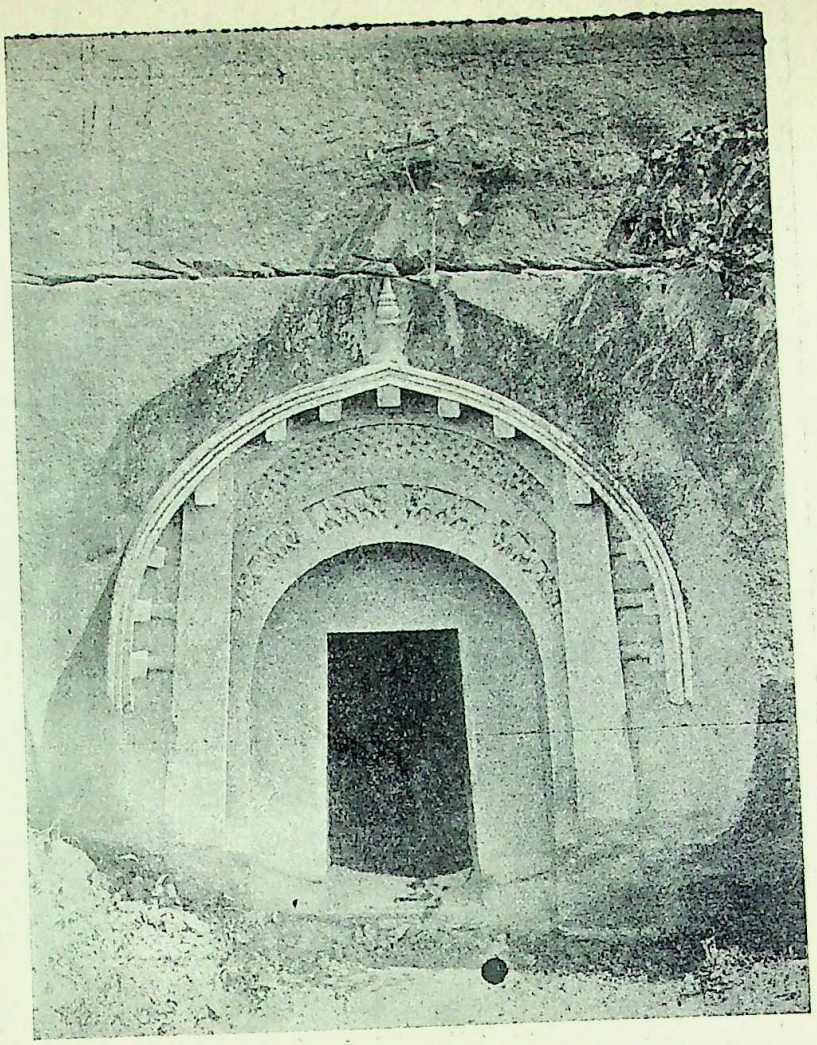


The Kailasa Temple, Ellora, Nizam's Dominions; General View from the left

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Verandah of Cave No. I (Saiva Cave) at Badami, Bijapur Dist. Bombay Presidency

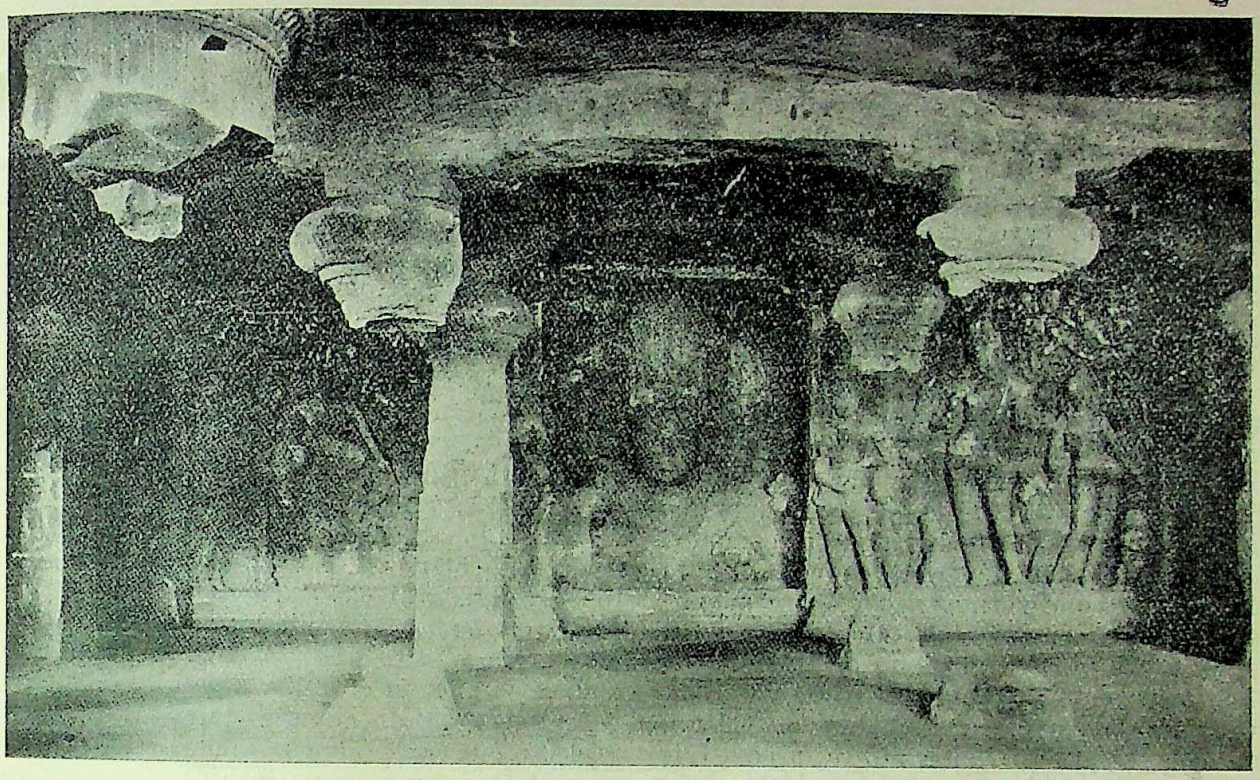


Facade of the Lomas Rishi Cave (Maurya period) on Barabar Hill. Gaya Dist.

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General view of the rear wall of the Main hall in cave No. I, Elephanta near Bombay; Trimurti in the centre

rock the later is constructed of stone masonry. At Kailasa the sanctum or the main shrine is not on the ground level but at the height of the second story. It follows the general principle laid down by early Chalukyan architects in having a central *mandapa* where the *Chala-murti* or movable-image could be placed. On three sides of the central mandapa there are three open porches or *Ardha-mandapas*, the fourth being occupied by the sanctum. In another respect the Kailasa differs from most of the Hindu cave-temples of Northern and Southern India; it possesses a spire of the South-western or Chalukyan type, but of this also we shall have to speak at a later stage. In the Kailasa therefore we see the termination of the evolution of a rock-cut Hindu temple the first stage of which we can see in the Central Hall and the left wing of cave No. I at Elephanta.

From the point of view of the architect mediaeval cave-temples are less interesting than the earlier ones. There are very large Hindu and Jain cave-temples at Ellora and in fact they occupy more than two-thirds or the entire rock-surface but with the exception of the Kailasa very few of them are of any interest except to the artist. We have seen that the Kailasa is a cave-temple but of quite a different type from cave No. I of Elephanta or caves I-IV at Badami, because it is a copy of the stone built early Chalukyan temples, examples of which are still to be found on the top of Badami fort. The remaining Hindu and Jain temples at Ellora are also copies of stone built temples. There are large and elaborate excavations like the Rameswara or the Dasavatara cave at Ellora and there are large and iconographically important bas-reliefs in them, but a close observation will show that in plan and elevation they are merely copies of regularly built temples. Just as the architect, who designed the Karla or the Kanheri Buddhist cathedrals copied wooden architecture, so the ninth century architects of Ellora copied stone-built temples in designing rock excavations on a large scale like the Dhumar Lena or the Indrasabha. The only part of a Mediaeval temple which one misses is the beginning of the Sikhara or the spire. Except in free standing excavations like the Kailasa or the great Dharmanatha at Dhamnar the Sikhara is omitted from the designs of later mediaeval architects. In Hindu caves as well

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as the great Jain caves at Ellora one sees *mandapas* or pillared halls along the sides of which run great stone benches, very often in two different stories, which remind one of the benches in the *mandapas* temples of Khajuraho and Sohagpur in Central India. Another feature of these later mediaeval Hindu and Jain cave-temples is the attempt to decorate the surfaces of facades of these great excavations.

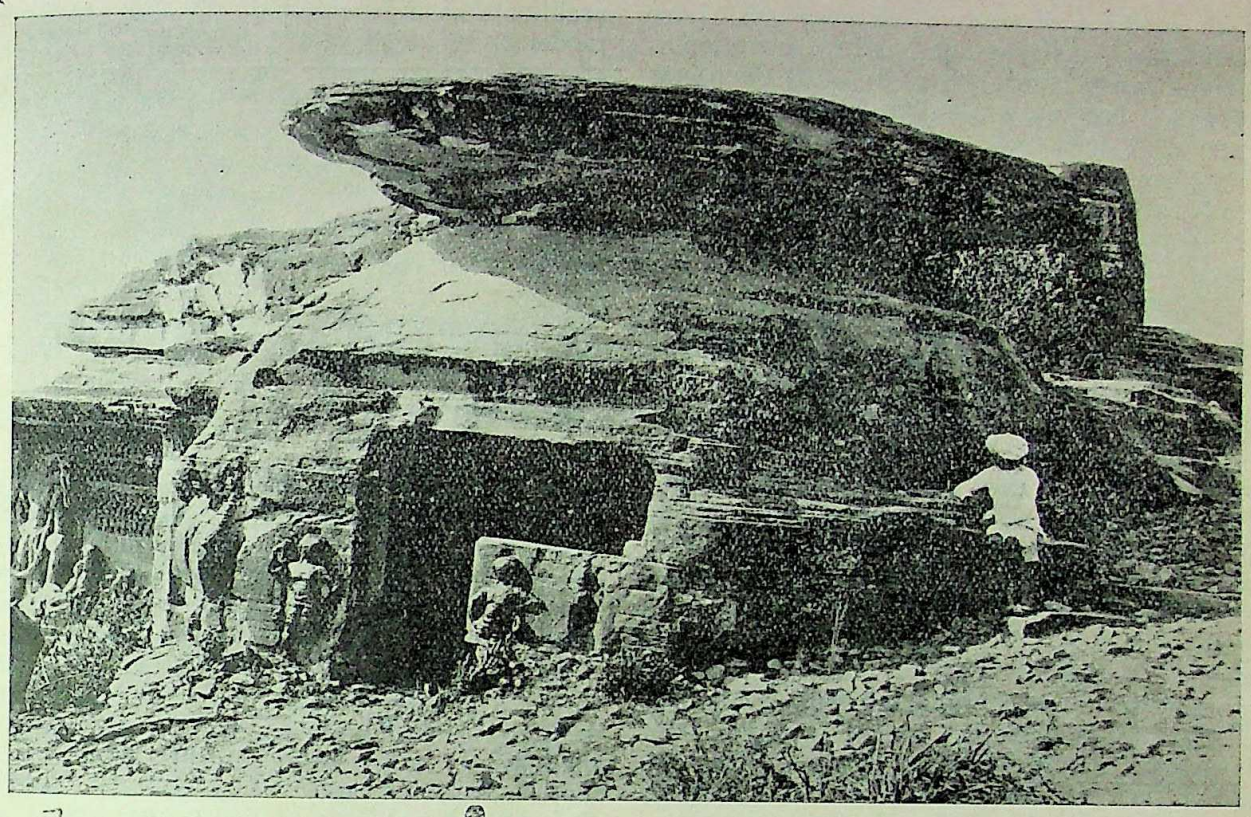
This feature is altogether absent at Elephanta, Badami, Aihole or Mandapesvara. A word about Mandapesvara would not be out of place here. Mandapesvara of Montpezir is the name of a small village in the Thana district of the Bombay Presidency. Originally there was a Saiva cave-temple at this place. After the Portuguese conquest of Salsette this temple was converted into a Roman Catholic shrine. There are magnificent bas-reliefs in the Montpezir caves which prove that a portion of it must be of the same date as the great cave No. I of Elephanta and cave Nos. II and IV of Badami. Unfortunately the village *Cure* used this cave as his stable and therefore photographs were not possible, but the descriptions of other visitors prove that Manadapesvara was an important Hindu establishment before its forced conversion to the Roman Catholic faith. Very few visitors to Bombay, who undergo enormous trouble to visit the Kanheri caves from Borivli on the B. B. C. I. Ry., even know that there are wonderful rock carvings at Montpezir and those that actually go to the place are diverted by the guides to the hideous whitewashed Portuguese monstrosities on the hill just above the old cave.

At another place close to Bombay there is another mediaeval Hindu cave-temple which proves that later mediaeval architects copied constructed temples in designing rock excavations. This is the big cave at Jogesvari near Andheri on the B. B. C. I. Ry. In it we see the mediaeval temple shorn of all its dignity and a mere copy of a stone built temple with a *Mandapa* and *Ardha-mandapas*. There are no bas-reliefs, no ornamentations and no attempt to relieve the dull monotony of the exteriors of mediaeval shrines. Here one may imagine that he is inside the temple of Gondesvara at Sinnar in the Nasik district or the Western Chalukyan temples at Gadag or Haralhalle in the Dharwar district. In such temples exterior ornamentations are possible only in the facade but in this cave the triple storied facade is dull and undecorated. The plain surface of the left wing as well as the front is very slightly relieved by the introduction of plain pillars and pilasters. These are not the only instance of undecorated hideous exteriors. The Jain caves of Western India, later in date than the latest Jain cave at Ellora are typical examples of copies of stone-built temples. These Jain caves extend from the Satpuras to the Anaimalai hills in the extreme South, and all of them belong to the Digambara sect of the Jainas. The twelveth and thirteenth century caves on Maungya and Tungiya peaks in the North Western part of the Nasik district serve as typical examples. My attention was drawn to the Maungya Tungiya caves by Mr. A. H. A. Simcox, I. C. S., (retd.), at one time Collector of Nasik, immediately after the Malegaon riots. These two peaks are very close to the hill forts of Sulher and Mulher now belonging to the Baroda State and celebrated in Maratha history. The caves were excavated near the top of these two peaks and are almost inaccessible. The nearest Railway stations are Manmad on the G. I. P. and Nandurbar on the B. B. C. I. Ry. All of those caves are simple square excavations on the hill side. There are no pillared halls and *mandapa*s, no attempts at decoration or dignity. There are images of Tirthankaras on the walls but nobody would venture to call them objects of art. Yet the Jain pilgrim marches along the long road from Manmad to Satana and climbs the dangerous steps for nearly 2000 feet to see these caves. All Jain caves in the Belgaum, Dharwar, North Kanara, Hassan and Bellary districts are of this severe and unpretentious type, which differ from cave No. V or the Jain cave at Badami by being most conspicuously hideous and without any settled plan or design. In fact the best Jain caves in the whole of Western India are those at Badami and Ellora.

We can deduce a principle on the basis of which our later mediaeval Hindu temples were evolved. The oldest Hindu cave temples are those at Elephanta and Badami. In Northern India the Chandragupta cave and the great Varaha cave near Bhilsa in the dominions of the Maharaja Scindia of Gwalior must also be included in this group. Analysis proves that there are two divisions among these cave-temples. In the first division must be placed the central hall of cave No. I at Elephanta and its left wing.

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Cave-temple of Virasena of Pataliputra, minister of the Emperor Chandragupta II at Udaygiri near Bhilsa, Gwalior State

The remainder, e. g. caves I-IV at Badami caves II-VI at Elephanta, the caves at Mandapesvara or Montpezir, and most of the Hindu rock-cut temples at or near Bhilsa must be placed in the second division. The characteristic, common to both groups, is the decoration of the interiors by means of bas-reliefs and the absence of surface or facade decoration. Cave No. I at Elephanta and its left wing are slightly earlier in date than the right wing at the same place and caves II-VI. In this cave and in its left wing we see the provision of a path for circum-ambulation round the sanctum. In the main cave the indetermination of the architect is proved by the irregular position of the sanctum. The same architect or his successor remedied the defect in the left wing where the great bas-reliefs are given comparatively inconspicuous positions. In the second group of Hindu cave-temples the architect gets over the difficulty of providing a path of circum-ambulation by designing a verandah in front with an open but much larger pillared hall behind it for circum-ambulation around a moveable image to be placed on a slight eminence in the centre of the hall. He provided for the non-moveable image (*Achala-sthapana*) by excavating a small dark plain cell behind the pillared hall. The architect thus obtained full scope for the display of the decorative motifs and the great bas-reliefs in this fashion at Badami, Aihole and Udayagiri near Bhilsa. But this design was rejected by Rastrakuta architects towards the close of the eighth century. The kept, the bas-reliefs and the double path of circum-ambulation, but introduced a copy of a structurally built temple by imitating the spire. The pillared hall is not decorated with great bas-reliefs, which are placed around the base of the sanctum on the ground floor or at a distance, in the rock surfaces of the galleries. Art is still in the forefront and there exists, perhaps except for the great Trimurti at Elephanta, no finer *chef d'oeuvre* than the *Ravananugraha* bas-relief of Kailasa, in which the depiction of terror on the face of Parvati, the benign indifference of Siva and the Herculean toil of Ravana betrays the work of a great master and makes the total effect unsurpassed in the history of Indian sculpture. The bas-reliefs continue

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to be used for decorative purposes in later Rastrakuta specimens of Hindu cave-temples but the sense of propriety in display seems to have become gradually blunted in the architects as they receded in date from the model of the Kailasa.*

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INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS IN CONTEMPORARY EUROPE

BY PROF. SAILENDRANATH DHAR, M. A.

SOVEREIGN states, in their relations with one another, are not dependent on any code of laws and do not necessarily bind themselves by ethical or moral rules. International relations, therefore, very seldom present themselves as a uniform, consistent and coherent march of events, and thus do not admit of easy and methodical treatment by the political annalist. States, however, like organic lives, have a few simple cardinal instincts, and it is possible to interpret their whole history as a development of the imperative necessities of self-preservation, self-perpetuation and self-aggrandisement, which are the motive forces of evolution. On the other hand, as man is a compound of both body and mind, so states have sometimes attempted to transcend their natural and traditional limitations and guide their conduct in the interests of international welfare and cosmopolitan brotherhood. As yet, however, internationalism and cosmoplitanism have but little influence on the course of human history and the elemental and primitive forces have their full sway.

The first imperious necessity is existence, which involves defence against actual and potential enemies by all means possible, doing too much rather than too little. "Safety first" is a recognised principle in international politics, on which the last word has not yet been said after the greatest war in history. The bloody record of national and racial self-consciousness reflects the instinct for self-preservation. The other two instincts, viz, self-perpetuation and self-aggrandisement have their full play in human history and have produced generals and warriors, armies and slaves, empires and protectorates, civilisations and wars. In our study of the European history of the last few years, we shall examine numerous illustrations of these processes. In many cases these imperative needs and requirements have been frankly proclaimed and have been clearly and broadly set forth; in many more cases, however, they have been confused with each other and have been sought to be hidden under a cloud of pious impulses, shibboleths and idealism. The last great war, for example, arose in a frank spirit of economic imperialism. German violation of Belgian neutrality enabled England to claim that she entered the war for the preservation of the sanctity of international obligations and the rights of minor nations. America entered the war for the principle of self-determination and the war finally ended, on the dissolution of the empires of Russia, Austria, and Germany, on the note of making the world safe for democracy. Even within the last few years enough has happened to enable us to test the genuineness of these pretensions.

The active principles of international politics are those that reflect man's desire to better himself, to add to his possessions, to develop his personality. All this the West has sought to achieve by methods which involve the use of force; hence, the history of European progress has been full of wars. I do not say that in this respect there is any practical distinction between the East and the West; but the East has at least cherished the ideal of progress through service and self-effacement, which the West derides too hastily as synonymous with passivity and weakness. The history of modern Europe, says Lord Acton, is the development of revolution. Scarcely any modern state but has a long record of war and revolution. The Middle Ages practised private war. Economic war has existed for

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centuries, definitely, it is believed, since the Peace of Westphalia (1648). Social war, with class arrayed against class, poverty against wealth, inferiority against privilege, was known to Greece and Rome, and to Europe in the Middle Ages, besides the recent examples of the French Revolution and the Russian Revolution. Religious war is a category of its own and one of the most horrible pages in history.

The capitalistic organisation of the social system of Europe, like its political counterpart, is based on force and is the manifestation of the human instincts of self-aggrandisement and domination, which are the motive forces of human history. The constant struggle for control of markets and trade, the occasional collisions of rival nations competing for raw materials are but the political corrolaries of the capitalistic oraganisation of the nations of Europe. The great phenomenon of modern history, viz, the expansion of Europe, whereby the nations of the West are spreading their economic and political grip over the world is but the logical outcome of the Industrial Revolution which is but the expansion with the aid of science and human ingenuity of the primitive systems of production and distribution. The allied interventions in Russia after the last great war, the Japanese warfare in Siberia in 1918-22, the struggles of 1926 for the mining resources of the Riff, the oil of Mosul, the cotton of Syria, the trade and concessions of China, and many other struggles which are happening before our own eyes simply bear witness to the fact that the cardinal needs of man are the main springs of his political actions and are the governing forces in international relations though these may be clothed in suitable diplomatic language and represented as noble idealisms, such as "the white man's burden", "the sacred trusts of civilisation" etc.

The foreign policies of the leading states of Europe bear upon them the stamp of the economic and material needs of their peoples, and the influence of the needs of various nations upon one another. The foreign policy of Great Britain, for example, is governed by the following simple propositions: (1) that she is an island, (2) that she is a highly industrialised nation constantly in need of markets, (3) that there is only six weeks food for the people in the British Isles, and (4) that she has to depend upon foreign and overseas markets not only for the food she eats but in many cases for raw material. The paramount interests of her trade are secured by the acquisition of strategic positions, such as Gibralter, Bermuda, Singapore, etc., and the ever-vigilant policy of the British Foreign Office.

France, which unlike Great Britain, is a peninsula bulging out from the mainland of Europe and is nearly a self-contained economic unit has not had the same urgency as also the same opportunity for colonial and maritime expansion, though her position on the Mediterranean has enabled her to dominate Northern Africa and Syria, and her navy was not an inconsiderable enemy of England's in the eighteenth century. Her strategic position on land has given her more than once the hegemony of Western and Central Europe. Possessing, however, a stable population of forty millions and faced by Germany's constantly growing population of over sixty millions, her foreign policy is dominated by the note of security. Her victory in the last great war has not dissipated any of her fears on the subject.

Standing almost midway in the Mediterranean with her toe thrust insistently towards the east of North Africa, Italy has a vital interest in the Mediterranean. That interest was imperilled whilst for various reasons Italy was impotent to safeguard it, during the years which followed the Franco-German war. It was with ill-concealed anger that she saw the French occupation of Tunis and the creation of a strong naval base at Bizerta, an enterprise carefully fostered by Bismarck in order to detach Italy from France, which had won her unity—at a price—on the fields of Magneta and Solferino. Bismarck's policy was crowned with success when Italy, not out of any love of Germany and Austria but out of hostility against France, joined the Triple Alliance. That hostility was gradually diminished by the pacific policy of the French statesman Declasse; and Italy's acquisition of a foothold on the North African littoral by the seizure of Tripoli was regarded as a compensation for the loss of Tunis. This improved situation explains Italy's joining the Allies during the last great war. The emergence of a Mussolini and a fiery Fascism has, however, once more altered the situation. Italy is determined to have her place in the Mediterranean. The place she demands is, however, inconsistent with the vital interests of France. Hence the strained relations

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between Italy and France, which constitute the gravest menace to peace at the present day.

Russia under the Bolshevist regime, is a standing danger to world peace. She has not given up any of the lines of aggressive foreign policy pursued by the Czars, viz., mastery of the Baltic coast, dominance of the Balkans, peaceful penetration of Mongolia, a cautious policy in Manchuria and Persia, intrigue in Afghanistan, and the threat of an invasion of India. She cannot have forgotten the policy of the Czars : Trotsky * said,

"The question of Constantinople and the Straits was one of those rare questions on which the Czarist regime was not deceived".

Her recovery of the ground lost at Brest Litovsk is only a question of time. Her armed doctrine of proletarchy, furthermore, is a standing challenge to the capitialistic powers of the world. The Bolshevist leaders are believed to be actively pushing forward their scheme of a world revolution. The methods adopted by them are two-fold. †

The first is the steady infiltration into all the workers' organisations of the world, with the object of capturtng them and re-organising them along revolutionary lines. This is called the 'cell system' and the process is called 'boring from within'. A cell is a small group of Communist comrades which enters any labour unit which would tolerate them. Their duty is to gain converts for their ideas. In times of crisis these cells find fertile ground for their propaganda, and with 'gold from Moscow' have some times been able to create much trouble. They are believed to be pursuing this 'slow and heavy' method to the bitter end with the conviction that one day the sum of their exerted pressure will bring about a World Revolution, in which they cannot fail to share. The second method of the Bolshevists may be termed 'direct action'. This is to foster political revolts in every country and against every government and to try to link them up with one another in order to produce one great World Revolution. Zinoviev said, §

"The revolutionary movement in the Orient is a mighty river, which is ploughing its way through every obstruction. This is China, Japan, India. We have already scored some successes in China, and Canton reminds one very much of Moscow. Other important centres will probably follow".

* Quoted in John Carter . *Man in War*. P. 127
† *Ibid.* P. 125
§ *Ibid.* P. 126.

The remaining states of Europe may be grouped* under two classes, the war-guilty states, such as Germany, Austria, Hungary, and Bulgaria, and the peace-guilty states, such as Poland, Czecho-Slovokia, Yugo-Slavia, Greece. etc. The political status of the former group of states was dictated by the 'victorious' allies in the treaties of Versailles, Trianon, St. Germain, and Neuilles. Germany has had to submit to staggering reparations and the loss of rich territories. She has been deprived of Alsace and Lorraine, and the Rhineland at the behest of France. She has actually been robbed of Upper Silesia. The Poles have secured a corridor to Danzig running through East Prussia, the heart of Protestant Germany. On the top of this have come the loss of her colonies, her navy and merchant marine, her air force, and the reduction of her army to a mere skeleton. Her humiliation is indeed without parallel in history. Similar punishments have been meted out to the other vanquished nations.

The peace-guilty states are those who have made large acquisitions of territory by the treaties of 1918-19-20, and, conscious of the harm they have done to their neigbours. betray their uneasy sense in an apprehensive belligerency. Latvia, Lithuania, Esthonia and Finland feel bound to fear Russia. Poland, which is the most guilty of the peace-guilty states, is afraid of all her neighbours. The price she has to pay is the military dictatorship of Pilsudski and the conclusion of military pacts, such as those she has made with France and Roumania.

Czecho-Slovakia, which was created bodily out of the Austro-Hungarian empire, is consequently in league with the other despoilers of the Central Powers. She has organised a Little Entente with Yugo-Slavia and Roumania, which is affiliated with France by a number of military engagements. Roumania faces a bad conscience on three fronts. After the war with Austro-Hungary she siezed the Austrian Crownland in Bukowina, which had been Hungarian for centuries. On the south-west she faces Bulgaria, whom her treachery in 1913 despoiled of the Dobrudja. In 1919 she seized Besserabia from Russia. She is linked to the Little Entente against Hungary, but has only been able to secure a Polish alliance against Russia, her most deeply wronged enemy.

* See John Carter; *Man in War*, P. 299.

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Yugo-Slavia ranks with Poland in war-guilt. As the official Fascist Gazette* pointed out.

"Yugo-Slavia is suffering from territorial elephantiasis, for she includes within her borders Serbs, Croats, Slovenes, Germans, Hungarians, Rumanians. Bulgarians, Italians, Albanians, Montenegrins, and Gipsies...Yugo-Slavia is only an Austria of the Hapsburg era."

She has standing quarrels with Bulgaria over Macedonia, with Greece over the port of Salonica, with Italy over the Fiume, with Albania over the Drina valley, and with Hungary over the Banat, which she has divided with Roumania. In firm alliance with Czecho-Slovakia and Roumania against Hungary, she is also united to France against Italy. She has an army of fine fighting qualities, the remnants of the Austro-Hungarian navy, and, according to the latest reports, is pushing forward strategic and commercial railways to the Adriatic.

From the fore-going account of the political relations of the principal states of Europe it would appear that the last war has left national animosities and national ambitions much as they were before and has even brought in new complications. Indeed, there is more talk of war and rumour of war now that at any time since the Armistice. In an Anti-War Conference held in London last year, Signor Nitti, Ex-Prime Minister of Italy observed that in spite of the disarmament of the four defeated countries of Germany, Hungary, Austria and Bulgaria, there is actually a million more men under arms in Europe now than in 1914 and that Europe is spending exactly the same sum on military armaments as she was doing in 1913, the year in which military preparations reached their maximum. The reason for this deplorable condition, according to him, is the presence of dictators such as Mussolini, who, for their own selfish ends, are rousing the bellicose feelings of their peoples. Even without the much-maligned dictators, however, there is much inflammable material in Europe, as the following narrative will show. The dominant note of French foreign policy after the Great War, as has been previously observed, was security against Germany. The unparalleled national humiliation of Germany and the Allied occupation of the Rhinelands did not produce any sense of security in France, who set about encircling Germany by encouraging the formation of a Little Entente among the other spoilers of the Central Powers, viz., Czecho-Slavia, Yugo-Slavia, and Roumania; and while protesting her inability to pay her debts to Great Britain and to the United States she began to send money to Poland for the purpose of arming the Poles. In the sacred name of security, says Mr. George Glasgow, * she undermined the whole security of Europe. The climax was reached when the French occupied the Ruhr in 1923. In 1924, however, Mr. Macdonald succeeded in bringing France. Germany and England together by launching out the famous Geneva Protocol for the settlement of international disputes. On the fall of his government, however, the Conservative Foreign Secretary lost no time in imforming the world that England could not accept the obligations under the Protocol. Western Europe slipped back into a condition of confusion and insecurity, but in 1925 Sir Austen Chamberlain obtained a great triumph at Locarno, where France, England and Germany entered into engagements not to make war upon each other and to respect the inviolability of the frontiers of Germany, France and Belgium. While the Locarno Treaty is a conspicuous milestone in the history of European re-construction, it is to be regretted that no further advance has yet been made in the direction of peace in Europe. Locarno has stabilised Western Europe and tended to the formation of neighbourly relations between France and Germany. It is in a sense better and in another sense worse than Mr. Macdonald's Protocol—better because it is more definite and worse because it has not yet been followed up by other definite engagements, which together with itself would have secured the 'general outlawry of war' which Mr. Macdonald contemplated.

In the mean time the efforts of France to play politics in the Balkans in order to secure her own safety against Germany have landed her in trouble from the side of Italy. I have discussed previously the historical causes of controversy between France and Italy. These have been accentuated in the last few years on account of the clash of their interests in the Balkans. The Italian Government's view of the Balkan problem is a simple one. It is, in the words of a Fascist

* Otto Rothfield : *The Franco-Serbian Pact.*

* Georg e Glasgow : *From Dawes to Lacarno,*

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newspaper*, that "the way of Balkan and Danubian peace passes and will pass through Rome: whoever tries to ignore this reality will be frequently and profoundly deluded." In other words Signor Mussolini is determined that Italy must in future exercise a dominating influence throughout the whole of the Balkans, and any nation which tries to prevent this consummation is regarded as being actuated by unfriendly feelings towards Italy. France naturally refuses to subscribe to the view that her influence must disappear from the Balkans at the behest of the new will of Rome. The clash of interests which has taken place during the past few years must be counted as one of the principal reasons of the present ill-feeling between the two great latin countries.

There are unmistakable evidences that both France and Italy are using the states of the Balkan peninsula as political pawns in their own games. On November 14, 1927 Italy obtained a firm food-hold over Albania by signing with that small state the Treaty of Tirana, whereby they have guaranteed to each other mutual support and collaboration. This treaty has given the greatest offence to Yugo-Slavia, the one nation in the Balkans who is the most determined opponent of Italian expansion in the peninsula. This heterogeneous kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, Slovenes has many internal dissensions but one powerful factor uniting it, viz. the fear that Italy intends to make the Adriatic a closed Italian sea. The most suitable reply that France could give to the treaty of Tirana was, therefore, to conclude a pact with Yugo-Slavia, which has given grave displeasure to Italy, where demonstrations are reported to have been held protesting against French and Yugo-Slav 'provocations.' It is further reported that Mussolini has made another compact of a more binding nature with Albania. † These events have naturally produced a wide-spread impression that the actual outbreak of hostilities in Southern Europe is only a question of time. War, certainly, is against the vital interests of both France and Italy. After un-paralleled financial crisis both have now seen better days. It is difficult to believe that they are going to throw away the results of years of careful administration by a war, which, when it breaks out, must be on a gigantic scale. While these arguments on the side of peace are obvious, it is certainly disconcerting to hear from day to day of frontier incidents, which are calculated to bring about a rupture sooner or later. The Fascist press is indulging in a violent campaign against France, which is replying by giving asylum to refugees from Fascist vengeance, even, it is said, would-be assassins of Mussolini.

The pact between Yugo-Slavia and France affects not only Italy but also Hungary, between whom and Yugo-Slavia, as I have already pointed out, there is a standing quarrel. The pact ranks France on the side of the spoilers of Hungary. * It ranks her with Yugo-Slavia against rectification of the frontiers imposed by the Peace treaties. In this respect, the Pact occurs at a particulariy ill-chosen moment if public opinion has any value. British opinion, expressed in the House of Lords by public men of the political sanity of Lords Buckmaster, Carson and Newton, is coming round to the view that the Treaty of Trianon has left Hungary in a position that is intolerable and unsustainable. Sooner or later the question might be taken up in right earnest. In this case France would have to set her face against it. This will lead France still further from England and this accentuated divergence might range the two great powers in hostile camps and coalitions, in the same manner as before the war Germany and England stood at the head respectively of the Triple Alliance and the Triple Entente, which dashed themselves to pieces in the Great War.

A conspicuous and, according to many, sinister development † of modern international relations is the gradual rapproachment between Fascist Italy and the Conservative Government in England. On the 29th December 1925 Sir Austen Chamberlain met Signor Mussolini at Rapallo, presumably to secure Italian support in the event of trouble with Turkey over Mosul, which at that time was coming to a head. A fortnight later the question of the Italian debt to Britain was settled on terms which were exceedingly favourable to Italy; and Sir Austen, in a telegram to Signor Volpi the Italian Finance Minister, stated that this settlement would "facilitate the intimate co-operation in the field of politics between the two countries". The Rapallo

* Quoted by the *Times of India*, dated 26-11-27.
† Reuter's Cable published on 26-11-27.

* Otto Rothfield ; *The Franco-Serbian Pact.*
† Seymour Cocks : *The War Danger.*

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conversations caused much uneasiness in Paris and in the following month (February) a Treaty of Mutual Assistance in case of War was concluded between France and Turkey. While the mis-understanding between France and Italy over Albania, Tangier. Morocco, etc., went on multiplying Sir Austen again met Signor Mussolini at Leghorn on Sept. 30, 1926, when they confirmed the intimacy of Ango-Italian relations. The next significant event was the appearance of Mr. Winstone Churchill in the Mediterranean. After visiting Malta and Athens, Mr. Churchill came to Rome and had many interviews with Mussolini. All that he heard and saw in Italy perfectly enamoured him of Fascism and in his enthusiasm he is reported to have said, "If I had been an Italian I should have been whole-heartedly with you." No doubt he immensely increased the popularity of his government with the ruling classes in Italy.

The rapproachment between the British and Italian governments has unfortunately synchronised with the initiation by England of a new policy towards Russia. Liberal and labour leaders in England are desirous of promoting better understanding between the two countries, and Mr. Macdonald's government drafted two treaties with Soviet Russia in 1924. The Labour premier was fully alive to the situation caused by Russia's anti-British propaganda, and he was closely pursuing the subject, when his government fell, and the Conservatives came into office. His policy was at once reversed and the two draft treaties were not ratified. The belief is strong on the continent that Sir Austen's policy of intimate co-operation with the Italian government is actuated by hostility towards Russia, against which, it is said, the Conservative Government is organising a huge coalition consisting of Italy, the Baltic States, Poland and Roumania. This is forcibly expressed by a Roumanian newspaper, viz, the *Argos* of Bucharest, from which the following quotation was made in the *Manchester Guardian* on the 11th March, 1927 :—

"British policy with regard to Russia is now directed towards strengthening the position of the Border States, particularly Poland and Roumania, with the co-operation of Italy, which presupposes that Britain is prepared to support Italian ambitions in the Mediterranean and the Near East".

If there is any truth in this belief about Sir Austen's foreign policy there is real cause for alarm. If the Franco-Italian problem is linked up with the Anglo-Russian, there is evidently the possibility of a great war. Many people firmly believe that a big war is soon coming, specially in view of the fact that all practical proposals on the subject of disarmament have failed. A closer analysis of the European situation, however, dispels any such fear. France and Italy will not soon come to blows. Reuter sent a message (which was published on the 11th December, 1927) that the two governments are shortly appointing commissioners who are to examine all problems which stand in the way of a cordial understanding between the two countries. Again, the policy of boycotting Russia is certain to be reversed sooner or later. It is against the economic interests of the British people: hence it cannot stand for long. Mr. Ramsay Macdonald believes that the British public is coming round to this view. "The conviction," says he, "has come slowly but surely, that the more recent policy of Great Britain to Russia has contributed to our industrial distress, has lost us profitable trade, and has been no insignificant factor in the mischief which the Third International is doing in the world." The ex-premier believes that Russia in Revolution is ceasing to exist, that her hands are too full with her own internal questions to permit her to play a dangerous game in international politics, and that her participation in the Disarmament Conference in Geneva shows that Russia herself is prepared to revise her policy. It is difficult to say how far these arguments weigh with the present Government in England: the King's Speech and the Foreign Secretary's own statement on Foreign Policy are ominously silent on Russia. But there is no doubt that the present situation cannot last long for the further reason that Disarmament in Europe is impossible without Russia, and Disarmament is the most vital need of Europe.

The problem of disarmament, which is associated with two other problems, viz, those of arbitration and security, has presented numerous difficulties and no satisfactory solution has yet been reached. The famous Washington Conference of 19.0 resulted in an agreement being reached between England, America, and Japan as regards their battleship strength; but the Geneva Conference which was held last year resulted in a fiasco when America proposed that the Washington naval ratio should be applied to cruisers also.

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England refused to accept this limitation of her cruiser strength, because she said she needed a large cruiser service to patrol the empire's far-flung lines of communication. Since then, Americans and Englishmen are blaming each other for the failure. It has also enabled the Big Navy Group to raise the cry of "America in Danger" and it is partly responsible for the huge naval estimates submitted for approval of Congress. It is however fortunate that America has cut short her original estimates and that England has refused to enter into a race of naval armaments with America.

On the subject of the reduction of military armaments there seem to be two schools of thought in Europe. The first would have disarmament by an open and full use of the League of Nations. Their idea is to declare aggressive war as an international offence, the same to be defined as the refusal to submit one's dispute to arbitration by the League of Nations, In case of any nations or nations trying to do so, other nations are to use all means in their power, including in the last instance also war, to bring the offenders to book. This was the idea behind Mr. Macdonald's famous Geneva Protocol for the settlement of international disputes. Its fate was sealed by the refusal of the Conservative government to accept it, though it found support from France and some small nations. The other school would have security by particularising causes of dispute and have regional understandings and bilateral agreements on arbitration and security. Sir Austen is strongly in favour of this method. His objections to the Protocol are that it would make Great Britain the unpaid police force in Europe. He says that those states which fail to find security within the framework of the Covenant should conclude security pacts with other states in the same geographical area. His first (perhaps the only) triumph was secured at Locarno where a Treaty of Mutual Guarantee was drawn up between Germany, France, Belgium, Great Britain and Italy, and Arbitration treaties were concluded between (1) Germany and Poland, (2) Germany and France, (3) Germany and Belgium, and (4) Germany and Czecho-Slovakia. This great Treaty is spoken of as introducing a new epoch in the international relations of Western Europe, but it is regretted that it has not been followed up by other engagements of equal value and import. Nevertheless, it seems Europe is showing signs of stabilisation; and if Russia's participation last year in the Disarmament Conference at Geneva really means, as many people hope, that she is coming back to Europe, it may actually be that we are on the threshold of a new era in Europe. In this new era certainly, disarmament should be a feature. On the note of Hope and Expectancy, then, one can now bring this review of European politics to an end. (27-2-1228).

(*Read at a meeting of the Graduates' Association, Indore*)

THE FOSTER-MOTHER

By SITA DEVI

BINODINI had lived in Rangoon for about three or four years. But her face expressed anything but regret, when she heard from her husband, that perhaps they would have to leave it for good.

"Don't you feel sorry at all?" asked her husband Nripesh. "You have lived here a pretty long time."

Binodini frowned as she replied, "Not a bit. What is there to feel sorry for?" After a while, she added, "The only thing that troubles me is anxiety for Khoka (baby boy)."

"Why trouble about Khoka?", asked her husband, "he is going with you."

"He is", his wife said, "but his 'Amma' is not. If she is not with him, he will neither eat nor sleep. He will pester me to death within two days. He is old enough, too, to have a memory and won't easily forget. No other servant would do for him."

Khoka was the only child of Nripesh and

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Binodini. He was fortunate enough to possess a personal attendant, viz, an Ayah. Everybody in the house called her Ayah, but Khoka for reasons known only to himself, called her 'Amma' (mother). The Ayah hailed from Madras, was about forty years of age, of a very dark complexion, and possessed of a very hot temper. She must have possessed some sort of a name among her relatives and friends, but none in this house knew of it. She was just Ayah and Amma here. She came at the time when Khoka came and all knew that she had come to stay. She knew it, too.

But trouble arose with this question of leaving Burma. The Ayah won't leave the land of her adoption and Khoka won't leave the Ayah. What was to be done?

"Nothing can be done", said Nripesh to his wife. "Be prepared to listen to his howls for a few days at least. She might love him like her own child, but she won't be willing to leave her land, her friends and relatives for his sake."

"But what's the harm in asking her?" Binodini asked. "We are not compelling her to go. After all, she is a woman, and women are accustomed to leave everything—home, friends and relatives, for the sake of love."

"Very well', said Nripesh, "do as you please."

Just at this moment Khoka came back from his morning walk, with his Ayah. Binodini hesitated a bit, then laid her proposal before the Ayah.

The woman remained silent for a few minutes. Probably she was weighing the pros and cons in her mind. Then a sigh escaped her. "I will go, madam", she said.

Binodini was astonished. She had never thought that the Ayah would agree and agree so quickly. "I shall increase your pay", she said.

"I don't want it, madam", the woman answered. "Give me twenty rupees, as usual. I am not going for the money." Saying this she took up her small charge, and started out for a walk again. Binodini did not prevent her, though the sun was quite hot. A great load seemed to be off her mind, now that the Ayah had consented to go. Her boy was too turbulent to be managed by any other person. During the day time, his mother could suffer him somehow, but at night he was insufferable, because he did not believe in letting anybody rest. Some nights, he would go on shouting for eight or ten hours with undiminished vigour. Neither scolding nor spanking could stop him. He insisted on being carried about. He failed to understand, that night was scarcely the proper time for such exercise. Nripesh lost his temper completely one night, and gave him a hearty slap on the cheek. Needless to say, it did not have the desired effect, but quite the contrary. Binodini's upbraidings, mixed with the howls of her offspring, finished whatever hope he had of getting any sleep.

Morning came, and Nripesh found to his dismay, that there were much more in store for him. The nocturnal lectures of his wife were barely the preliminary. When the Ayah heard, on her arrival, that Khoka had been beaten at night for howling, she forgot time, place and person and began to give her opinion of such conduct. In this line. even Rangoon possessed no rival to Khoka's Amma. So Nripesh swallowed his morning cup of tea in a hurry and went out, while Binodini devoted her entire attention to a piece of long-forgotten embroidery. Only the cook, Haranath, turned up his nose and made some remarks about spoiling servants with too much indulgence.

That evening, as usual, Binodini hurried Haranath to get dinner ready for Khoka and herself. The Ayah used to leave at half past seven in the evening and Binodini had to finish her dinner before that; otherwise she had to go without it, owing to the pranks of of her son. Khoka was given his dinner by the Ayah, then she took him away to put him to bed.

The Ayah would leave as soon as the boy fell asleep. But this evening, Binodini found her still in the house, as she came in, after finishing her dinner. She was sleeping on a torn mat, by the side of Khoka's cot. Binodini was astonished and, after standing silent for a few minutes, she shook the Ayah up. "Won't you go home?" she asked.

The woman yawned and sat up. She was going to stay on, she said. She would not let Khoka be beaten for crying at night. Let master and madam sleep, she would carry the child about. If madam would kindly give her four pice, she would buy some bread for supper.

Binodini was so overjoyed at the prospect of a peaceful night, that she gave the woman four annas instead of the four pice, she asked for.

This arrangement became permanent.

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Nripesh and Binodini were dismissed from the service of their young hopeful at night. The Ayah took their place. She would walk about the greater part of the night, with the boy in her arms, but she did not seem at all exhausted at the break of day. She would work as hard as ever. Binodini felt a bit ashamed about it, and proposed an increase in wages. But the Ayah refused. She was alone in the world, she said. What would she do with more money?

Thus a few months passed by, then came this plan of leaving Burma. Even this failed to make the Ayah give up. Binodini was really surprised and ran to Nripesh with the news as soon he came in. "Look here," she said, "Khoka is right in calling her Amma. She must have been his own mother in some previous birth, otherwise she would never make such a sacrifice for him."

Nripesh diverted the conversation into another channel, with a timely joke.

The day fixed for their departure soon arrived. Binodini finished her packing with great difficulty. The pile of luggage was a sight! The Ayah did not take long to pack, as her luggage consisted of a single basket. She walked about the lane furiously with Khoka in her arms. She had a life-long acquaintance with this soil. She was leaving it now, perhaps for ever. God alone knew whether she would ever return.

When actually in the steamer she became extremely uncomfortable. This was her first voyage. She became sea-sick almost at once. But Khoka was a hard taskmaster. He howled as usual to be carried about. His mother tried to soothe him and bribed him profusely with oranges, biscuits and sweets, but Khoka refused to be quiet. Then Nripesh came and pulled the boy by the arm. This cured the Ayah. She sat up and, taking the child from his father, staggered away to the deck with him.

The three days in the steamer passed by in this fashion. Landing in Calcutta, Binodini sighed with relief. Nripresh, too, looked forward to meeting his old friends and relatives. Only Khoka and his Ayah remained with clouded faces.

But one gets accustomed to every condition in life. Gradually the streets and lanes became familiar, she got acquainted with the shopmen and could tell you where they sold cheap and where they sold dear. The neighbours, too, became friendly, though she could not speak Bengali, and understood it but little. She had accepted her fate. There was not going to be any more trouble on her account.

But trouble was brewing in another quarter, behind the curtain which separates things seen from things unseen. Fate was preparing to strike a blow. Suddenly, an illness of a few days carried off Binodini, leaving her well-ordered home devastated and her husband and child desolate. Nripesh got such a shock that for a week or two, he could not even look at the face of the world.

He was in business. The loss of his dearly beloved wife made him neglect it too much. The consequence was that it was ruined, leaving him in debt up to his neck.

But however heart-broken a man might be, he has to go out in search of food. If he is alone in the world, he gets leave to mourn, for a few days. But one, who has got other mouths to fill, does not get even that much consolation. So Nripesh did not get leave to weep for his wife. He had to go out in search of work, because he had a son. Jobs are not to be had for the asking in Calcutta, and only candidates know how hard it is to secure one. But Dame Fate had got tired of Nripesh for a moment after having shown such a good deal of attention to him. So he found a job of a kind. It was none too good, but good enough for him in his present position. He left his old house and rented a small one in a dark dingy lane of the metropolis.

Then trouble began about the servants. It was impossible to keep both now. He could not afford such a luxury on his present salary. But one servant could hardly do the work of both. Even when his wife was living, they needed two servants. So it was out of the question now, to try to do with one. But one must consider one's financial condition, too.

Nripesh decided to send the cook Haranath away. The Ayah would have to manage the cooking somehow. He knew, she would not be much of a success in that line, at first, but they would have to bear it. But he could not think of sending the Ayah away. She was a woman and she had been brought away from her home and relatives, and so had a special claim on them. Then nobody else could manage the child. His mother had left him and now if the Ayah left, too, it would be a hard job to keep the child from pining away. So Haranath left. Nripesh secured a post for him in a friend's

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house and sent him there. The Ayah went to cook, with Khoka in her arms. She used tamarind and pepper with a free hand and served breakfast to Nripesh. But the poor gentleman choked on the first mouthful. He was afraid of hurting the Ayah's feeling, and so tried to go on bravely. But she did not lack in intelligence. She understood, and tears of shame started to her eyes.

Next day, Nripesh went and fetched back Haranath. This time the Ayah left of herself. She knew very well that the Babu could not afford to keep two servants. As she could not manage alone, she went. She fled, leaving Khoka, in the dark. Nripesh asked where she was going. She replied that a fellow-countrywoman of hers lived close by. She would put up with her for a day or two, then she would look for another job.

Nripesh was at his wit's end. He did not know what to do. He could have done without eating, but how to manage his work, with Khoka thrown completely in his hands, and how to find time for eating, bathing and sleeping ?

The meals were all right that day, thanks to Haranath, but troubles were in store for him at night. He worked up to twelve, leaving Khoka in the charge of Haranath. The poor man ran about like one demented, with the howling child in his arms. After finishing his work, Nripesh went to sleep. Haranath came and deposited Khoka by his side with a sigh of relief. After shrieking continually for three or four hours, the child had fallen asleep, exhausted. So a faint hope began to glimmer in his father's mind, that perhaps the night might pass off in peace.

But it proved to be completely futile. Khoka was punctual as an alarm clock, and his howls broke the stillness of the night just at the usual time. Haranath deserted his master most treacherously. Nripesh called him again and again, but his sleep was too deep to be disturbed. So he carried about his son in a rage with the whole creation. Khoka would have received the spanking of his life, but the memory of his dead mother, paralysed his father's arm. Khoka was motherless and on the highway to becoming fatherless as well, if he went on at this rate. He wanted to throttle the Ayah in his rage. She need not have made such a show of self-respect. Nobody had asked her to go.

That day, while in the office, he confided his troubles to many of his friends. He was too anxious to work properly. He wondered what the boy was doing. He had lost much of his faith in Haranath. He knew now that the man would not go much out of his way, in order to take proper care of Khoka.

The friends gave him proper advice. "How long will you continue in this state ? they asked. "Marry a grown-up girl, and she will take care of the child, as well as of you. Servants will never look after children properly." Nripesh felt so disgusted that he could barely answer them civilly.

Returning home, he was presented with a long list of the misdeeds of his son, by Haranath. He could find no solution to this problem. He told Haranath he did not want any dinner, and sat down in his room to think. He could hear plainly Khoka's violent protests against being fed by Haranath. He was kicking the plates and glasses, biting and scratching Haranath, and generally making himself as troublesome as he possibly could.

Nripesh sat down to work, ordering Haranath to put the child to sleep as quickly as possible.

Haranath had no objection. He ran about with Khoka, swang him in his arms, danced him up and down, sung to him in his harsh cracked voice and thus managed to put him to sleep finally. Nripesh looked at his watch and found it was nearly half past nine. He was feeling utterly exhausted for many reasons, and so did not feel like working up to twelve at night. He laid himself down by the sleeping Khoka, hoping to snatch a bit of sleep. That Khoka would not allow a long respite, he know very well.

But when finally he woke up, the sun was quite high up in the heavens. He was amazed and looked at his watch. It indicated a quarter to nine. He looked beside him, where Khoka had been sleeping. He shouted for his servant and asked him when he came, where the child had gone.

Haranath had entered with a face as clouded as the July sky. With the same expression on his face, he replied, "He hase gone out for a walk with his Amma."

Nripesh could hardly believe his ears, "With his Amma ?" He asked again, "When did she come ?"

"She came back last evening and was hiding in that small room," the servant replied. "I did not see her then. But as Khoka got up, crying, in the night, she came out. She carried him about till five in the morning. Just half an hour ago, she got up

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from her sleep and took Khoka out for a walk".

A load seemed to be lifted from Nripesh's mind. He could have done without his meals, but he could not brook the howls of his son day and night. Besides the child was suffering from extreme neglect. He saw that he could not afford to be economical at his son's expense. He must either earn more, or cut down expenses elsewhere.

Haranath had been standing before him up to this. He wanted to know what the master decided. Upon seeing that he kept silent, he muttered, "Then dismiss me, sir."

"Who will cook then ?" Nripesh asked.

Haranath cheered up, "Then shall the Ayah go ?" he asked.

"Who will look after the boy ?" the master asked.

"You said you would not keep two", Haranath said, a bit surprised.

"That's none of your concern," Nripesh said. "Go and attend to your kitchen". Haranath went away, disgusted.

The Ayah came back at this moment, with her little charge. She saluted Nripesh silently, and went in. Nripesh called her back.

The Ayah surmised that there was going to be some discussion about her pay. So before Nripesh could say anything, she began on her own side of the case. She could not live without the child, she said. She had left country and kin for him. So how could she give him up now ? She knew that the master was hard up. Very well, she did not want wages. She would be content to work for board and lodging. She would keep an account and take all the money due to her from Khoka, when he grew up and became a judge. Khoka's mother left the child in her care, at the time of her death. So she was determined to stay.

The matter dropped there, for the time being. Nripesh thought that he was at the end of his troubles. Everything went on all right, except for the perpetual warfare between the cook and the Ayah. In a few days Nripesh understood that this thing was not as negligible as it appeared. Haranath was an old servant and the Ayah was a woman who had sacrificed much for him. He did not know whose side to take. So he went on perpetually postponing the settlement of their disputes. The result was not very satisfactory. An open quarrel would have cleared the atmosphere, but now it went on boiling like subterranean lava and threatened dire happenings. These two became sworn enemies. There was no doubt that they would at once fly at each other's throat, if opportunity occurred.

Suddenly, trouble appeared from another point of the compass. Nripesh had a neighbour of the goldsmith caste. Whatever these people might lack, they did not lack money. Money shrieked aloud from everything they said, did and wore.

One fine morning, a very small child of this house was found riding on a tricycle. The whole neighbourhood looked on agape. The child's small legs could hardly reach the pedals, but somehow it had got into the heads of their relatives that rich peoples' children rode on tricycles. So a tricycle had been procured and a servant was dragging it about, with its small rider, from one end of the lane to the other.

As soon as Khoka saw the thing, he jumped down from Ayah's arms and ran towards it. The Ayah picked him up again, asking, "Where are you going ?"

Khoka struggled frantically, saying he would not be carried about, he wanted a tricycle too. The Oriya servant, in charge of the other small boy, grinned from ear to ear at this demand of Khoka. He was immensely pleased at the affluence of his own master and at the poverty of the Ayah's. The Ayah called him every sort of name, she could remember, and, taking Khoka forcibly up, came back home, still shouting vituperations. Haranath poked his head out of the kitchen and asked what the matter was.

In reply, the Ayah made sweeping generalisations about the Oriya people, which had they heard it, would have been far from pleasing to them. Khoka's shrieks of rage continued unabated.

Nripesh came back at this time from his morning walk and told Haranath to hurry with his breakfast : otherwise he would be late for office. Khoka ran to his father and pulled him by the sleeve of his coat. Nripesh passed his hand over his son's curly hair, asking, "What's it Khoka ?"

"Will you buy me a tricycle, father ?" asked Khoka.

Nripesh could never refuse anything to anybody. He did not know how to do it. So without stopping to think for a moment, he replied at once, "Yes, I shall. But let me go to my office now, or the Sahib will beat me."

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But Khoka was too eager to secure the tricycle, and did not let him off so easily. "When will you bring it ?", he asked ; "in the evening ?"

Nripesh had to get rid of him at any cost. "I shall bring it to-morrow morning," he said. This mention of a definite time, satisfied his son, who now left hold of his father and went away.

Nripesh forgot all about it, the minute he left his house, but his son's memory proved to be very much stronger. Next morning, Nripesh got up and found trouble ready for him. Khoka was refusing to wash his face, take his breakfast, or to go out. He had been promised a tricycle, and he was waiting for it.

Nripesh was at his wit's end. How could he purchase anything so costly ? It was as much as he could do to make two ends meet. Why was he fool enough to make such a promise ? He could have bought it, had he been able to borrow some money. But his friends were not fools. They were ready enough to borrow, but seldom to lend.

But he must pacify the aggrieved motherless child. So he covered one mistake by making another mistake. "Go darling and play," he comforted his son, "I shall bring it certainly to-morrow, I promise you." Khoka was satisfied for the time being and he went to have his milk.

After finishing his office work Nripesh tried everywhere to purchase a tricycle on credit, or on the instalment payment system. But nobody agreed to give him credit. Next he tried to borrow money, but was unsuccessful. Late in the evening he returned home beaten and hopeless, and fell down on his bed, exhausted. The servant tried to persuade him to have dinner, but he refused.

Next morning, he felt too sick at heart, to wish to get up. How was he going to show his face to Khoka ? He covered himself up to his head in his blanket, and remained lying on his bed. But Khoka was not to be fooled so easily. He came up and began to try to full off the blanket, crying, "Get up father, it is late. Won't you bring me my tricycle now ?"

Nripesh's heart seemed about to burst. Oh, shame on his life and love ! He had not power enough to satisfy his child's smallest demand. What answer could he give his son ?

Khoka finally succeeded in pulling off his blanket. "Where is my tricycle ?" he asked. "When are you going to bring it ?"

Nripesh pushed away his son in desperation. "Go away", he said ; "you are a naughty child. You tease me very much."

Khoka had never been so treated in his small life. He threw himself down on the floor, and began to scream as loud as he could. The Ayah was busy in the next room. Hearing him cry, she rushed in, and picked him up. She looked at Nripesh, intending to give him a piece of her mind, but found that he had covered his face with both hands and tears were trickling from between the fingers.

She went out of the room, carrying Khoka. She brought him a large quantity of sweets, which made him forget his woes for the time being. Then she asked, "Why did you hurt father ? You are very naughty."

Khoka was surprised at the charge. He had not hurt father, he replied. On the other hand, his father had pushed him away. The Ayah told him not to pester his father for the tricycle any more and then she would give him a very good present. Father would cry, if he asked for it again. Good children should not make their father cry.

It was too great a sacrifice to ask of Khoka. But he had received a great shock, on seeing his father cry. It had rendered him speechless temporarily. So looking at the Ayah, with sad eyes, he agreed to her terms.

When the Ayah came back with Khoka, she found that Nripesh had neither taken his tea, nor gone out. He was sitting in the same place, like one petrified. She put down the child. He went and stood by his father and said, "Father, take your tea, I won't ask you for the tricycle again."

Nripesh rushed into the next room, to hide his tears. Khoka looked at Ayah, and found her in tears, too. This was too much and he cried out aloud. He could not understand why everybody should cry at the mention of the tricycle. The Ayah quieted him with great difficulty.

After finishing her breakfast, in the afternoon, she put the child to sleep, and prepared to go out. She never spoke to Haranath, if she could avoid it. But to-day she went to him of her own accord and spoke to him very civilly. She was going out on urgent business, she said. Would Haranath kindly look after the child for a bit and give him his milk after he got up ? She would be sure to return before four in the evening.

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Haranath had not the slightest intention of doing anything for her. But he had to agree, as he did not know how to refuse.

Khoka got up at the usual time, and began to shout when he found that the Ayah was absent. When Haranath went to give him his milk, he kicked the cup of milk out of his hand. Fortunately, the Ayah returned within a few minutes, otherwise things would have gone badly with Khoka and Haranath.

At the sight of the Ayah, Khoka was about to begin his howls again, when he was picked up suddenly and carried to the bedroom. Next moment, he found himself seated on a tricycle, and being dragged from this side of the room to that. Khoka's joy knew no bounds. Haranath rushed in to find out the cause of the sudden silence, and upon finding it, went away, very much dissatisfied. Haranath took money from his master, whereas the Ayah worked without any remuneration, whatever. So Haranath felt himself a bit inferior to the Ayah. Now that the Madrasi woman had got this tricycle, she would go higher up in the master's estimation. But where did she get the money ?

As soon as Nripesh returned, Haranath rushed to him with the news. He was surprised and sent for the Ayah at once. When she came, he asked her where she got the money from, to buy the tricycle. The Ayah answered that Khoka's mother had left a certain sum of money with her, at the time of her death. It was to be used for the child, in case of urgent necessity. She had bought the tricycle with that money.

The thing seemed credible enough. Nripesh felt a little hurt at the thought that Binodini had not done justice to him. She could not believe that he would look after the child carefully enough. She need not have left money for her son. That money, too, she had not left with him, but with the Ayah. Was she afraid that he would steal it ?

But the next moment he felt ashamed of his thoughts. Had not his treatment of their son justified Binodini's actions ? He could not fulfill the slightest wish of the boy. It was because Khoka's mother knew his worthlessness. that she had acted like that.

Khoka was about to give up food and drink at the joy of possessing the tricycle. He would have remained on it day and night, had he been given his own way. Haranath could run faster, dragging the tricycle. So Khoka wanted him all the time and had no use for the Ayah. In the morning, even before she had got up, Haranath and Khoka were out in the lane with the tricycle. Even the Oriya servant of the other house looked on amazed at their rompings and joyous shouts.

A fierce look came into the woman's eyes. She went down into the lane and called, "Come darling, have your milk."

The child shook its head violently, saying, "Shan't. Don't want milk. Faster, Haranath!"

The Ayah picked him up bodily from the tricycle. Addressing Haranath, she delivered a very sharp speech. Those servants she said, who were most eager for money, were the least eager for doing their work properly. He had not yet lighted the kitchen fire, was the Babu's breakfast going to be cooked on air ? Who asked him to take out Khoka ? There were other persons to take care of him.

Khoka protested violently against this forcible removal from the tricycle. He bit and kicked the Ayah, and tore out her hair by the handful. But she did not let go. She brought him upstairs and made him take his milk, bread and eggs. As soon as she released him, he ran straight to the kitchen. "Come out, Haranath," he called ; "let's run a race again."

Haranath had not courage enough to declare open warfare against the Ayah, though he was ready enough to backbite and slander. He knew very well that he would be no match for her in warfare. He would have to acknowledge defeat within five minutes and an appeal to the master would bring no satisfactory results. So he refused Khoka's invitation very promptly. He went on putting coal in the oven, saying, "No, little master, you go to your Ayah. If I take you out again, she will swallow me up alive. I don't want to butt in. I have enough work of my own."

So Khoka had to return to his Ayah. But her heart seemed to have become paralysed. It did not seem to fill to overflowing with joy, when she clasped Khoka in her arms. The child seemed different somehow. It was not the same Khoka, who preferred Amma even to his own mother. Even such an utter good-for-nothing as Haranath could entice him away. She went on with her daily routine of washing, feeding and putting the child to sleep, but the joy seemed to have gone out of all these. She

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passed the afternoon somehow, and towards evening, prepared to take out the child for a walk.

But as soon as she had finished dressing him, he began to cry for the tricycle. The Ayah got fed up and threatened to throw the thing into the river, if he howled for it day and night. If she had known that he would be so naughty, she would not have got it for him.

Khoka struggled out of her arms and ran to Haranath. "Come out, Haranath," he called. "I shall play with you. Amma is wicked, I won't go to her."

Haranath put his head out of the kitchen-door and said, "No darling, go to your Amma. I cannot fight with her all the time for you."

His tone was sarcastic, and it made the Ayah's bones burn with anger. But she was afraid of the child falling down the stairs. So she had to go and pick him up again.

The child held to its purpose. He wanted the tricycle. The Ayah felt inclined to tear her own hair in anger. Why on earth did she go and get the hateful thing? The child was getting estranged from her.

She held out many lovely promises to the child, and for the time being he gave up the project of riding on the tricycle. They were to go by tram to the zoological gardens, the Ayah said, and look at huge tigers and elephants. But when after an hour's walking about, they neither got into a tram nor reached the zoological gardens, Khoka became furious with his Amma. Reaching home, he ran to his father first with this tale of the Ayah's faithlessness, then to Haranath. Whe she came to give him his milk, he bit with all his might into her hand.

The Ayah was fed up with his temper. So giving him a small slap on the back, she cried out, "You are a most naughty boy. Look, how my hand is bleeding."

As Khoka let out a howl of rage, at this treatment, Haranath ran to him and picked him up. He passed his hand over and over the child's body, saying, "It's true what people say;—'one who shows more affection, than a mother, must be a witch.' As soon as the child's father turns his back, the child gets it all right, though in his father's presence, he is nearly choked with caresses. But who shall tell him? We are mere servants who work for money."

Though the Ayah did not know much Bengali, she could gather the gist of Haranath's harangue. Any other time, this would have led to a miniature civil war. She would have made short work of him. But she had lost heart at the child's faithlessness. So she remained silent, only her eyes glared like those of a tigress, bereft of her cubs.

Next morning, the tricycle had disappeared. Khoka howled loud enough to bring down the skies. Nripesh began to rebuke the servant for leaving the front door open at all times. Haranath went on retorting with innuendoes. There might be thieves inside, he hinted. The Ayah alone remained silent.

After the storm had blown over, the house became unnaturally silent. Nripesh sat down to his work, Haranath went to the bazaar. Khoka cried himself to sleep, leaving half his milk untasted. The Ayah sat silent on the verandah.

Suddenly Haranath rushed in, very much excited, "Sir," he cried, "the tricycle has been traced."

The figure of the woman on the verandah became tense with some feeling. "Where is it?" asked Nripesh.

"There is a shop in the street corner, run by a Madrasi," Haranath said. "They repair and sell old cycles there. The Ayah had taken the cycle there early in the morning. She has told them to sell it."

Nripesh could hardly believe his ears. Why should the Ayah behave like this? She had never misappropriated a penny worth of thing ever since she came to work. As long as she had worked for pay, she had spent most of her earnings on the child. And now that she worked without pay, she took even greater care of the child. Why did she do it? But Haranath would never dare to bring such a charge against her, unless he was positively certain. He had too much respect for his skin. Nripesh did not know what to do.

"Are you quite certain?" he asked Haranath.

"Should I speak if I was not certain? he replied. "She is not my enemy, that I should bring false charges against her. We have worked together for many years."

Nripesh called the Ayah. She came in and stood waiting. Nripesh asked her whether she had removed the tricycle. She confessed she had done so.

Nripesh found himself in a greater fix

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than ever. What was he to do with her? He could not think of handing her over to the police. The amount of money, he owed her, for her services, would have easily fetched half a dozen tricycles. She must have done it because she was in want. Nripesh had never given her anything, even for necessary expenses. He was more to blame, because he had driven her to theft, with his want of consideration. He did not even want to dismiss her, because then there would be nobody to take care of the child. But he must reprimand her, otherwise the other servants would begin to follow her.

But even this was very hard to do. Nobody had ever rebuked her. All seemed to have forgotten that she was a paid servant. She had lived like one of the family. So Nripesh did not know how to begin. After much deliberation, he said, "But never do it again. If you want money, ask me for it."

Haranath had been waiting outside, with his shopping basket in hand, eager to hear the sentence passed on the Ayah. But when he heard it, a burning wave of anger swept over him. Why did not the master offer the hateful woman ten rupees as a reward? Had not she done a very noble deed? He went off muttering to herself.

As soon as Haranath had gone, the Ayah seemed to wake up from a trance. "I shall go, Babu," she said. "I won't work here any more. I shall send back the tricycle."

Leaving Nripesh speechless with perplexity, and never casting a look at Khoka, the woman passed out of the house. When Nripesh sent Haranath after her, to bring her back, she was no longer to be seen.

They looked after the child somehow between them. Nripesh had given up all hopes of going to his office, when the unexpected re-appearance of the tricycle facilitated matters for him. A young Madrasi boy brought it over, but he could give them very little information. He could only say that a woman had placed it with them early in the morning, and had just a while ago asked him to bring it over here. He knew her but very slightly and could not say where she had gone.

The days passed on, one by one. Khoka gave his father no end of trouble, but as nothing was heard of the Ayah, he had no option but to bear it. Haranath could not cope with all the work, single-handed, so a part-time maid-servant also made her appearance. The work was done no better, but the silence of the house was shattered with interminable quarrels between the two servants.

Nearly a month had gone by. One morning, Nripesh was trying vainly to work with Khoka seated on his lap. Haranath came in and informed him that a man was asking to see him.

Nripesh told him to bring the man inside. A minute later, an old Chinese, followed Haranath into the room. Nripesh stared at the man, in amazement. He wondered what the fellow wanted with him.

Upon being questioned, the man answered in broken English that he had a pawnshop near-by. A woman who gave this address as that of her own, had pawned a gold necklace with him some time ago. But he was being called home, on very urgent business. So he was informing all his clients. If they paid back the money within twenty days he would give up the interest and return them their things. Else he would have to sell up and go away.

Nripesh asked on what date the woman had borrowed money. The Chinese gave the exact date.

Nripesh saw everything clearly now. It was not Khoka's dead mother, but the living foster-mother, who had given up her all to bring a smile to the baby face. He knew the gold necklace. When Binodini was alive, the Ayah would sometimes put it round her white neck, to see how it suited her. She always used to say that she was keeping it for a present to Khoka's bride.

Nripesh dismissed the Chinese, saying that the woman did not work there any longer.

Days passed on again. But the atmosphere of the house grew darker and darker. The fountain of love had dried up. Of the two who were the personification of love in this home, one had been taken away by God. Another disappeared behind the mysterious veil of destiny, and Nripesh never knew anything more about her.

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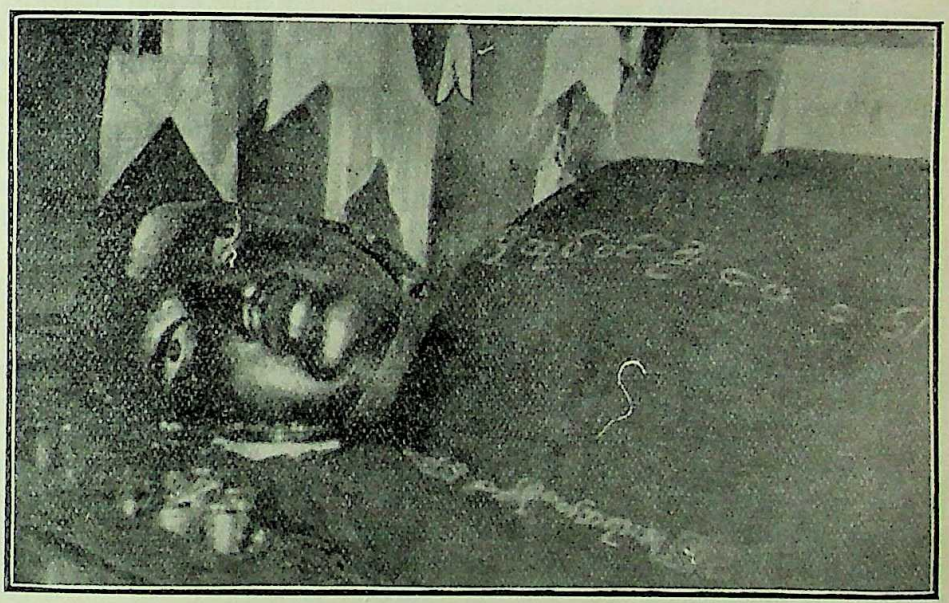
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THE NIRVANA STATUE OF BUDDHA

By The Late SATYENDRA MOHUN KUNDA

Research Scholar, National Council of Education, Jadabpur.

THIS colossal statue, of which a photograph is being published for the first time, was discovered by Mr. Carlleyle, in the Nirvana temple at Kasia in the seventies of the last century. Both the temple and the statue were found in a damaged condition. Carlleyle restored the temple, and the Statue was also repaired by him with its fragments found buried within and below the pedestal. It is said in the texts that at the time of the Great Decease, the Buddha had lain upon his right side with his head to the north and legs one upon the other. Accordingly, the image depicts him reclining on his right side, the head resting on a cushion pointing to the north and the face turned to the west. The right hand is folded and placed under the right cheek, while the left is stretched along the body. The hair is represented in curls and there is the prominent "ushnisa." The body is covered with drapery characterized by folds. In front of the pedestal there are three figures in mourning attitude, one of which, Subhadra, the last convert of Buddha, sits with his back turned towards the visitor. The statue is made of reddish sandstone. It is 20 ft long and 3 ft high. The length of the pedestal is 23 ft 9 in the breadth 5ft 6 in. the height varying from 1ft. 3 in. to 2 ft. 6 in. The Buddhists, who now worship in the temple, have painted the sculpture in gold dust and covered it with silken robes which hide the limbs and the sculptured drapery from view.



The Nirvana Statue of Buddha

Below the central figure of the pedestal there is an inscription which has been deciphered by Dr. Fleet as follows.

(1) Dèyadharmmô=yani mahāvihārasvamino Haribalasya.

(2) Pratimā ch=eyani Ghatitā Rène... Ma (?) Svarena"*

Dr. Vogel supplies "na" for the missing syllable and reads 'mathurena' for 'masvarena'† so that the translation runs as follows.

"This is the gift of Haribala, master of the great Vihara. And this image was fashioned by Dina, an inhabitant of Mathura."

From the characters of the inscription the date of the sculpture has been assigned to the 5th cent. A.D. *i.e.* to the Gupta period. If Dr. Vogel's reading be accepted, then its sculptor must have hailed from Mathura.

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* Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, Vol III No. 69. p. 272.

† A.S.I. 1906—07, pp. 49.—50.

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At any rate it shows striking resemblance with the Gupta Sculptures of Mathura.

Its massive limbs, heavy lips and chin, full cheeks, spiral curls, folds of drapery rendered in conventional lines, the symbolic wheel on the sole of the feet, all indicate close affinities with the Mathura School of Sculptures.

AMERICAN IMPERIALISM AND NICARAGUA

By JEHANGIR J. VAKIL, B.A. (Hons.), Oxon.

AMERICA is determined on going one better than England, and when America is determined on something she generally gets it. Two centuries and a half ago she determined to get rid of British domination, and she did it with splendid thoroughness. By the end of the last century she did away with British influence in North and Central America, and to-day her nascent power is challenging British world-dominion. Capitalistic England may boast of her far-flung empire whose raw material she can exploit together with its cheap labour, and where she can dump down her over-production and surplus population, but America too has vast interests at stake in almost every country of the earth to-day and a tremendous surplus capital which she cannot invest at home and must invest somewhere. It is estimated that by 1950 she will have fifty billion dollars invested in foreign parts. She is to-day the banker and creditor of Europe which requires, dreads, resents her financial strength. And not only in Europe is America plunging into the deep waters which breed national hatred and strife, but in Latin America, Nicaragua, Mexico, Haiti.

A glance at the map of Central America will show us why Nicaragua has, in the latter half of the 19th century, been a dangerous field of rivalry between the 'Anglo-Saxon cousins' of the old and the new world. Where the San Juan river and Lake Nicaragua all but span the breadth of the Central American isthmus, is obviously the site of a trans-oceanic canal, a waterway linking up the two great oceans, the Atlantic and the Pacific. Humboldt's famous journey had drawn attention to this obvious fact, but it was Great Britain and not America who made the first move to enter into possession of it.

Britain first obtained a foothold in Central America as early as 1720 when the semi-civilised and less than semi-dressed chief (subsequently dubbed king by his patrons, the British) of the Mosquito coast—the perpendicular coast-line East and North-East of Nicaragua—was favored with the protection of the British Governor of Jamaica. In order to protect the Mosquito chief, Britishers found it necessary to settle in his territory and exploit its valuable timber until the year 1783, when, under the treaty of Versailles, Britain had to give up all pretensions to the sovereignty of any part of Central America, Belsize excepted. Henceforth, Spain was supreme in Central America, until her yoke was thrown off by her colonies who formed the five states' federation of Central American Republics. But the federation did not last long, carrying as it did, within itself, the seeds of an early dissolution. Civil wars became the order of the day. Britain, seeing her opportunity, encouraged one or other of the contending parties in many cases, by financial aid and sale of arms. Within ten years of its inception the federation was dissolved, and then Britain could do pretty well what it wanted with the separate republics into which it disintegrated. The frontiers of Belsize (re-named British Honduras and declared a crown colony) were arbitrarily extended at the expense of Guatemala and declared a crown colony whose protests were not fit evidently, to be answered even by the flimsiest diplomtic explanations but were just ignored. The island of Ruatan belonging to Honduras was similarly

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and without any provocation, occupied by *force majeure*, and no explanation vouchsafed for such cavalierly conduct.

In 1848 we find Britain once more befriending the 'king' of the Mosquito coast, and inducing him to claim possession of San Juan del Norte the port at the eastern terminus of the projected canal, and sent British marines to occupy it. Nicaragua, not being in a portion to resist this piece of aggression, turned to America for protection and met with willing response. Indeed, the United States would have stepped in before this to spoil England's little game, had not her attention been diverted away from Nicaragua by the Mexican annexation. Nicaragua was quick to point out to the United States that Britain's object in trying to control the mouth of San Juan River was to make herself the mistress of a future canal across the isthmus. The spring of 1849, in fact, saw a British Company trying to win concessions from the Nicaraguan government for the construction of such a canal Nicaragua, however, was well on her guard, and the representative of the enterprising British Company had to return home with his mission unfulfilled. An American Company, however, succeeded in winning substantial concessions where the English Company had failed totally, because Americans were shrewd enough not to rouse suspicion by claiming special previleges. On the other hand, they stipulated that the canal should be open equally to all nations that would solemnly affirm their willingness to respect Nicaraguan Sovereignty over the territory through which the canal would pass, and that the equal rights enjoyed by these nations should include rights not given to nations who would give no such undertaking—thus cleverly putting England out of court. She hoped by this treaty, to bind together, ultimately if not in the near future, all nations interested in the canal, against the claims of Great Britain, and so to isolate her in any dispute arising over the canal.

The British representative at Nicaragua, as may easily be imagined, raised a storm over this. Eventually, the situation, becoming too grave for the local representatives to handle, was taken in hand by London and Washington, neither of which were willing to push matters to extremes. Result : a compromise known as the Clayton-Bulwer treaty. This treaty, concluded in 1850, which, for a considerable time played an important part in matters Caribbean, provided that neither government should claim control over the prospective canal or establish zones of influence in Central America.

We must pass over the events of the next ten years, to record the Dallas-Clarendon treaty between England and America. This compelled the British to 'clarify' their relations with Honduras and Guatemala, and relinquish the claim to 'protect' the Mosquito coast. Nicaragua got Greytown (the name given to San Juan del Norte in 1848) on the understanding that it was to be a free-port. This triumph of American diplomacy was possible partly because of the growing strength of the United States, and partly because England was engaged in the crimean War and unwilling to risk the development of serious complications in the new world. This brings us down to 1860. American diplomacy had gradually and, as it were, imperceptibly outstripped Britain in the race for pacific supremacy. The latter country was too far away to check effectually the steady push of American capitalism southwards. But though now decidedly a beaten horse, it still hung on, and if America was to get away and win the race clear, she still had work before her. She wisely forbore, however, to precipitate events knowing that it would pay her more to play a waiting game. So the next twenty years saw a lull in the active rivalry of the 'cousins.' During this period, the Nicaraguans and English carried on their dispute about the Mosquito coast. The Emperor of Austria, who was arbitrating in the dispute decided, at the long last, for a technical Nicaraguan Sovereignty, thus adjudicating the substance to Britain's *protege* who got practically free from Nicaraguan control—which meant of course that Britain could speak with the voice of the savage chief whenever she chose to. This made America sit up, and if anything more was needed to rouse her thoroughly, she got it in the fact that Lesseps, after building the Suez canal, got a concession for a canal across the Isthmus of Panama, which is vital to American interests—as vital as the Suez canal is to England's interests in India, a fact whose fullest significances Egypt has every reason to appreciate. Angry notes flitted to and fro between London and Washington for a period of about twenty years, both sides hotly resenting the claim of the other in the prospective Panama

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canal. But America had tried her strength in her own Civil War and was confident in her own power to resist by force of arms any power in a contest in her own neighbourhood. In her own waters—the Pacific—she was as set upon non-interference as Britain in the Suez canal and her persistence gained the victory in time. The situation hung in the balance until the close of the last century, when with the annexations of Hawaii and the Phillipines, and the extension of her influence in the Pacific, she was in a position admitting of no serious rivalry, in the two Americas, on the part of any power in the world. Britain had to bow before the logic of facts and by the Hay-Paunceforte treaty of 1900 acknowledged the United States' complete control over and sole right of protection of the prospective canal,

All the world knows how Lesseps failed to construct the Panama canal, and that it was not until a fortnight after the outbreak of the European war that it was opened. No doubt many cemmercial benefits have come out of it, but the main object of America in building it was the strategic advantage which, it was supposed, would accrue. Since about 1900 America has played havoc with 'the rights of small nations' unfortunate enough to lie in the path of the southward drive of American Empire. Cuba, Haiti Porto Rico, Panama, the Dominican Republic, Nicaragua, have all paid with their independence for the crime of tempting the greed of American capitalists. Referring to United States' dealings in the Caribbean, we find this priceless gem in the editorial of the American Monthly for February 1927: "We must examine the question solely from the point of view of the larger interests (of 'big business'—J. J. V.) of the United States, which are identical with the interests of civilization." Oil and the church are mentioned in this connection, and President Coolidge, speaking about the same time about Nicaragua in particular and the capitalist interests of the United States generally, proclaimed his determination "to take the step that may be necessary for the preservation and protection of the lives, the property and the interests of its (i. e. the United States J. J. V.) citizens." Here we have the usual formula inspired by copitalists who get their government to send troops to silence all opposition to their exploitation, whenever it dares to raise its head. In this connection it is interesting to note that there are 150 American citizens in Nicaragua. The main consideration, however, that determine American policy in the Caribbean are oil, investments, trade, prestige, and the canal—the prospective Nicaraguan canal even more than the Panama canal. And of these considerations, the canal that may be built in Nicaragua, is not the least important. For, statistics now indicate that the full capacity of the Panama canal will be reached within the next eight or ten years. Another lock could be built for about $125,000,000, but there are reasons for preferring to construct the new Nicaraguan interoceanic canal. For the naval experts have found that whatever else the Panama canal may be, it does not afford that stratagic safety, which was the main reason for its construction. The canal is not broad enough to enable a whole fleet to pass at once; the existing locks are not adequate for battle-ships and battle-cruisers of the prevailing type. Add to that the fact that the locks, the power plant, and the drainage system upon which they depend are not expected to be able to withstand a really well-concerted attack by air, and you have reasons for the construction of a canal in Nicaragua which promises to afford better facilities on all these points, and incidentally you have the reasons why Nicaragua must not be independent and defy the interests of United States capitalists—for they are "identical with the interests of civilization." These interests would require, in Nicaragua, a 'zone,' then the 'guarantees' of sanitation and 'law and order' for the preservation of the zone; and then more territories on either side to fence the zone and safeguard the guarantees—for, as Lord Salisbury said with reference to the expanding north-west frontier of our country; "If you believe the military man, nothing is safe."

Since 1909, three revolutions or civil wars have afflicted this unfortunate country, and for about fifteen years there has been practically a military occupation of it by the United States—all in the name of law and order, and in the interests of civilization, of course. The Bryan-Chamorro treaty destroyed the independence not only of Nicaragua, but of the other Central American republics as well. The Government of the United States is to-day under the thumb of the grandees of Wall Street, who by a system of loans and financial control preceded by military occupation, are strangling the Central

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American republics. These have now tasted sufficiently of the bitter fruits of disunion and mutual jealousy, and aspire once more to unite and form a federal republic. They are culturally and racially one unit, and now that they have realised that their economic interests can only be safe-guarded by concerted action against the common foe, they are determined to unite in face of the Bryan-Chamorro treaty and the canal policy of the United States.

The years 1912 and 1914 again saw armed intervention by American marines in the domestic quarrels of Nicaragua. American bankers acquired "by the request of the Nicaraguan government" full control of Nicaraguan finance and credit. The conservatives under Diaz sold themselves to the United States and for twelve years fattened upon the good things that American capitalism allowed them for betraying the interests of their land. Then Moncada, the Liberal leader conceived the novel plan of getting into power by being a more abject tool of the United States than Diaz himself! He openly declared that it was madness to resist the power of the states and that the only sane course was to offer them more than the conservatives did. He was denounced at first as a mad man and a traitor, but he soon converted the liberels who were too weak to keep up the struggle against their conservatives plus Wall Street. For, as the New York World declares with reference to the present American interference which began with the landing of troops in December 1926, the states are "committed to the guarantee of a free and fair election" in Nicaragua ! The same paper asserts that "pulling out at the present would make a bad matter worse." The revolution under the liberal leader Sacasa had given the United States an excuse to land troops, and help Diaz, the conservative President. On the other hand, the Calles Government of Mexico sent arms to the liberals—sold them, to be exact—thus incurring the further displeasure of the U. S. Babbitts who had done this kind of thing over and over again, in Central America. Moncada received the arms on behalf of Sacasa but receiving information that President Coolidge would send troops to impose peace in Nicaragua, as soon as the American Congress adjourned, he made ready to betray the cause. At this point, Sandino, the great Nicaraguan hero-patriot, a young man in his thirties, steps in upon the stage, and a few words about him will not be out of place as it will enable the reader to appreciate the part which is, at the present moment, being played by him.

Sandino is the son of a farmer, an important man in the little central-western Nicaraguan village which is Sandino's birth-place. He received the primary education prevalent there and early became a produce-merchant in which capacity he gained a real knowledge of the life of his country which is agricultural. He prospered and soon was able to buy a small farm, out of which he could have made more money had his ambition not been to make it a model one in his country. It did become that, but with the United States taking over the financial control of Nicaragua in 1912, Sandino was ruined along with many another farmer like him. He left his native village and went to northern Nicaragua to work in the mines. His personality soon won for him a wonderful influence over the working-man, and drew the attention of Moncada who thought it would be a good plan to attach this young man to himself. He got up a merry-making party for the special benefit of Sandino and there had a beautiful young vergin brought in. He said to Sandino that he had intended to take this girl himself but as he was his friend and would be his lieutenant he would give her up to him. The poor girl stood there in fear and trembling. Sandino jumped up and said, "This girl is Nicaragua. No man shall take her or give her to another." This said, he lifted the girl on to his saddle and rode out with her into the night. At dawn he arrived at the convent in which he wanted to place her so as to be out of harm's way. She is now a Sister of Mercy ministering to the Philipinos. From that day, Augusto Sandino was a name to conjure with, in Nicaragua. "This girl is Nicaragua"—with these words he branded upon the hearts of his people the beauty and the shame, the torture and the humiliation of their land, torn with dissensions, groaning under cruelty from within and without. The corrupt politicians of Nicaragua looked askance at the dynamic energy, the lambent flame of his pure will. They tried to bribe him over to their side—money, honors, a seat in the Nicaraguan chamber of deputies were offered, one after another, but always in vain, to this young patriot whom the Babbitts and the Yellow press have not blushed to call a bandit—had

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not French imperialism killed about thirty thousand nationalists in Syria and called them bandits? Failing to win him over to their ignoble side, they tried to have him assassinated at a tavern but Sandino wounded one of his assailants and escaped. Since that day he has abjured drink and we now read in an Associated Press dispatch that Sandino is understood to have established prohibition in the territory under his control." Another addition to his count of sins against 'big bussiness'! Nicaragua under Wall Street administration had become an unbearable place for many Nicaraguans, among them Sandino. He went away to Mexico in 1924 to work in Tampico oil-fields, and stayed there till 1926, when Maxico as has been stated, sold arms to Moncada. Then fearing that Moncada would, to use his own words in a letter to a friend, "at the first opportunity sell out to America" and "betray Sacasa", he, although a supporter of the labour cause, dicided "to get into" the Sacasa revolution and save it from Moncada and the United States. He, therefore, went back to his country and asked Moncada for arms which were refused him. Some of the men who were faithful to Sacasa, however, gave him forty rifles and some ammunition. He then allied himself with General Parajon, a field-organiser of the Nicaraguan Federation of Labour. When the States intervened in December 1927, as already stated, Diaz and Moncada vied with each other as to who should sell his country at bargain price to American capitalists, and get their backing. Moncada outbid Diaz by guaranteeing the surrender of all the Generals except Sandino. General Parajon came to the conclusion that it was useless to try and withstand the god-like might of America, and so laid down his arms. But Sandino still keeps up the fight in the foothills of Nicaragua, although the United States has sent in a good few thousand troops to crush this 'bandit,' who, moreover, is ringed round by traitors in his own country. For, both Diaz and Moncada are thirsting to present his head to the American capitalists. mounted on a silver charger.

Measure the greatness of this young hero in his thirties, with his tenderness. Realising the extreme danger, the 'hopelessness' of his fight with America, he lined up his men. To those who had families, he said, "You must not be sacrificed. I bid you farewell." Then turning to the others he said that if there was any man among then who wanted to leave him he was free to do so. "You nead give no explanations. I know that no one of you is a coward." Small wonder his men prefer to stay by him.

For, these men who are fighting today under his banner Labour's red and black flag know that they are fighting for no petty causes but fighting to keep their dear land safe from the rapacious vultures of Wall Street. How long these brave men and their brave chief will be made to go on fighting this shamefully unequal fight, nobody knows. It is up to the liberal section of the Great American people in whose name these things are done, to stop this wrong which is being done to a country already too often wronged before, and to save from possible destruction, the brave men fighting under one whom History has lifted out of the nameless among men, onto the pedestal on which are set the true sons of Humanity, the Liberators of men—General Augusto Calderon Sandino.

THE CAUSES OF THE SECOND AFGHAN WAR

By MAJOR B. D. BASU, I. M. S., (*Retired*)

THE acquisition of territory in, and the extension of the boundaries of India by England, would seem to have terminated with the suppression of the Mutiny and the proclamation of Queen Victoria. In that memorable document, Her Majesty announced: "We desire no extension of our present territorial possessions." To make the proclamation solemn, Her Majesty concluded it by invoking the aid of Providence. "May the God of all power," wrote she, "grant unto us, and to those in authority under us, strength

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to carry out these our wishes for the good of our people." But the earth had hardly completed eighteen revolutions round the sun since the issue of the above-mentioned proclamation when those in authority under Her Majesty began to concoct schemes and plans with the object of extending the territorial possessions of Her Majesty in the East.

Their schemes or rather conspiracies ended in that terrible disaster which equalled, if not surpassed, the Indian Mutiny in magnitude and proportions. That terrible disaster was the second Afghan War.

To trace the causes of the War, one would find that the lessons derived from the first Afghan War and the Indian Muntiny were lost upon the ministers of Her Majesty. They caused Her Majesty to violate treaty obligations with an independent Prince and also made the solemn Proclamation issue by her a dead letter and a farce. The object aimed at by these Christian ministers was more territorial possessions, or, to quote the words of the man who was at the head of the Ministry in England, they were in search of the "scientific frontier" of India.

Lord Dalhousie made the Khan of Khelat sign a treaty in 1854 by which that Chieftain was reduced to the position of a feudatory vassal of the Government of India. He (the Khan of Khelat), moreover, agreed to allow British troops "to occupy such positions as may be thought advisable by the British authorities in any part of the terrritory of Khelat."

In India itself Dalhousie had too many irons in the fire to avail himself of the advantage which the new treaty with the Khan of Khelat placed at his disposal. But twenty-two years afterwards, i.e., in 1876, when every one was under the impression that Her Majesty had no desire of extending her territorial possessions, the people of India and Afghanistan were surprised to learn that Quetta had been occupied by British troops under the treaty engagements of 1854 with the Khan of Khelat. This occupation of Quetta greatly alarmed the people of Afghanistan.

In this place it is necessary to recount the events which preceded the occupation of Quetta. For this purpose we should advert to the correspondence that had passed between the Ministry in England and the Government of India in India. Although many passages in this correspondence are suppressed, yet the published records will enable any intelligent man to form his judgment on the subject.

No treaty was entered into between the Government of India and the Amir of Afghanistan till 1855. When in 1840 and 1841 the Christian Government of India was carrying fire and sword in Afghanistan, its legitimate ruler, Dost Mohammed Khan, was a state-prisoner in India. After the evacuation of Afghanistan by the British Dost Mohammed was allowed to return to his country and resume his throne. But he had not bound himself by any treaty with his Christian benefactors. It was in 1855 that Sir Herbert Edwardes, who was then Commissioner of Peshawar, suggested to Lord Dalhousie the desirabilty of entering into treaty engagements with the Amir of Cabul. Lord Dalhousie authorised Sir John (afterwards Lord) Lawerence, the then Chief Commissioner of the Punjab, to conclude the treaty with Dost Mahammed. This treaty bears the date of May 1, 1855. It was supplemented by another in 1857. The former treaty of 1855 professed 'perpetual peace and friendship' between the Government of India and the Amir of Afghanistan. The supplementary treaty was entered into when the British Government was at war with Persia. It provided that a lakh of rupees per month should be paid by the Government of India to Dost Mohammed for military purposes, and that British officers should reside in Afghanistan to see that the subsidy was properly applied, and to keep the Government of India informed of all affairs. To quote the words of the Treaty :—

"The subsidy of one lakh per mensem shall cease from the date on which peace is made between the British and Persian Governments, or at any previous time at the will and pleasure of the Governor-General of India.

"Whenever the subsidy shall cease, the British officers shall be withdrawn from the Ameer's country ; but at the pleasure of the British Government a Vakeel, not a European officer, shall remain at Cabul on the part of the Government, and one at Peshawar on the part of the Government of Cabul."

Dost Mohammed died in June 1863, and was succeeded by his son Sher Ali Khan. In 1867 he allowed the Government of India to send a Muhammadan gentleman of rank and character to reside at his court, and there to represent the British Government.

Up to 1875, no attempt was made to replace the Muhammadan gentleman who acted as the agent of the Government of India at

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the Court of Cabul. But in that year the Indian Government was told by the Secretary of State for India to replace the Muhammadan gentleman by an English officer. The conservative party was at that time in power in England. Its chief was Disraeli. His ambition was to color the map of Asia red. This shrewd prime minister of England conspired to destroy the independence of Afghanistan.

He found an able lieutenant in the person of the Secretary of State for India named Marquis of Salisbury, who afterwards rose to be the Prime-Minister of England. The natives of India have no reasons to cherish with reverence the name of the Marquis of Salisbury. For he inflicted many miseries and calamities on the people of Hindustan. It was he who brought about the War with Afghanistan; it was he who tried to "cheat" the people of India by reducing the age limit of candidates for the Civil Service Examination; it was he who declared in a public meeting that no English constituency would return a "black man" to Parliament. The black man referred to was the well-known Indian patriot Dadabhai Naoroji. Again, when he rose to be the Prime-Minister of England and it was proposed to grant in a small measure the boon of Representative Government to India by expanding the scope of the Legislative Councils of India, this nobleman objected to it, declaring that the people of the East were accustomed to despostic, and not representative, systems of Government. Several other instances could be adduced to show why the people of India have just grounds for detesting his name.

But to resume the thread of our narrative, In the beginning of 1875, i. e., on the 22nd January, this nobleman was directed by his chief to write to the Governor-General of India a secret despatch. At that time Lord Northbrooke was the Governor-General of India. The Marquis of Salisbury desired the Earl of Northbrooke to substitute an Englishman for the Indian, as the agent at Cabul. He wrote:—

"Your Excellency maintains a Native Agent at Cabul. I am informed that he is a man of intelligence and respectability. But it appears to be very doubtful whether he is in a condition to furnish you with any facts which it is not the Ameer's wish that you should receive. Even if you could rely upon the perfect frankness of his communications, it is not likely that any Native Agent would possess a sufficient insight into the policy of Western nations to collect the information you require. One of the principal qualifications for this function is the neutrality of feeling in respect to religious and national controversies which only a European can possess. Of the value of the Cabul diaries different opinions are expressed. It is obvious that they are very meagre, and doubts have been thrown upon their fidelity.

"Her Majesty's Government are of opinion that more exact and constant information is necessary to the conduct of a circumspect policy at the present juncture. The disposition of the people in various parts of Afghanistan, the designs and intrigues of its chiefs, the movements of nomad tribes upon its frontier, the influence which foreign powers may possibly be exerting within and without its borders, are matters of which a proper account can only be rendered to you by an English Agent residing in the country. There are many details, moreover, a knowledge of which it is material that the military authorities should possess, and with respect to which it is not to be expected that a Native Agent would be either able or willing to collect for your Government trustworthy information."

The Agent for whose removal Lord Salisbury was so keen, was a Muhammadan gentleman named Ata Muhammad. The noble Marquis was unable to bring forward any evidence to show that the Agent had ever failed in his duty. No instance is known in which it could be asserted that Ata Muhammad did not keep the Government of India informed of what was going on in Afghanistan and its frontiers.

Why was then Lord Salisbury or rather the Disraeli ministry so anxious to replace Ata Muhammad by a Christian officer?

This question can only be satisfactorily answered on a hypothesis based on the political transactions of the British with the Princes of Hindustan. Whenever the British wanted to swallow up an Indian principality or whenever they desired to reduce an independent Prince to the position of a feudatory, their first move has always consisted in the fastening of an English Resident or Agent on the non-Christian prince. These English residents or agents play the part of diplomatists in the courts of Indian princes. Regarding these diplomatists the well-known English General Gordon, who met with his death in the besieged town of Khartoum, wrote:—

"Our diplomatists are conies, and not officially honest. * * I must say I hate our diplomatists. I think with few exceptions they are arrant humbugs, and I expect they know it."

This estimate of British diplomatists by General Gordon is borne out by facts. These diplomatists, known in India as Political Residents and Agents, create confusion and

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disorder in the states to which they are sent to represent their employers. This is not denied by the British historians of India. In the last century it was considered expedient to create disorder and confusion in the kingdom of the Peishwa ; hence a British Resident was sent to the Peishwa's court. The name of this resident was Mr. Mostyn. The historian of the Mahrattas, Captain Grant Duff, naively writes that Mr. Mostyn was sent to Poona "to foment domestic dissensions."

Again, when Kashmir was required to be brought under the political control of the Government of India, the first step that was taken to secure this end was to despatch a British Political Resident to the court of the Hindu Ruler of the Happy Valley. No sooner had this officer settled himself in his new position than the grand discovery was made that the Raja of Kashmir was intriguing with Russia to overthrow the British Government in India ! It was alleged that regular correspondence passed between the Raja and the Czar. It is now an open secret that the correspondence was all forgery and that the officer who represented the might and power of the great Empire over which the sun never sets had a hand in the creation of this forged correspondence.

The Amir of Cabul and his Afghan subjects knew very well the stuff of which these European politicals are made. They knew how the European officers whom they had hospitably entertained, for the Afghans are well-known for their hospitality, plunged their country into a war from the effects of which they were still suffering. They knew that a highly pious Christian like Sir William Macnaughten did not scruple to create confusion and disorder in their country by assassinating their chiefs and sowing discord in the ranks of their nobles. Imagine how black must have been the deeds of the Christians in Afghanistan when Captain J. B. Conolly, who, as political Assistant and in the confidence of the Envoy, Sir William Macnaughten, could and *did* write to Mohan Lal :—

"Tell the Kuzzilbash chiefs, Sherian Khan, Naib Sheriff, in fact, all the chiefs of Shiah persuasion, to join against the rebels. You can promise one lac of rupees to Khan Sherian on the condition of his killing and seizing the rebels, and arming all the Shiahs, and immediately attacking all rebels. * * * Tell the chiefs, who are well-disposed, to send respectable agents to the Envoy. Try and spread *'nifak'* amongst the rebels. I promise 10,000 rupees for the head of each of the principal rebel chiefs."

The Amir of Cabul was not expected to fasten the rope round his own neck. Lord Northbrooke invited the opinions of all those who were conversant with the Afghan politics to ascertain whether the Amir would consent to have a British officer in his Court as a Resident or an Agent. All of of them assured him that such a step would not be approved of by the Amir. Lord Salisbury's despatch was replied to by the Government of India on the 7th June, 1875. The Viceroy wrote :—

"If the concurrence of all those who may be supposed to have the means of forming a correct judgment of the sentiments of the Ameer is of any value, we must be prepared to find him most unwilling to receive a British Agent.

* * * *

"There can be no reasonable doubt that there still exists a strong party among the Sirdars of Afghanistan opposed to the measure. Although the time which has elapsed since the Afghan War appears to us to be long on account of the succession of Governors-General of India, and the importance of the events that have intervened, there are many persons living in Afghanistan who were engaged in that war, and whose memory of what took place is probably the more lively from the narrow limits of their thoughts and actions. Those who have had the most intimate acquaintance with Afghanistan have always expresed their opinion that the establishment of complete confidence between the Afghans and the British must be a work of time."

Lord Northbrooke protested in vain against the forcing of a British agent on the Amir. The fiat had gone forth that a British officer should be delegated to Afghanistan. Her Majesty in assuming the direct government of India, proclaimed :

"And it is our further will that, so far as may be, our subjects, of whatever race or creed, be freely and impartially admitted to offices in our service the duties of which they may be qualified, by their education, ability and integrity, duly to discharge."

Why were then Her Majesty's ministers so hostile to the Muhammadan agent at the court of the Amir ? Lord Salisbury in his despatch admitted that the agent was "a man of intelligence and respectability." But his Lordship expressed his doubt whether the "Native Agent would possess a sufficient insight into the policy of Western nations." If the Native agent did not possess the required qualification the fault was not his but of the government for not training its subjects in such a way that they might

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"possess a sufficient insight into the policy of Western nations."

It was in 1833 that Mr. Thomas Babington (afterwards Lord) Macaulay, from his place in the House of Commons, said :—"Are we to keep the people of India ignorant, in order that we may keep them submissive ?" But in 1853, Mr. John Bright had to use the following language to show that the Government of India had done nothing to educate the people of that country and that the object of that government was to keep the people of India submissive and therefore ignorant :—

Mr. Cameron, a gentleman who presided over the Indian Law Commission and Council of education from Bengal, said in 1853 :—

"The Statute of 1833 made the natives of India eligible to all offices under the Company. But during the twenty years that have passed [they have not got any posts except] such as they were eligible to before the Statute. It is not, however, of this comission that I should feel justified in complaining, if the Company had shown any disposition to make the natives fit, by the highest European education, for admission to their covenanted service. Their disposition, as far as it can be devised, is of the opposite kind.

"When four students were sent to London from the Medical College of Calcutta, under the sanction of Lord Hardinge, in Council, to complete their professional education, the Court of Directors expressed their dissatisfaction."

Speeches of John Bright, Vol. I, p. 22. (Speech on India June 3rd, 1853)

Lord Salisbury, in his despatch indirectly admitted that the British rule in India had been a failure. For while "the grandsons of the Gauls who had besieged Julius Caesar in Alesia commanded legions, governed provinces, and were admitted into the Senate of Rome", no Indian after enjoying British rule for over a century is considered fit to act as an Agent in the Court of an Asiatic Prince because he is not supposed to "possess a sufficient insight into the policy of Western nations."*

In the despatch, dated London, November 19, 1875, the Viceroy and Governor-General of India was peremptorily ordered by Lord Salisbury to replace the Native Agent in Afghanistan by a British officer. With this end in view, the noble Marquis even suggested the adoption of a tortuous course of policy. He wrote to the Viceroy :—

"The first step, therefore, in establishing our relations with the Ameer upon a more satisfactory footing, will be to induce him to receive a temporary embassy in his capital. *It need not be publicly connected with the establishment of a permanant Mission within his dominions. There would be many advantages in ostensibly directing it to some object of smaller political interest which it will not be difficult for Your Excellency to find or if need be, to create.* I have, therefore, to instruct you, on behalf of Her Majesty's Government, without any delay that you can reasonably avoid, to find some occasion for sending a mission to Cabul ; and to press the reception of this Mission very earnestly upon the Ameer."

The italicised sentences in the above show how anxious the noble Marquis was to press a British officer on the Ameer and to gain this object he did not hesitate to advocate the adoption of questionable means.

To Lord Northbrooke's credit it should be mentioned that he tried to dissociate himself from the crooked and unrighteous policy which the Marquis of Salisbury asked him to adopt. Again, a protest was made by the Viceroy of India. In his despatch, dated Fort William, January 28, 1876, Lord Northbrooke pointed out the undesirability of forcing a British Agent on the Ameer. Regarding the efficient work of the Native Agent, he wrote :—

"We had no reason to believe that information of importance was withheld ; that, on the contrary, the information supplied was fairly full and accurate, and that the diaries contained internal evidence that the intelligence reported in them was not submitted to the Ameer for his approval. * * * A perusal of the recent diaries is sufficient in our opinion to establish the improbability of the statement (for which, indeed, we have never seen any evidence advanced) that the Agent withholds information in deference to the wishes of the Ameer. As a matter of fact, we are not aware that any event of importance, which it would have been the Agent's duty to report, has not been promptly communicated to us."

Referring to the tortuous course which the Marquis of Salisbury enjoined, Lord Northbrook wrote :—

"If a Mission is to be sent to Cabul, the most advisable course would be to state frankly and fully to the Ameer the real purpose of the Mission. The Ameer and his advisers are shrewd enough to understand that only matters of grave political importance could induce us to send a special Mission to his Highness' Court. If the Mission were directed to objects of minor political importance, the Ameer and his officials would be incredulous. He might then decline to discuss the weightier questions brought forward by our envoy and in all probability his confidence in us would he shaken, especially as the proposal to establish British Agents in Afghanistan is, as we pointed out in our despatch of June 7, a departure from the understanding

* How does this compare with the policy of the Moghul Emperors who appointed Hindoos as Viceroys and Commanders-in-Chief to govern their Afghan possessions ? Akbar's Viceroy in Cabul was a Hindoo.

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arrived at between Lord Mayo and, the Ameer at the Umballa conferences of 1869."

But all the logic and arguments of Lord Northbrooke and his colleagues composing the Government of India were lost upon the Secretary of State for India and the members of the cabinet of which Disraeli was the chief. As Lord Northbrooke could not conscientiously carry out the behest of the Disraeli Ministry, he saw no other course open to him but to resign the Viceroyalty of India. And this he did.

(*To be continued*)

INDIA—MY SISTER

If I bring thee nought but a wounded heart
To plead with thy wounded pride;
If I bring thee nought but repentant tears
For the boon so long denied—
The love that should bind all men as one,
That should link the East and West,
That should kill all pride of place or power
Of race or of creed professed:
If I bring thee nought but a bitter shame
At thy people's rightful ire
That a sister's hand should have struck thy face
And dragged thy name in the mire:
I bring thee at least no empty smile
And my pity is not for thee—
O India, the land of a thousand ills—
But for those who are blind as we
Who stand apart in our sinful pride
And taunt thee with thy despair,
Unheeding the need to lend a hand
Thy burden to aid the bear:
To repair the ravage of ceaseless feuds
To nourish the goodly seeds:
For my faith is strong that the best endures
Beneath a forest of weeds.
And who are the heroes all strong and pure
And where are the saints, alas!...
And which is the nation can fling a stone
From a house that is not glass?.....
O India, I bring thee a clearer sight,
And the healing balm of prayer
For the daily struggle thou hast to make
And the ills that are thy share.
I strive to follow thy subtle thoughts,
Thy dreams and thy wistful aims;
I long to feel the pangs of thy thirst,
And burn in the self-same flames
As thou, O Sister of mine that sits
In the dust of thy sun-lit land
And spins, or bakes, or sings, or pray
Or begs with a piteous hand:
That knows no shame of honest toil,
Nor poverty nor blight—
For all are surely gifts of God,
And He is surely right.
I see as in a dream the years
Steal slowly o'er thy head,
From that first dawn that saw thy birth
To that which nigh is sped...
I see a-many million shades
Of men arise and walk;
I view a wondrous pageantry,
And hear a wondrous talk.
I list a thousand tales re-told
In strangely well-known words,
I note familiar airs and garb
And spears and glittering swords...
And in the dusk a thousand deeds
Are once again performed,
And once again is heard the din
Of war, and cities stormed.
And e'en amid the din of war
I hear a well-known cry;
And see familiar faces light,
Or darken, ere they die...
I see the page of history wrought
Not written yet by men,
Of wars, and crimes, and dreadful deeds
Of times beyond our ken.
I see a word of world-wide woes.
From end to end of time,
I see God everywhere defied
In every land and clime.
I hear familiar curses cried,
I see familiar sin.
Where'er I go, which way I turn
The Evil seems to win.....
But does it?...Ah, another view
Presents itself to me;
The noble deeds of noble men
Are quite as plain to see.
Beside the weeds of sins and crimes
The good green corn is grown
In daily tasks, in kindly acts
In love for kindness shown...
Ah, Sister India, in thine eyes,
I see the light of hope,
I see thee gaze within thy past
And 'mid the pages grope
For those dear faces, those dear names,
That shine forever there
As beacon lights to other men
Because so wondrous fair.
I see thee turn from name to name
And ask thyself with pride,
If other lands have greater hearts
Than those for thee that died.
Did they not love thee, live they not
In word and works divine?
Did they not win immortal fame—
Hast thou no gods like mine?
I gaze in pain down fruitless years
That have kept our lives apart,

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For nought can save the souls of men
But union—heart with heart—
A league of souls to break all bars
Of creed and caste and race.
And build a realm of God on Earth
That shall all His sons embrace...
O Sister India, thou who sits
So firm on thy lowly sod—
Should we not strive to form that League
To reconquer the Earth for God ?

St. Clair.

POLITICS, PROPAGANDA, PRESS AND PUBLIC

By VICTOR MOGENS—OSLO

DURING the war, the word 'propaganda' underwent an unhappy change of meaning. In those unhappy days, when we neutrals were bombarded with books, brochures, articles, telegrams and photographs, from both the belligerent parties and thus such a confusion that created and it was impossible to think out matters calmly. As in most other points, the confusion was complete also regarding propaganda. The neutral countries were divided into two camps and the "communications" from the opposite parties were, as a rule, called 'propaganda.' 'Propaganda' became synonymous with lying and that with conscious and wicked lies as well as other devilries. For the sake of accuracy it was often called "lying propaganda" and even when this characterisation was not expressly mentioned it was all the while implied. Even now this word signifise something hateful and it is generally used to designate various attempts of the enemy.

In a work on political propaganda the chapter on the propaganda of the world-war would be certainly a shameful piece of literature. The powerful apparatus which was again and again built for propaganda work, the power of fabrication which was displayed and the boldness and impertinence which were exhibited are in their way a monument of human ability, but like the war itself, ability which served to produce discord and hatred and to fabricate shameless lies. Never has false morality recorded such triumphs, never was hatred and contempt mixed with such refinement of hypocrisy and that to such an extent; never were conscious lies used so systematically as a political weapon. It is contemptuous but is in its way imposing. The English maxim, "tell a lie and stick to it", seems to have been the suitable but highly immoral motto of all this propaganda. And this may be said also of another English proverb which was adopted by all the countries: "right or wrong, my country."

The war propaganda worked on three fronts. First in one's own country in order to excite the spirit of war and to keep up the hatred against the enemy and maintain the justice of one's own cause.

Further, the propaganda was extended so far as possible into the enemy country principally by throwing fly-leafs from aeroplanes on or behind the enemy front, the contents of which were detrimental to the morale of the troops. The English were past masters in this and later Americans too followed their example. They had established printing machines behind the front solely for the purpose of printing papers of this sort; and towards the end of the war when the masters of advertisement displayed their full power, every day hundreds of thousands of fly-leaves were thrown upon the German lines, and surely they contributed to the confusion of the German front. Much of this bungling work was so startling that they had just the opposite effect; other papers, however, were composed with accurate psychological estimation of the enemy. The American propaganda officer Capt. Blankenhorne published many characteristic texts in his book, "Adventures in propaganda." These papers were mostly in the form questions such as the following:—

1. Are the Germans really still so strong as in July 1918 ?

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2. Their enemies are daily growing stronger or weaker.

3. Have the heavy defeats which you suffered in 1918 brought you the victorious peace, which was promised by your leaders.

4. Have you still faith in final victory

5 Do you wish to sacrific your life for a hopeless cause ?

The highest leader of the powerful propaganda machinery of the entente was the great advertising expert. Lord Northcliffe, and if he claims for himself a great share of the honor of the victory it is not at all unjustified, however ludicrous it may sound. In the campaign led by him, he was certainly a more genial leader than any of the entente military leaders in the battle-field. The defeat of the central powers began in their south-east front. The break-down of the Bulgarian front and the dissolution of the heterogenous Austro-Hungarian army were the factors which rendered the final defeat of the central powers unavoidable. Northcliffe had admitted that he had directed his main attack against the weakest point of the enemy, that is to say, against the Austro-Hungarian front. Here of the fifty-two millions of men at least 31 millions were anti-German and wanted to see the defeat of the central powers. To these peoples it was equivalent to a promise of self-determination and political independence. Northcliffe, however, had to get over great political difficulties. According to the secret agreement in London, April 1915, the allies had promised to Italy large tracts in the Adriatic coast as remuneration for joining the war and Italy did not then think of giving the right of self-determination to these districts. Yet however after long negotiations carried on by his fellow-workers Steed and Seton-Watson, Northcliffe succeeded in coming to an agreement between the Italian minister Orlando and the South-Slav leader Trumbitsch. The result of the agreement of April, 1918 was that Northcliffe who had achieved this political step started a powerful propaganda with the purpose of undermining the fronts of the dual monarchy. The world had never seen a propaganda work greater than this. These fronts were literally covered with a hail-storm of fly-leaves, proclamation, maps, sketches, declarations of independence etc. The result was not far in coming. Desertions in the Italian front and the betrayal of offensive plans and positions increased in course of a short time to such an extent that it was impossible to keep the front intact. We know how it ended and there is no doubt that Northcliffes "propaganda-poison" was one of the most potent contributive factors.

The third front in which the war propaganda was active was that of the neutral countries. These were the unfortunate objects of a double bombardment. Each of the two parties wanted to gain the sympathy of the little part of the world which was still neutral. Propaganda worked hand in hand with politics. each party wanted to create a suitable field for its political machinations by flooding us with literature which was intended to convince us of the just cause for which it fought in the battle "which was forced on it." They would also convince us how criminal the enemy was and that the neutral powers too should plunge into this holy war, which was, in fact, carried on only for their sake (cf. England's love for the weak nations).

Now a decade after this "blooming period" of this propaganda it it possible to judge it and we can see with what abominable methods this propaganda was carried on among the neutrals to arouse hatred and abhorrence against the enemy. A short time ago an English propaganda officer published a communique that the story that the Germans used to extract fat out of the corpses of dead soldiers was a lie fabricated by him and that the illustrations accompanying the text were fakes. Hundreds of such falsehoods were fabricated. I have seen a series of horrible pictures of pogroms in Russia which were distributed in millions of copies all over the world by the French propaganda bureau under the superscriptions "Apres le passage des barbares," "les crimes des hordes allemandes en Pologne", etc. A photograph of peace time representing a number of German officers with their trophies of victory after a race competition consisting of silver beakers, goblets and cups was distributed all over the world during the period of the war under the subscription "the German robbers after plundering a castle". We still remember the horrible reports of the Germans who hacked off the hands of Belgian children and the pictures of whipped and half-naked women, and to-day we neutrals are horrified when we come to know the methods by which people wanted to have us on the "right" side.

The chief seat of the entente propaganda was the propaganda centre in London and

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Sir Campbell Stuart has written a very interesting book "The secrets of Crewe-House" about its activities. But from February 1918 the organisation was transformed into an "Information Ministry" under the guidance of Lord Beaverbrook. For every country, for instance, France, Holland, U. S. A., Norway, there was a special departmental chief, and in biweekly conferences, all the information received were discussed and new lines of action were prescribed. A particular department in this ministry, the National War Aims Committee, was entrusted with the duty of maintaining the belligerent spirit of the people and keeping clear the aims of the war. Another department took charge of guiding visitors from neutral countries and to treat them in proper way. Besides the ministry, Northcliffe carried on his own propaganda institution dealing with the enemy countries.

During the first year of the war the chief duty of English propaganda was to work upon the spirit of the people of U. S. A. so that they were at last ripe for joining the war. We know with what boldness this propaganda was carried on. There was no method which was too coarse or shameless if it could but contribute to the realisation of the final aim. Sir Gilbert Parker relates in an article in *Harper's Magazine* about this activity :

"I need hardly say that the range of our propaganda department in America was very great, and its activity very comprehensive. Every week we submitted a report to the British Government. We were always in connection with the correspondents of American papers, and provided for every American paper at least one English paper. We influenced the people by means of kino-presentations, newspaper articles and pamphlets. We answered the letters of critical Americans. We gave advice and tried to induce people of every sort to write articles. We availed ourselves of the good services of confidential persons in America. By means of personal correspondence with influential men of all classes we organised societies for propaganda. We founded libraries, clubs and journals for the use of the Y. M. C. A. We had 10,000 propaganda agents in America."

What must have been the cost of all this ! But the entente has on that account gained the war, thanks to their masterly propaganda. And for the seventh and the last time, nothing is so dear as to lose a world war.

In France the propaganda was carried on by the Maison de la Presse, dependant on the foreign ministry, and on the reorganised form of Bureau de la Presse et des Informations as well as of Service de Propaganda. This propaganda institution whose chief duty was to influence the foreign press had in its first year of existence an official budget of 25 million francs. But how great the secret funds were, is still unknown.

The German propaganda, on the other hand, was as bad and planless as the entente propaganda was brilliant and heedless; but for this reason the German propaganda was much more honest. When the German army during the whole period of war was on the offensive in all the fronts, the propaganda even from the very beginning was defensive and so had lost the game even at the very beginning. The German propaganda may be regarded as an example as to how a propaganda should not be carried on. First of all, organisation, for which the Germans are so famous in all other departments, was wanting in it. Various organisations were at work but without mutual understanding and without a fixed plan. The highest power lay in the foreign office and it was beaurocratic and ossified, moreover, the German propaganda worked without any psychological understanding of those peoples who were to be influenced, and the result was that they were more frequently offended rather than won for the German. Above all, they did not appear to comprehend the secret of advertisement and of the art of influencing the mass. They did not understand the importance of a good shibboleth and the secret of repetition was unknown in German propaganda as we have it in the American principle of advertisement, "What you wish to be believed, you must say a dozen times." The German propaganda opposed the shibboleths of the others, which burnt like a prairie fire in the whole world, with circumstantial and well-grounded essays which painfully tried to prove that the Germans were right but which were never read up to the end by any man. Before the reasoned-out essays of the German professors appeared the publicity experts of the other side coined a new shibboleth.

When Miss Cavell was executed, the whole world cried "revenge for Cavell."

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The Germans replied that the military laws of every country prescribe capital punishment for what was done by Cavell. But to raise a hue and cry at least over one of the women who were executed by the enemy—that the Germans failed to accomplish. The entente propagandists time and often sounded the chord of sympathy, and fully understood how to produce abhorrence against the alleged cruel war of the Germans. In those years of despair, when the hunger blockade daily claimed the heavy toll of hundreds of victims, the German foreign propaganda was engaged only in describing in glowing terms the miserable condition of the country instead of fighting this most cruel weapon of war through propaganda.

It may be said in defence of this unsuccessful propaganda that from the first moment it was defensive and a propaganda which is exclusively meant for dementis has lost the game even from the beginning. The Germans did not think what their enemies wished to do and actually perform to call a world to arms. They thought that Bismark's words "one shoots the enemy not with" public opinion but with powder and lead, could be applied even to the present day.

But this foreign propaganda was not over with the war. Besides the very active trade propaganda which began after the conclusion of the war, chiefly from the side of the Americans, the culture propaganda has since then assumed huge proportions. Its chief activity consists of founding foreign associations. We have been lucky enough to have a series of such associations, one of which is Italo-Norwegian, but as yet there is no sign of the German-Norwegian association.

In culture propaganda France far excels all other countries. The Alliance Française is the oldest of the innumerable French foreign associations. It was founded in 1883 by professor Focin with Paul Cambon as the honorary president. To-day this society counts more thana hundred thousand members all over the world and is a propaganda organisation for the French language, or, asits founder has formed the programme in his beautiful mother-tongue, the aim of the society is to "realise the noble destiny of the French language—to rule over the whole world in all honour." By means of lectures, courses of instruction and writings and with the help of zealous Frenchmen and foreigners who are French in spirit, this propaganda is carried on in every part of the world with this definite aim. Under Alliance Française there is again a number of special organizations. I mention here only the Societé de Conferences the lectures of which are translated into seven languages and are strewn all over the world in at least 30,000 copies.

Besides the Alliance Française the Amities Françaises was founded in 1909 (the name is taken from a novel of Maurice Barres); it is a culture propaganda organisation on a wider plan than the old organisation, but, like it, with a strong imperialistic tendency. The first groups were formed outside France; the management, however, lies in the hands of a group of twelve persons in Paris. The Amities Françaises, according to its programme, wishes to "propagate not only the language but also all the ideals, traditions, usages and culture of the French spirit. It hopes to construct a bulwark against everything that is anti-French, above all, against pan-Germanism." In Norway it has many Germanic members. Particularly after the war it has displayed an intensive campaign for enlisting members. The writer of these lines was himself honoured no less than three times with invitations to become a member of this society from the head office in Paris during the last year.

I say that during the war the word "propaganda" had undergone an unhappy change of meaning. But the thing itself is not so bad—so far as he who carries on the propaganda does it with his own sacred conviction and does not allow himself to be led by considerations lying outside this thing (such as personal interests) and so far as the means resorted to are not such as to be justified only by the end.

To carry on propaganda for an idea and for the belief and conviction with which a person thinks of serving others, is not only permissible morally but justified in a high degree and even a duty! The American William Bayard Hale told me once when I spoke to him about his undaunted propaganda against America's entry into war, "he who does not wish to make a propaganda for his idea, is not worth having one."

The greatest propaganda to-day and for all times is that which is carried on for the Christian religion, and even a propaganda centre like that of Northcliffe cannot, in this respect, be compared with the Catholic church. Even Jesus himself with the words "go you toevery part of the world and make

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all men my followers" has given us a direct command for propaganda for his teachings. The missionaries in the heathen countries are propagandists for Christian teachings, and the magnificent church buildings with their high towers rising towards heaven and the solemn ecclesiastical ceremonies, the grandeur of the church, the music of the organ and the exhorting call of the bells, all these are means of propaganda for this faith intended to act on the mass. Propaganda should never be despised because, as Lamartine says, "Dieu lui meme a besoin que l'on sonne les cloches," "God Himself requires somebody to sound His bells."

It cannot be said that a good cause requires no propaganda, for the truth is victorious by its own strength. The truth rather wins only then—and thus becomes real truth—when some men have been thoroughly permeated by it and consider it their duty to convert other people. Only then it becomes living truth. A lie may very well triumph over the absolute truth if only this falsehood has followers and propagandists while nobody has faith in the truth and none wishes to serve it.

But we, the public, who are outside all parts of the propaganda, must be on our guard. There is another word for this matter: advertisement. Propaganda is carried on for an idea, advertisement for a soap. But the public has to regard critically both propaganda and advertisement. The public must suspect both the advertisers and the propagandists with regard to their want of objectivity. People are mostly suspicious against advertisement till subjective corroboration of its pretensions is found. But even as a man is suspicious about the "best soap in the world," even so critical should we be about the assertions of blessings which "our party" would pour over the country if it comes to power, and we should be careful also about outlandish propaganda.

We must remember that the overwhelming number of papers are party papers or organs for a certain cause or certain interests. The four P's in the superscription, politics, propaganda, press and public, form together an organic whole. The path of politics to the public passes through press propaganda. In our day there is no other way than this for any one who wishes to put forward a political idea. Such a propaganda is in every way justifiable if only the means is morally permissible.

[Summary translation by Batakrishna Ghosh of the German version of the article in Deutsche Rundschau, December, 1927.]

ROMAIN ROLLAND ON PARISIAN ART

COMPILED BY A BOOK-LOVER

M. Romain Rollard's novel, *Jean Christophe* has been hailed by Mr. Edmund Gosse as 'the noblest work of fiction of the twentieth century.' Mr. Gilbert Cannan, the English translator, considers it to be 'the most comprehensive survey of modern life which has appeared in literature in this century.' In the advanced vernacular literatures of India the influence of modern French literary art has become quite evident, and discussions on art and morality form a distinct feature of Indian vernacular magazines. The views put forth by M. Romain Rolland in his novel on modern Parisian art and morality will, therefore, be of interest to our readers. Before we quote these views, we think it necessary to observe that M. Rolland is not a strait-laced moralist. His hero, John Christopher the artist has his love-affairs with shop-girls and others and the author did not sympathise with the Vogels, who were scandalised by Christopher's misconduct.

"Very religious, moral, and oozing domestic virtue, they were of those to whom the sins of the flesh are the most shameful, the most serious, almost the only sins, because they are the only sins to be dreaded (it is obvious that respectable people are never likely to be tempted to steal or murder)." [Eng. Trans. Vol. II, p. 115.

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The author says of a theatrical actress, a confirmed coquette, as follows :

"It was impossible to be angry with her. She was an honest [sic] girl, without any moral principles, lazy, sensual, pleasure-loving, child-likely coquettish ; but at the same time so loyal, so kind, and all her faults were so spontaneous and so healthy [sic] that it was only possible to smile at them and even to love them." [Eng. Tran. Vol. II, p. 258]

The significance of the above passage will be made clear from the following extract :

"Christopher had never invented any moral theory : he loved the great poets and great musicians of the past, and they were no saints : when he came across a great artist he did not inquire into his morality : he asked him rather : 'Are you healthy ?' To be healthy was the great thing." [Vol. III. p. 80.]

One more extract to show that M. Rolland's attitude towards sexual problems was not that of a narrow-minded Puritan :

"For anyone who can envisage life with serenity, there is a peculiar relish in remarking the perpetual contrast which exists in the very bosom of society between the extreme refinement of apparent civilization and its fundamental animalism. In every gathering that does not consist only of fossils and petrified souls, there are as it were, two conversational strata, one above the other : one—which everybody can hear—between mind and mind : the other—of which very few are conscious, though it is the greater of the two—between instinct and instinct, the beast in man and woman.···The beast in man and woman, though tamed by centurfes of civilization, and as cowed as the wretched lions in the tamer's cage, is always thinking of its food. But Christopher had not yet reached that disinterestedness which comes only with age and the death of the passions." [Vol. III, pp, 111-12.]

We shall now quote the views of this advanced thinker on modern French literary and dramatic art. The extracts are taken from the last but one volume [i.e, Vol. III] of the English translation, part V. s. v. 'The market place.' Indian imitators of the French model in the literature of fiction will find much in M. Rolland's views to warn and instruct them.

French Periodical Literature

[After Christopher had recoiled in disgust from the horrible incestuous filth that filled the pages of the daily papers, he was referred to].

"The report of a recent inquiry into Art and Morality, which set out that 'Love sanctified everything,' that 'sensuality was the leaven of Art,' that 'Morality was a convention of Jesuit education,' and that nothing mattered except 'the greatness of desire.' A number of letters from literary men witnessed the artistic purity of a novel depicting the life of bawds. Some of the signatories were among the greatest names in contemporary literature, or the most austere of critics. A domestic poet, *bourgeois* and a Catholic, gave his blessing as an artist, to a detailed description of the decadence of the Greeks. There were enthusiastic praises of novels in which the course of Lewdness was followed through the ages : Rome, Alexandra, Byzantium, the Italian and French Renaissance, the Age of Greatness. Nothing was omitted. Another cycle of studies was devoted to the various countries of the world ; conscientious writers had devoted their energies, with a monkish patience, to the study of the low quarters of the five continents. And it was no matter for surprise to discover among these geographers and historians of Pleasure distinguished poets and very excellent writers. They were only marked out from the rest by their erudition. In their most impeccable style, they told archaic stories, highly spiced.

"But what was most alarming was to see honest men and real artists, men who rightly enjoyed a high place in French literature, struggling in such a traffic, for which they were not at all suited. Some of them with great travail wrote like the rest, the sort of trash that the newspapers serialize. They had to produce it by a fixed time, once or twice a week ; and it had been going on for years. They went on producing and producing, long after they had ceased to have anything to say, racking their brains to find something new, something more sensational, more bizarre ; for the public was surfeited and sick of everything, and soon wearied of even the most wanton imaginery pleasures ; they had always to go one better—better than the rest, better than their own best—and they squeezed out their very life blood, they squeezed out their guts : it was a pitiable sight, a grotesque spectacle.···

"Christopher···could have no idea that this artistic degradation, which showed so rawly in Paris, was common to nearly all the great towns···And so, like so many of his compatriots, he saw in the secret sore which is eating away the intellectual aristocracies of Europe the vice proper to French art, and the bankruptcy of the Latin races.

Female Writers

"The submerged lands exhaled an *odor di femina*. The literature of the day teemed with effeminate men and women. It is well that women should write if they are sincere enough to describe what no man has yet seen : the depths of the soul of a woman. But only very few dared do that : most of them only wrote to attract the men : they were as untruthful in their books as in their drawing-rooms : they jockeyed their facts and flirted with the reader. Since they were no longer religious, and had no confessor to whom to tell their little lapses, they told them to the public.···

The Eternal Feminine

"The more clearly Christopher saw into the vat of ideas in which Parisian art was fermenting, the more strongly he was impressed by the supremacy of women in that cosmopolitan community. They had an absurdly disproportionate

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importance. It was not enough for woman to be the helpmeet of man. It was not even enough for her to be his equal—Her pleasure must be law both for herself and for man. And man truckled to it. When a nation is growing old, it renounces its will, its faith, the whole essence of its being, in favour of the giver of pleasure... No doubt the Eternal Feminine has been an uplifting influence on the best of men : but for the ordinary men, in ages of weariness and fatigue, there, is, as some one has said, another Feminine, just as eternal, who drags them down. This other Feminine was the mistress of Parisian thought, the Queen of the Republic.

The Cry of the Modern Parisian Educated Woman

"But what sort of work can we do ? There isn't any that we could find interesting—for, I know, we dabble in all sorts of things, and pretend to be interested in a heap of things that do not concern us : we do so want to be interested in something ! I do what the others do. I do charitable work and sit on social work committees. I go to lectures at the Sorbonne by Bergson and Jules Lemaitre, historical concerts, classical matinees, and I take notes and notes. I never know what I am writing ! and I try to persuade myself that I am absorbed by it, or at least that it is useful. Ah ! but I know that it is not true. I know that I don't care a bit, and that I am bored by it all. Don't despise me because I tell you frankly what everybody thinks in secret. I am no sillier than the rest. But what use are philosophy, history, and science to me ? As for art,—you see,—I strum and daub and make messy little watercolor sketches ; but is that enough to fill a woman's life ? There is only one end to our life : marriage. But do you think there is much fun in marrying this or that young man whom I know as well as you do ? I see them as they are. I am not fortunate enough to be like your German Gretchens, who can always create an illusion for themselves. That is terrible, isn't it ? To look around and see girls who have married and their husbands, and to think that one will have to do as they have done, be cramped in body and mind, and become dull like them ! One needs to be stoical, I tell you, to accept such a life with such obligations, All women are not capable of it. And time passes, and the years go by, youth fades ; and yet there were lovely things and good things in us—all useless, for day by day they die...Even our mothers ignore us, and actually try not to know what we are. They only try to get us married. For the rest, they say, live, die, do as you like ! Society absolutely abandons us."

Erotic Socialists

"In love they were altogether in their element: that was their special province. The casuistry of pleasure had no secrets for them : they were so clever that they could invent new problems so as to have the honour of solving them. That has always been the occupation of people who have nothing else to do : in default of love they 'make love,' above all, they explain it. Their notes took up far more room than the text, which, as a matter of fact, was very short. Sociology gave a relish to the most scabrous thoughts : everything was sheltered beneath the flag of sociology : though they might have had pleasure in indulging their vices, there would have been something lacking if they had not persuaded themselves that they were labouring in the cause of the new world—That was an eminently Parisian sort of socialism : erotic socialism.

"Among the problems that were then exercising the little Court of Love was the equality of men and women in marriage, and their respective rights in love. There had been young men, honest, protestant, and rather ridiculous—Scandinavians and Swiss—who had based equality on virtue : saying that men should come to marriage as chaste as women. The Parisian casuists looked for another sort of equality, an equality based on loss of virtue, saying that women should come to marriage as besmirched as men,—the right to take lovers. The Parisians had carried adultery in imagination and practice, to such a pitch that they were beginning to find it rather insipid : and in the world of letters attempts were being made to support it by a new invention : the prostitution of young girls—I mean regularised, universal, virtuous, decent, domestic, and above all, social prostitution. There had just appeared a book on the question, full of talent, which apparently said all there was to be said : though four hundred pages of playful pedantry, 'strictly in accordance with the rules of the Baconian method, it dealt with the 'best method of controlling the relations of the sexes.' It was a lecture on free love, full of talk about manners, propriety, good taste, nobility, beauty, truth, modesty, morality—a regular Berquin for young girls who wanted to go wrong...

The Cult of Amoralism

"It seemed that there was everywhere the same spirit of mental prostitution. The pleasure-mongers were divided into two schools. On the one hand, there was the good old way, the national way of providing a coarse and unclean pleasure, quite frankly ; a delight in ugliness, strong meat, physical deformities, a show of drawers, barrack-room jests, risky storiers, red pepper, high game, private rooms—'a manly frankness' as those people say who try to reconcile looseness and morality by pointing out that, after four acts of dubious fun, order is restored and the code triumphs by the fact that the wife is really with the husband whom she thinks she is receiving—(so long as the law is observed, then virtue is all right); that vicious sort of virtue which defends marriage by endowing it with all the charm of lewdness—the Gallic way.

"The other school was in the modern style. It was much more subtle and much more disgusting. The Parisianised Jews and the Judaicised Christians who frequented the theatre had introduced into it the usual hash of sentiment which is the distinctive of a degenerate cosmopolitanism...The men who were at that time in control of the theatres in Paris were extraordinarily skilful at beating up filth and sentiment, and giving virtue a flavouring of vice, vice a flavouring of virtue, and turning upside down every human relation of age, sex the family, and the affections. Their art, therefore, had an odour *sui generis* which smelt good and bad at once,—that is to say,

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smelt very bad indeed : they called it 'amoralism.'

"One of their favourite heroes at that time was the amorous old man. Their theatres presented a rich gallery of portraits of the type : and in painting it they introduced a thousand petty touches - Society women were theirs. The men were bawds, the girls were Lesbian. And all these things happened in the highest society : the society of rich people—the only society that mattered ..And it all reeked of death and the seraglio.

Literary Dilletantism

"Levy-Coeur was exactly the opposite of Christopher. and represented the spirit of irony and decay which fastened gently, politely, inexorably, on all the great things that were left of the dying society : the family, marriage, religion, patriotism : in art, on everything that was manly, pure, healthy, of the people ; faith in ideas, feelings, great men, in Man. Behind that mode of thought there was only the mechanical pleasure of analysis, analysis pushed to extremes, a sort of animal desire to nibble at thought, the instinct of a worm. And side by side with that ideal of intellectual nibbling was a girlish sensuality...Everything was literary copy to him : his own adventures, his vices and the vices of his friends. He had written novels and plays in which, with much talent, he described the private life of his relations, and their most intimate adventures, and those of his friends, his own, his *liaisons*, among others one with the wife of his best friend : the portraits were well drawn : everybody praised them, the public, the wife, and his friend. It was impossible for him to gain the confidence or the favours of a woman without putting them into a book.

"He [Christopher] had had enough of Parisian society : he could not bear the emptiness of it, the idleness, the moral impotence, the neurasthenia, its aimless, pointless self-devouring hypercriticism. He wondered how people could live in such a stagnant atmosphere of art for arts' sake, and pleasure for pleasures' sake.

Literary Criticism and the Cult of Truth

"They were debating whether he [Victor Hugo] had been cuckolded : they argued at length about the love of Sainte-Beuve and Madame Hugo. And then they turned to the lovers of George Sand and their respective merits. That was the chief occupation of criticism just then : when they had ransacked the houses of great men, rummaged through their closets, turned out the drawers, ransacked the cupboards, they burrowed down to their inmost lives. The attitude of Monsieur de Lauzun lying flat under the bed of the king and Madame de Montespan was the attitude of criticism in its cult of history and truth—(everybody just then, of course, made a cult of truth). These young men were subscribers to the cult : no detail was too small for them in their search for truth. They applied it to the art of the present as well as to that of the past: and they analysed the private life of some of the more notorious of their contemporaries with the same passion for exactness. It was a queer thing that they were possessed of the smallest details of scenes which are usually enacted without witnesses. It was really as though the persons concerned had been the first to give exact information to the public out of their great devotion to the truth."

The Poetic Drama

"There were poets in France. There were even great poets. But the theatre was not for them. It was for the versifiers...Christopher saw Princesses who were virtuously promiscuous, who prostituted themselves for their honour, who were compared with Christ ascending Calvary :—friends who deceived their friends out of devotion to them : —glorified triangular relations :—heroic cuckoldry : (the cuckold, like the blessed prostitute, had become a European commodity...the cuckold never appeared without a halo.). And Christopher saw also lovely damsels torn between passion and duty : their passion bade them follow a new lover : duty bade them stay with the old one, an old man who gave them money and was deceived by them. And in the end they plumped heroically for duty. Christopher could not see how duty differed from sordid interest : but the public was satisfied. The word duty was enough for them : they did not insist on having the thing itself : they took the author's word for it.

"The summit of art was reached and the greatest pleasure was given when, most paradoxically, sexual immorality and Cornellian heroics could be combined. In that way every need of the Parisian public was satisfied : mind, senses, rhetoric. But it is only just to say that the public was fonder even of words than of lewdness. Eloquence could send it into ecstasies. It would have suffered anything for a fine tirade. Virtue or vice, heroics hobnobbing with the basest prurience, there was no pill that it would not swallow if it were gilded with sonorous rhymes and redundant words. Anything that came to hand was ground into couplets, antitheses, arguments ; love, suffering, death. Nothing but phrases. It was all a game. ...They played at being artists. They played at being poets.

The Death of Art

"...Certain eclectic theatres—the very latest thing. There they saw murder, rape, madness, torture. eyes plucked out, bellies gutted,—anything to thrill the nerves. and satisfy the barbarism lurking beneath a too civilized section of the people. It had a great attraction for pretty women and men of the world,—the people who would go and spend whole afternoons in the stuffy courts of the Palais de Justice, listening to scandalous cases, laughing, talking and eating chocolates. But Christopher indignanly refused. The more closely he examined that sort of art, the more acutely he became aware of the odour that from the very first he had detected, faintly in the beginning, then more strongly, and finally it was suffocating: the odour of death.

"Death: it was everywhere beneath all the luxury and uproar. Christopher discoverd the explanation of the feeling of repuguance with which certain French plays had filled him. It was not their immorality that shocked him. Morality, immorality, amorality,—all these words mean nothing.. To be healthy was the great thing... The writers of Paris were unhealthy: or if any of them happened to be healthy, the chances were that

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he was ashamed of it : he disguised it and did his best to catch some disease. Their sickness was not shown in any particular feature of their art : – the love of pleasure, the extreme license of mind or the universal trick of criticism which examined and dissected every idea that was expressed. All these things could be—and were as the case might be,—healthy or unhealthy. If death was there, it did not come from the material, but from the use these people made of it ; it was in the people themselves --when Christopher impatiently shook off the yoke of the great Masters of the past, when he waged war against the æsthetics and the morality of the Pharisees, it was not a game to him as it was to these men of intellect : and his revolt was directed only towards life, the life of fruitfulness, big with the centuries to come. With these people all tended to sterile enjoyment. Sterile, sterile, sterile. That was the key to the enigma. Mind and senses were fruitlessly debauched. A brilliant act full of wit and clevereness,—a lovely form, in truth, a tradition of beauty, impregnably seated, in spite of foreign alluvial deposits—a theatre which was a theatre, a style which was a style, authors who knew their business, writers who could write, a fine skeleton of an art, and a thought that had been great. But a skeleton. Sonorous words ringing phrases the metallic clang of ideas hurtling down the void, witticisms, minds haunted by sensuality and senses numbed with thought. It was all useless, save for the sport of egoism. It led to death. It was a phenomenon analogous to the frightful decline in the birth-rate of France, which Europe was observing—and reckoning—in silence. So much wit, so much cleverness, so many acute senses, all wasted and wasting in a sort of shameful onanism! They had no notion of it, and wished to have none. They laughed--He liked them even less when they tried to take themselves seriously: and nothing hurt him more than to see victors, who regarded art as no more than an instrument of pleasure giving themselves airs as priests of a disinterested religion.

"We are artists", said Sylvain Kohn once more complacently. "We follow art for arts' sake. Art is always pure : everything in art is chaste. We explore life as tourists, we find every thing amusing. We are amateurs of rare sensations, lovers of beauty."

"You are hypocrites," replied Christopher bluntly. "Excuse my saying so. I used to think my own country had a monopoly. In Germany our hypocrisy consists in always talking of idealism while we think of nothing but our interests, and we even believe that we are idealists while we think of nothing but ourselves. But you are much worse : you cover your national lewdness with the names of Art and Beauty (with capitals). Art for arts' sake ? That's a fine faith ! But it is the faith of the strong. Art ! To grasp life, as the eagle claws its prey, to bear it up into the air to rise with it into the serenity of space ! For that you need talons, great wings, and a strong heart. Art for art's sake ! Oh, wretched men ! Art is no common ground for the feet of all who pass it by. Why, it is a pleasure, it is the most intoxicating of all. But it is a pleasure which is only won at the cost of a strenuous fight : it is the laurel-wreath which crowns the victory of the strong. Art is life tamed. Art is the Emperor of life. To be Caesar a man must have the soul of Caesar. But you are only limelight kings : you are playing a part, and do not even deceive yourselves. And, like those actors, who turn to profit their deformities, you manufacture literature out of your own deformities and those of your public. Lovingly do you cultivate the diseases of your people, their fear of effort, their love of pleasure, their sensual minds, their chimerical humanitarianism, everything in them that drugs the will, everything in them that saps their power for action. You deaden their minds with the fumes of opium. Behind it all is death : you know it, but you will not admit it. Well, I tell you : where death is, there art is not. Art is the spring of life. But even the most honest of your writers are so cowardly that even when the bandage is removed from their eyes, they pretend not to see : they have the effrontery to say : "It is dangerous, I admit : it is poisonous : but it is full of talent. It is as if a judge, sentencing a hooligan, were to say : "He is a blackguard, certainly : but he has so much talent !"

THERE AND THEN

(*From the Bengali of Rabindranath Tagore*)

By NAGENDRANATH GUPTA

Where my moving steps come to a halt,
There open the doors of the boundless.
Where my song is extinguished,
There is song's silent sea.
Where darkness veils my eyes,
There shines the light of the world unseen.

Outside the flower blooms and falls in the dust,
In the heart grows the ambrosial fruit.
When work grows big as it moves along,
Then comes to it large leisure.
When the I in me is finished and is still,
Then I become manifest in thee.

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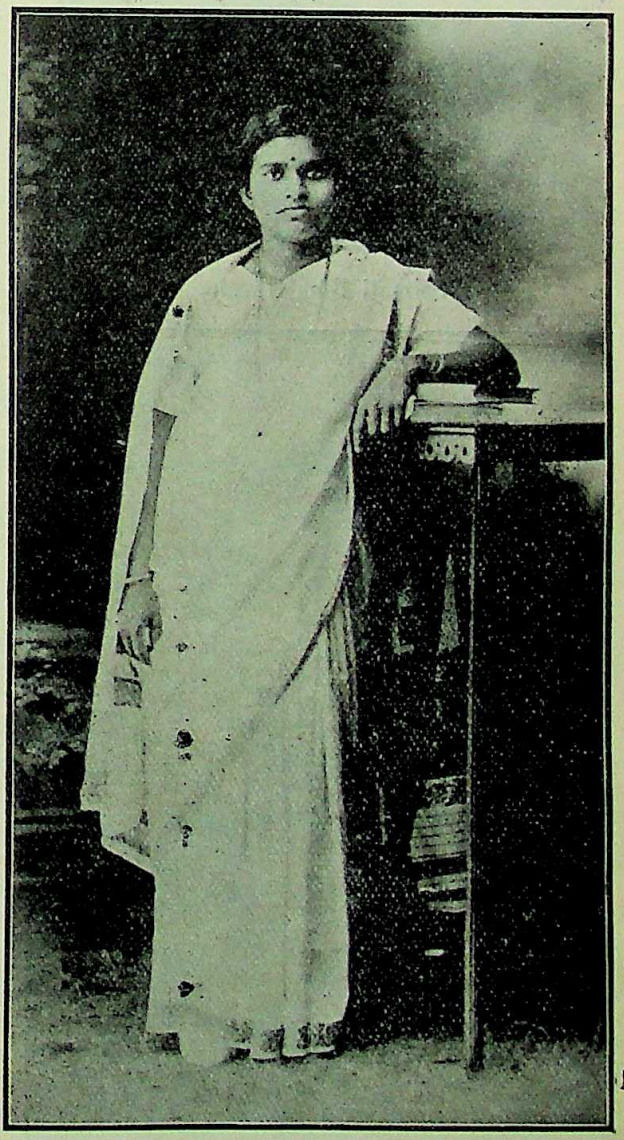
Srimati Malatilata Sen topped the list of successful candidates in Sanskrit (standing first-class first) at the last M.A. Examination of the Calcutta University. She stood first in all the eight papers. Mrs Sen took first-class honors in Sanskrit at the B A. Examination and passed the Intermediate and Matriculation Examinations in the first division.



Srimati Malatilata Sen

Srimati Bina Ghosh stood first (first class) in Mathematics at the last M.A. Examination of the Benares Hindu University. In the B.A. Examination she got first-class honours in the same subject.

Miss Rajul Gujar of the Poona Agricul-



Mrs. G. Pavitran

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Srimati Bina Ghosh



Miss Shamkumari Nehru



Miss S. Das



Miss Kalyanikutti Ammal

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tural College stood first at the last intermediate Examination in Agriculture from the Bombay University. We hope other lady-students will follow her example and win academic distinction and strive for the advancement of agriculture.

Miss Shamkumari Nehru, daughter of Pandit Shamlal Nehru and niece of Pandit Motilal Nehru after a brilliant academic career has headed the list of successful candidates at the last L.L.B. examination of the Allahabad University. She will join the Allahabad High Court and serve her apprenticeship under Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru.

Miss Kalyani Kutti Ammal, B A., daughter of Mr. E. Narayana Nair, Vakil has topped the list of successful candidates in History and Economics (Honours Course) of the Madras University. She has been awarded *Todhunter Prize* and *Akkama Garu Gold Medal.*

The following ladies have been nominated to local bodies in different provinces. Miss S. Das (Indore Municipal Corporation), Mrs. G. Pavitram, B A., L.T. (Ernakulam Municipality, Madras).



Miss Rajul Gujar

TWO MAY-MEMORIES

MOZOOMDAR AND VEERESALINGAM

By. PRINCIPAL V. RAMAKRISHNA RAO M.A., L.T., PH. D.

Vanga and Andhra have long stood close knit by the spiritstrings of the Theistic Movement in Modern India. In the Saints' Calendar of the New Church, sacred in common to both, the 27th. of May shines out prominent as the focussing point of two hallowed memories those of two worthy leaders called to rest on the same day, though at an interval of nearly a decade and a half, from either province and community. Pratap Chandra Mozoomdar and Kandukuri Veeresalingam, certainly, are, and will continue to be, stars of the first magnitude, however wide apart in the firmament of the Liberal Faith. No two personalities can readily be thought of as more dissimilar in temperament and training, in talent and taste. Yet, even as a study in contrasts, these two images, placed side by side, afford an object lesson strikingly interesting and profitably significant. First, they bring home the reality of the Pauline experience of one spirit amid a diversity of gifts. They illustrate, in flesh and blood, the truth of Mozoomdar's own words: "God is one but to each man He has a new phase, a new form, a new message, a new kind of personality" (*The Silent Pastor*). Next, in particular, they demonstrate the capacity of a Church like the Brahmo Samaj to serve alike as an ark of shelter and a vineyard of service for types of living spirits never so opposite.

In the

Outer Conditions

of life in general, one cannot fail to observe the clear beginnings of the difference between the two great men we contemplate to-day with grateful veneration. While both belonged practically to the same formative period

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of Indian Renaissance in this age, Mozoomdar saw the light 8 years earlier in 1840 and Veeresalingam closed his eyes 14 years later in 1919. How serenely impressive was Mozoomdar's physical frame, a stalwart statuesque figure imposingly refined with an all too unfurrowed countenance: You turned round to Veeresalingam, and what did you find but an unprepossessing rustic dilapidated and broken up into wrinkles'. As for subjection to the ills of the flesh, if the one specialised in diabetes, the other was an expert in asthma. In garb and garment, the former was wont to be as clean-cut as the latter, perhaps, was clumsy. Predominantly Hindu with a clear impress also of the Greek in his interior, Mozoomdar might well be regarded as wholly Greek in his exterior. On the other hand, quite an embodiment of the Hebrew in his interior, Veeresalingam remained out and out Hindu in his exterior. Here, the qualifying clauses about the inward build become necessary to foreshadow how the search for, and fellowship with, the Spirit of God and, again, the struggle for, and satisfaction in, the Kingdom of Righteousness made the two what they essentially were in their respective spheres of life and work. It was rightly given to Mozoomdar to enjoy almost world-wide fame in his own day after those three successful tours through the Western mansion of our Father's Home, as Keshub would piously christen the Occident. As for Veeresalingam, it were only to be devoutly wished that the due need of celebrity had made his golden deeds and his sovereign worth more intimately familiar in far horizons beyond Southern India

Lines of divergence are, likewise, traceable between the

Early Careers

of the two. In neither was the child father to the man that is, in the strict sense of the terms. Frivolity and profanity through loose associations were soon replaced in youthful Mozoomdar by earnestness and devoutness, as witness the prayer scrolls and devotional prepossessions even of the working-hours of Bank service. So that, his friend and admirer through after-life, Dr. Samuel J. Barrows (President of the Chicago Parliament of Religions), could testify how "Even at a very early age his religious nature began to feel the mystic thrill and prophecy of the God-life." But a staunch adherence to custom-ridden orthodoxy formed a characteristic trait self-announced in Veeresalingam even as an adult. Accordingly, the later story is the process of conversion, in one case from secularism to religion and in the other from conservatism to liberalism. Mozoomdar herein possessed a rare advantage—the beckoning example and guidance of superior spirits. Of the two personal influences that wrought mightily upon him, he himself referred, in the congenial language of art, to Maharshi as a "finished piece of workmanship" and to Brahmananda as "unfinished and yet growing" at that stage. Furthermore, about the latter, "He became to me really a part of myself, the better part. He was like another self to me, a higher, holier, diviner self." One other testimony will suffice, not to linger long over this romantic and inspiring chapter of spiritual comradeship.

"Placed in my youth by the side of a very pure and powerful character whose external conditions were similar to my own, I was helped to feel the freshness of my susceptibilities by the law of contrast that I was painfully imperfect and needed very much the grace of a saving God."

The Oriental Christ

To Veeresalingam, however, with none to look up to and none to lean upon, belongs all the honour of a self-evolved, self-regulated soul save for faint, far-off reports of a Vidyasagar and a Vishnu Sastri elsewhere in this continent of a country. And just as, in earlier life, it had been Mozoomdar's high privilege to be received into the welcoming embrace of other outstretched arms, so even in later life, when he came to be reckoned among the 'anointed', he was one such only behind and beside others of varying degrees of power. But this was all denied to lonely Veeresalingam—himself the struggler and the climber, the path-finder and the torch-bearer, the pioneer and the organiser, from beginning to end in a 'benighted province.' Whereas no deprecation is implied in the least as regards Mozoomdar, this is a circumstance which must redound the more to the glory of Veeresalingam and call forth the undying gratitude of the nation towards the patriarch of public life in Andhradesa. Mozoomdar was initiated into Brahmoism in the last year of his' teens. Thenceforward, except for the breach with the ancestral home when he dared openly

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to take his wife to Devendranath's house at Keshub's investiture with the ministership, his struggles through life (as reviewed in *Aseesh*) were, for the most part, inward wrestles with all the subtle-shaped brood of sin and sordidness. Veeresalingam entered the war-path at a comparatively later period in life with his solemnisation of the first widow marriage in the Southern Presidency in 1881, although, as a matter of fact, he had long since burnished his armour and blown his bugle. The formal discarding of the 'sacred thread' and acceptance of *Brahmadharmadeeksha* did not come about, too, till so late as 1906. And the tale of these long years, as recounted in *Sweeyacharitra* is the tale of fire-baptism—of fierce social persecution, aye, of the crucifixion of the spirit inch by inch. Naturally therefore, the real man is revealed, in Mozoomdar's case in the heart-beats and in the Himalayan communings, and in Veeresalingam's in the clash of arms and in the dint of blows given and taken.

As we step, next, into the precincts of

Home Life

we come upon a remarkable phenomenon of parallelism in the two careers. The partners in life to whom Mozoomdar and Veeresalingam were wedded, as by custom bound, at such tender ages as 18 and 11, 12 and 8, respectively, proved, by force of love to be equally devoted companions and comforters through the sahara-weariness of solitary, childless life. Forsooth, the gracious tribute of unqualified acknowledgment, "If it had not been for her, I could not have got on at all", might literally be applied to Rajyalakshmamma as to Soudamani Devi. Its touching note is what resounds through the dedicatory lines in *Sweeyacharitra*.

Then, as to the

Writings

the same classical taste is apparent here as there, with the purest graces of elegance and finish, dignity and sweetness, not without freedom and naturalness. There is also alike the purposiveness of letters as a vehicle of self-communication. Mozoomdar points thus to the mainspring of all the forthputtings of his own literary energy: "The religious impulses that come to me open all my powers of expression and thought. My religion is entirely and absolutely the source of my education, character and power of speech." In fact, his is the sublime Logos—doctrine of the ancient Greek philosopher which he re-enunciates in the affirmation, "All language is merely worked out in conceiving, expressing and glorifying God". (*The Spirit of God*). Veeresalingam, it is true, dwells not equally upon the deep things of the spirit within the wide range of his ten volumes, a unique collection by themselves in Telugu literature. But as the preacher in Mozoomdar nobly vindicates the ways of God to man, so the protester in Veeresalingam powerfully enforces the will of God among men, the dynamic of inspiration being the same behind both. Hence, 'Thy words are fresh glimpses of the True' is our free acknowledgment to the one, even as 'Thy words are half-battles for the Truth' is our full acclaim, to the other. In the fulfilment; accordingly, of their separate missions, Mazoomdar's pen is verily the skilled painter's brush, creative artist as he is in English prose; Veeresalingam's, on one side, is the flowing fount of mercury and, on the other—what a jewelled Excaliber of magic, what a puissant sword of the Crusades, also recalling now the resistless axe of Parasurama, now the crushing club of Bhima and again the unerring bow of Arjuna!

In fine, the

Special Vocation

of each cannot be more expressively described than by the coinage of his own mint. The priest and preacher will always be cherished as our 'Interpreter' and our '(Silent) Pastor'. With something in him of the trio of Thikkana Brothers—Kavya Thikkana, Khadga Thikkana and Karya Thikkana, the editor of the *Vivekavardhani* and founder of the 'Hitakarini Samaj' will in his turn, be enshrined in the memory as our '*Vivekavardhana*' and our '*Hitakari*'. "Thinker, prophet, reformer" this is the summing up of the one in the works of Dr. Barrows, his renowned admirer. Nothing short of "Kin to Providence"—this is the appellation of the other in the estimate of Sir Dr. R. Venkata Ratnam, his worthy coadjutor. The *sadhak* and the *acharya* we designate as our spiritual mystic; the hero and the humanist as our social mystic. And in relation to both alike, we herein imply by mysticism not merely the theoretical side of it as the Science of Reality, according to Coventry Patmore's definition, but also the vaster practical aspect of it agreeably to

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Edmund Holmes's exposition in last April's Hibbert Journal : "There is more of art than of science, more of practice than of theory, more of feeling than of thought in the mystic's handling of his subject." Mozoomdar and Veeresalingam were at one about the basic truth that social evils, in their ultimate analysis, are due to spiritual causes and require to be spiritually healed. Only, in this healing and regenerative process, the former, alike by message and example, revealed to his generation how spiritual things are spiritually discerned. The latter went forth, rousing the social conscience with the prophetic strain

"Cursed be the social wants that sin against
the strength of youth !
Cursed be the social lies that warp us
from the living truth !"

There is, it is believed, enough in the recorded word to support the characterisation of the

Distinctive Outlook

of Mozoomdar as one of subjective idealism and of Veeresalingam as one of objective rationalism. In the former, how happily the keynote is struck in the autobiographical statement, "My utterances are only my personal record" ! This same feature is reiterated in the writer's own account of the scope of his *magnum opus, The Spirit of God*: "In His name and glory I have only tried to describe His dealings with me". Even the headings of its chapters—'Sense of the Unseen' 'Spiritual Power of the Senses' ; 'The Spirit in the Spirit' *etc.* afford a sure clue to the character of the genius that has thereby enriched the worlds' religious classics. The whole of *Heart-Beats* is there, again, with its self-reflections from the realms of inward meditation as evidence both of the intense subjectivity and of the lofty idealism. Also, according to the marvellous development of Keshub's concept, recognised by Dr. Barrows as an original contribution to Christology in *The Oriental Christ*, even the "present relationship to the soul and sympathy of Christ"—"the meat and drink of my soul"—the recompense of that period of "special isolation" in the 27th year of his age—constitutes a historic landmark in Mozoomdar's subjective realisation of ideal humanity. Doubtless, he was far from being unmindful of the values of objective truth. If proof of this were needed, it could be found, clinching the conclusion, in his own statement of the very occasion for the *Aids to Moral Character*. "History and biography", he says, "have much greater value than aphorisms and essays. Deeds and examples affect the mind of youth everywhere but nowhere so much as in India, where the doers of good deeds and possessors of virtue are generally invested with a mystical semi-divine glow". At the same time, to quote once again from Dr. Barrows, "Mr. Mozoomdar is so completely identified with his work and so habitually lives in the contemplation of universal principles and the Universal Life that he shrinks from bringing into contrast concrete elements of individual history". Consequently, taken up more with spirit—perceptions than with mind-processes, Mozoomdar is among those to whom we repair, not to know the philosophy of faith but to witness the faith of philosophy. The common foreword to every utterance of his runs thus in invisible ink : *Om Brahmavadino vadanti*. No so with Veeresalingam—the Akshay Kumar Dutt of Andhra Brahmoism as of Telugu Prose Literature. His pages are packed with close reasoning. Trenchant and crushing in argument, he is a true Titan in controversy, his armoury abounding evermore in all the resources of wit and humour, banter and irony, sarcasm and satire. The admirable discourses against Caste, Idolatry, the Transmigration of Souls and the Infallibility of Scriptures are some of the instances in point, besides the formidable Widow-Marriage Appeals on grounds of scripture, reason and expediency. As we have it on his own authority, Mozoomdar drank deep of the springs of both literature and philosophy during his editorial charge of *The Indian Mirror*. Yet, his writings bear scarcely any trace of formal, systematic philosophy, while they are redolent with the perfume of literature. Nor is there to be found any deep-built theology in Veeresalingam either, though a working principle of faith lies imbedded in the works as in the life. Mozoomdar's religion is the religion of psychology Veeresalingam's religion is the religion of common sense. Among brother-theists in the West, Mozoomdar's affinities are with Francis Newman of *The Soul*, the episode of their personal fellowship forming part of the well-known continental experiences of our Apostle to the West. Veeresalingam's reflex is furnished by Charles

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Voysey of the Church Militant. Incidentally, perhaps, it may be suggestively added in this context that, if Mozoomdar reminds one of Newman in England, Keshub—not, of course, the mature Keshub—recalls Theodre Parker of America. Mozoomdar's was the Brahmoism of Realisation, and Veeresalingam's the Brahmoism of Reformation, whereas in both the Brahmoism of Regeneration had been previously reached soon enough to be early made the starting-point in the career. It is as though with Mozoomdar religion was an end instead of a means; with Veeresalingam it was a means to an end. Life, as conceived by the former, is the realisation of religion and its beatitude. Religion, as understood by the latter, is the realisation of life and its efficiency. "Self-realisation through disinterested service of the commonweal" is Sir Dr. Venkata Ratnam's paraphrase of the ideal of the school which he fitly identifies with the name of Veeresalingam. As already indicated, superstitions having been sloughed off, if ever they had any hold, and right beliefs and ideals having grown to be axiomatic comparatively earlier and the surrounding atmosphere itself being differently constituted, we hear far, far less of the destructive blast, the protestant note, in Mozoomdar than in Veeresalingam, the life-long denunciator of externalism and ecclesiasticism, of the tyranny of custom, the hollowness of cant and the subtleness of corruption. It were hard to fix upon more flaming diatribes than Veeresalingam's memorable apostrophes to *Duracharapisacham* (the Demon of Evil Custom) indited with a pen of fire in the Widow Marriage Appeals. If Mozoomdar set himself wholly to temple-service, Veeresalingam had to be occupied largely with jungle-clearance. To light the lamp of faith, to ring the bell of fervour, to burn the incense of devotion, to sing the hymn of praise, to chant the canticle of love, to blow the conch of peace—these were the offices of the one. To fell down stifling Upas-trees, to burn up rank brush-wood, to hunt down ravenous beasts, to destroy venomous reptiles, to bore impassable hills, to weed out pricking thorns—these were among the tasks of the other. To say among the tasks is essential, inasmuch as the jungle-clearance was nothing if not preliminary to the garden-culture that strove to rear a very Eden in our midst. Hence "thro' the centuries let a people's voice" attest,

"With honour, honour, honour, honour to him,
Eternal honour to his name".

how the good husbandman who cleared the tares sowed also the wheat and wore himself out in training the struggling, in pruning the exhuberant, in watering the dropping, in tilling the fallow, in protecting the fruit-bearing, in gathering in the ripening—aye, in diverse works of noble note! Eastern introspection *antardrishti* and Western practicality *Karyadeeksha*: here, then, are typified the two hemispheres of our orb of perfection. While Veeresalingam's religion of humanity subserved our 'domestic mission' in the Homeland, Mozoomdar's religion of harmony carried our 'foreign mission' across the waters and raised it to its rightful status when he was elected to lead the Parliament of Religions in its opening prayer.

One or two more points of marked contrast can be but barely touched upon before closing. A living communion with Nature in the true Wordsworthian mood of 'wise passiveness' was one of the constant preoccupations of the wonder-worshiper whose magnificent pen-and-ink reproductions of the Niagara Falls so beautifully adorn the *Sketches of a Tour Round the World* and of the *dhyanayogi* the bulk of whose profounder works were reared on the hill-top of Kurseong and whose expositions of 'The Spirit in Nature' and 'Kinship in Nature' challenge acceptance as part of the Apocalypse of the Age. On the other hand, despite exquisite poetic touches about Nature in his verse productions, the conflicts with Man out of the love of Man crowded out such communion with Nature in the *Karmayogin* of the Andhras, their Vidyasagar as well as Dayasagar. Again, if *Heart-Beats* has been rightly appraised by Dr. Barrows as "the most remarkable devotional book since that of Thomas A. Kempis", the collocation of these two names would seem to justify itself also on another and a minor ground—the common absence of humour. As to the originator of those novel varieties of Telugu Composition, the *Prahasanms*, *Vyavaharadharmabodhini*, *Satyaraja's Travels* and *Rajasekharacharitra*, it can safely be claimed that he has surely no superiors and scarcely any equals in the field of humour, reproducing the eighteenth century vein, now of Swift and now of Goldsmith. Lastly, if Mozoomdar won laurels everywhere as one of India's foremost orators to crown his eminence as a writer, Veeresalingam,

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who, like Goldsmith again, touched nothing he did not adorn, excelled only by the wizard-wand of that pain which clung to the hand right up to the last breath.

Now, to bring these rambling thoughts to their due

CONCLUSION

If History is made up of the Biographies of Great Men and Great Men are no other than God's Men, the life-stories, as told by themselves, of two such of God's Men as Mozoomdar and Veeresalingam must acquire for us a far greater value than any of their works. *Aseesh* and *Sweeyacharitra* thus taking rank among the foremost tokens of the redemptive triumph of *Brahmadharma*, we do well to feel that, were these alone extant out of all Brahmic literature, in the company of Rammohun's Autobiographical Note, Devendranath's Spiritual Autobiography, Keshub's *Jeevan Veda*, Sivanath's *Atma-charit*, Rabindranath's *Jeevansmriti* and the like, we could, over again, build upon them, like edifices upon a ground-work, the whole theology and history, liturgy and hymnology of a century of Brahmoism, aye, of modern Indian thought and life. Mozoomdar and Veeresalingam have both lived and died without any issue from their loins. Each nevertheless does possess his own progeny in spiritual discipleship the one though not to the same extent as the person-cult of his own friend, philosopher and guide; and the other, too, though oftentimes damned with faint praise and even beset with his own Peters and Judases.

A far, far cry all this—do you say? from 'Peace Cottage' Calcutta, to 'Ananda Gardens', Rajahmundry! But even as the Ganges and the Jumna spring out of the self-same heights and, after varied courses, mingle and merge and reach their common close in the one only main, so do Peace and Bliss, Bliss and Peace!

AUROBINDO GHOSH

BY RABINDRANATH TAGORE

FOR a long time I had a strong desire to meet Aurobindo Ghosh. It has just been fulfilled. I feel that I must write down the thoughts that have come to my mind.

In the Christian Scripture it has been said:—"In the beginning there was the Word." The Word takes form in creation. It is not the calendar which introduces a new era. It is the Word, leading man to the path of a higher manifestation, a richer reality.

In the beginning and end of all great utterances in our scriptures we have the word Om It has the meaning of self-acknowledgement of Truth, it is the breath of the Eternal.

From some great sea of idea, a tidal wave tumultuously broke upon Europe carrying on its crest the French Revolution. It was a new age, not because the oppressed of that time in France stood against their oppressors, but because that age had in its beginning the Word which spoke of a great moral liberation for all humanity.

Mazzini and Garibaldi ushered in a new age of awakening in Italy, not because of the external fact of a change in the political condition of that country, but because they gave utterance to the Word, which did not merely enjoin formal acts, but inspired an inner creative truth. The feeling of touch, with the help of which a man gathers in darkness things that are immediate to him, exclusively belongs to himself; but the sunlight represents the great touch of the universe; it is for the needs of every one, and it transcends the needs of all individuals. This light is the true symbol of the Word.

One day science introduced a new age to the Western world, not because she helped man to explore nature's secrets, but because she revealed to him the universal aspect of reality in which all individual facts find their eternal background.

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because she aroused in him the loyalty to truth that could defy torture and death. Those who follow the modern development of science know that she has truly brought us to the threshold of another new age, when she takes us across things to the mystic shrine of light where sounds the original Word of Creation.

In ancient India, the age of creation began with the transition from ritual practices to spiritual wisdom. It sent its call to the soul, which creates from its own abundance ; and men woke up and said, that only those truly live, who live in the bosom of the Eternal. This is the Word spoken from the heart of that age : "Those who realise Truth, realise immortality."

In the Buddhist age, also, the Word came with the message of utmost sacrifice, of a love that is unlimited. It inspired an ideal of perfection in man's moral nature, which busied itself in creating for him a world of emancipated will.

The Word is that which helps to bring forth towards manifestation the unmanifest immense in man. Nature urges animals to restrict their endeavour in earning their daily wages of living. It is the Word which has rescued man from that enclosure of a narrow livelihood to a wider freedom of life. The dim light in that world of physical self-preservation is for the world of night ; and men are not nocturnal beings.

Time after time, man must discover new proofs to support the faith in his own greatness, the faith that gives him freedom in the Infinite. It is realised anew every time that we find a man whose soul is luminously seen through the translucent atmosphere of a perfect life. Not the one who has the strength of an intellect that reasons, a will that plans, the energy that works, but he whose life has become one with the Word, from whose being is breathed Om, the response of the everlasting yes.

The longing to meet such a person grows stronger when we find in men around us the self-mistrust which is spiritual nihilism, producing in them an indecent pride in asserting the paradox that man is to remain an incorrigible brute to the end of his days, that the value of our ideals must be judged by a standard which is that of the market price of things.

When, as today, truth is constantly being subordinated to purposes that have their sole meaning in a success hastily snatched up from a mad scramble for immediate opportunities our greed becomes uncontrollable In its impatience it refuses to modulate its pace to the rhythm that is inherent in a normal process of achievement, and exploits all instruments of reckless speed, including propaganda of delusion. Ambition tries to curtail its own path, for its gain is at the end of that path, while truth is permeatingly one with the real seeking for her, as a flower with its stem. But, used as a vehicle of some utility, robbed of her love's wooing, she departs, leaving that semblance of utility a deception.

Ramachandra, the hero of the great epic Ramayana, during the long period his of wanderings in the wilderness, came to realise, helped by constant difficulties and dangers, the devotion of his wife Sita, his companion in exile. It was the best means of gaining her in truth through a strenuously intimate path of ever-ripening experience. After his return to his kingdom, urged by an immediate political necessity, he asked Sita to give an instant proof of her truth in a magic trial by fire before the suspicious multitude. Sita refused, knowing that such a trial could only offend truth by its callous unreality, and she disappeared for ever.

It brings to my mind the opening line of an old Bengali poem which my friend Kshitimohan Sen offered to me from his rich store of rare sayings. It may be translated thus :

"O cruel man of urgent needs,
Must thou in thy haste scorch by fire the
mind that is still in bud ?"

It takes time to prove the spirit of perfection lying in wait in a mind that is yet to mature. But a cruel urgency takes the quick means of a forced trial and the mind itself disappears leaving the crowd to admire the gorgeousness of the preparation. When we find everywhere the hurry of this greed dragging truth tied to its chariot-wheels along the dusty delusion of short-cuts, we feel sure that it would be futile to set against it a mere appeal of reason, but that a true man is needed who can maintain the patience of a profound faith against a constant temptation of urgency and hypnotism of a numerical magnitude.

We badly need today for the realisation

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of our human dignity a person who will preach respect for man in his completeness. It is a truism to say that man is *not* simple, that his personality consists of countless elements that are bewilderingly miscellaneous. It is possible to denude him of his wealth of being in order to reduce him to a bare simplicity that helps to fit him easily to a pattern of a parsimonious life. But it is important to remember that man *is* complex, and therefore his problems can only be solved by an adjustment, and not by any suppression of the varied in him or by narrowing the range of his development. By thinning it to an unmeaning repetition, eliminating from it the understanding mind and earnestness of devotion we can make our prayer simple and still simpler by bringing it down to a mechanical turning of the prayer wheel as they have done in Tibet. Such a process lightens the difficulty of a work by minimising the humanity of the worker. Teachers who are notoriously successful in guiding their pupils through examinations know that teaching can be made simple by cramming and hushing the questioning mind to sleep. It hastens success through a ruthless retrenchment of education. The present-day politics has become a menace to the world, because of its barbarous simplicity produced by the exclusion of the moral element from its method and composition. Industrialism also has its cult of an ascetic miserliness that simplifies its responsibility by ignoring the beautiful. On the other hand, the primitive methods of production attain their own simplicity through a barren negation of science and, to that extent, a poor expression of humanity. We recognise our true teacher when he comes not to lull us to a minimum vitality of spirit but to rouse us to the heroic fact that man's path of fulfilment is difficult, "*durgam pathas tat.*" Animals drifting on the surface of existence have their life that may be compared to a simple raft composed of banana trunks held together. But human life finds its symbol in a perfectly modelled boat which has its manifold system of oars, helm and sails, towing ropes and poles for the complex purpose of negotiating with the three elements of water, earth and air. For its construction it claims from science a principle of balance based upon countless observations and experiments, and from our instinct for art the decorations that are utterly beside the purpose with which they are associated. It gives expression to the intelligent mind which is carefully accurate in the difficult adjustment of various forces and materials and to the creative imagination that delights in the harmony of forms for its own sake. We should never be allowed to forget that spiritual perfection comprehends all the riches of life and gives them a great unity of meaning.

While my mind was occupied with such thoughts, the French steamer on which I was travelling touched Pondicherry and I came to meet Aurobindo. At the very first sight I could realise that he had been seeking for the soul and had gained it, and through this long process of realisation had accumulated within him a silent power of inspiration. His face was radiant with an inner light and his serene presence made it evident to me that his soul was not crippled and cramped to the measure of some tyrannical doctrine, which takes delight in inflicting wounds upon life. He, I am sure, never had his lessons from the Christian monks of the ascetic Europe, revelling in the pride of that self-immolation which is a twin sister of self-aggrandisement joined back to back facing opposite directions.

I felt that the utterance of the ancient Hindu Rishi spoke from him of that equanimity which gives the human soul its freedom of entrance into the All. I said to him, "You have the Word and we are waiting to accept it from you India will speak through your voice to the world, 'Hearken to me'."

In her earlier forest home Sakuntala had her awakenment of life in the restlessness of her youth. In the later hermitage she attained the fulfilment of her life. Years ago I saw Aurobindo in the atmosphere of his earlier heroic youth and I sang to him,

"Aurobindo, accept the salutation from Rabindranath."

Today I saw him in a deeper atmosphere of a reticent richness of wisdom and again sang to him in silence,

"Aurobindo, accept the salutation from Rabindranath."

S.S. Chantilly,
May 29, 1928.

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[This section is intended for the correction of inaccuracies, errors of fact, clearly erroneous views, misrepresentations, etc., in the original contributions, and editorials published in this Review or in other papers criticizing it. As various opinions may reasonably be held on the same subject, this section is not meant for the airing of such differences of opinion. As, owing to the kindness of our numerous contributors, we are always hard pressed for space, critics are requested to be good enough always to be brief and to see that whatever they write is strictly to the point. Generally, no criticism of reviews and notices of books is published. Writers are requested not to exceed the limit of five hundred words.—Editor, The Modern Review.]

"Prof. Radhakrishnan on Indian Philosophy" : A Rejoinder

Mr. B. S. Guha should have been certain of the accuracy of his statements before rushing into print. The name of Rai Bahadur Sris Chandra Basu is conspicuous by its absence throughout Prof. Radhakrishnan's work. I would invite Mr. Guha to be so good as to point out the page which contains it.

Mr. Guha is ignorant of the fact that Rai Bahadur Sris Chandra Basu was not the author of "Patanjali" which is mentioned at the end of the chapter on Yoga System in Prof. Radhakrishnan's book. Pandit Ram Prasad, M.A., was the author of it. Sris Chandra Basu only contributed the foreword to it. This work forms Vol. IV of the *Sacred Books of the Hindus* series.

The Yoga Shastra or a treatise on Practical Yoga forms Vol. XV of the *Sacred Books of the Hindus* series and Sris Chandra Basu was its author. Prof. Radhakrishnan has, in my humble opinion, borrowed from this work without acknowledgement. Was it a sealed book to him?

As Mr. Guha has not categorically answered the questions contained in my letter on the subject published in the May number of *The Modern Review*, page 598, I repeat them here substantially :

1. Will Mr. Guha say whether Prof. Radhakrishnan is a practitioner or student of medicine and, as such, he hunted all the volumes of the *British Medical Journal* to find the extract from its issue of December 5, 1903, which he has given in footnote 4 of page 356 of his book?

I suggest that he has not done anything of the sort, but has copied it without acknowledgment from Rai Bahadur Sris Chandra Basu's *Introduction to Yoga Philosophy*, pp. 46-48, published in Vol. XV—part IV of the *Sacred Books of the Hindus* series. The extract he has given is a second-hand one and he was, therefore, bound in honour to mention the book to which he was indebted for it.

2. The Professor has referred in his work to Baladeva's *Govinda Bhasya* and *Prameya Ratnavali*. Has he consulted the original works, which, so far as I am aware, are printed in Bengali character, not in Devanagari? Rai Bahadur Sris Chandra Basu translated these works into English and published them in the *Sacred Books of the Hindus* series as Vol. V. Was the Professor ignorant of the fact? Why has he not mentioned the book in his work?

I suggest that he derived his information about Baladeva from Basu's translations.

3. Is he not indebted to Sris Chandra Basu for his account of Vijnana Bhikshu's commentary on the Vedanta Sutras?

There is only one edition of this work, published in the Chowkhamba series at the expense of Sris Chandra Basu, who also made it known to the public by his translation of its introduction in the pages of the *Theosophist* for 1898.

The professor of philosophy should know the meritorious and original works on the Vedanta Philosophy written in Bengali when he writes a history of Indian Philosophy in Calcutta, the cultural centre *of Bengal*.

Mr. Guha sneeringly suggests that Bengali historians of Indian Philosophy should be taken to task for their ignorance of Tamil publications on the subject, because I had in my letter pointed out that Prof. Radhakrishnan had not done justice to several authors who have written on the Vedanta philosophy in Bengali. Mr. Guha is right. If there be good original Tamil works on philosophy, all historians of Indian philosophy, Bengali or non-Bengali, should certainly know and make use of their contents. Professor Radhakrishnan's philosophical dignity would not have been impaired if he had condescended to know and make use of Bengali publications on philosophy, because he is the premier professor of Indian philosophy *in Bengal's* premier university, at which some distinguished holders of the Sreegopal Basu Mallik Fellowship have delivered their lectures on Indian philosophy *in Bengali*. All philosophical writings in Sanskrit are not necessarily more valuable than all such writings in the current languages of India. Does the Professor know that Ram Mohun Roy wrote a commentary in Bengali on a Vedantic work?

Let me take an imaginary case. Suppose a German philosopher occupying the best endowed chair in Oxford wrote a history of philosophy in Latin and did not mention or make use of any philosophical publication in English. What would be thought of him? I know the cases of the Mysore Professor and the imaginary German one

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are not on all fours; but they are sufficiently similar for my purpose.

Mr. Guha thinks that the writer of an authoritative work on philosophy need not know the *history* of a particular view. That is strange. Opinions may differ as to whether a philosophical writer should know the history of a particular view. But it cannot be laid down as a general proposition that the history of particular views need not be known. Those who claim to be authorities on a subject should certainly know with whom an idea, a hypothesis, a theory, an opinion, or a view originated, and who are mere repeaters or borrowers. How otherwise can the value of the labours of different workers be ascertained? To compare great things with small, a writer on the history of Evolution should be acquainted with the works not only of modern authors but also with the Sankhya system and the views of some the early Greek philosophers.

A man may be a "most distinguished student of philosophy" and may "enjoy a world-wide reputation as a thinker", but those facts may not ensure a particular work of his being creditable.

The selected bibliography does not name any translation of the Purva Mimansa. So far there have been only three translations of it—one complete and two incomplete. The select bibliography does not mention any.

X. Y. Z.

SOME ASPECTS OF BUDDHIST PHILOSOPHY *

By PROF. S. N. DASGUPTA, M.A., Ph. D. (*Cantab*)

SANSKRIT scholarship is under a deep debt of gratitude to the works of Western scholars. The many-sided activities of Sanskritic researchers of the present day would have been well-nigh impossible if occidental scholars had not opened so many new avenues and continued persistently their labour of love to unravel the mysteries of Indian civilisation, and culture. By their researches in Vedic philology and literature, their editing of the Pali canons, their connecting Tibetan and Chinese studies with Sanskrit, their archeological discoveries in India, Central Asia, Turphan, Indo-China, Java and Bali and by their scholarly works in many other spheres of Sanskritic studies, they have opened up almost a new world of civilisation to the students of Ancient India. But in one sphere, namely, that of Indian philosophy their works have not however, been as remarkable, though in this field also they have been opening new sources of study for Buddhistic researches by their translations from Tibetan and Chinese. The reason for their backwardness in Indian philosophy is primarily threefold. Firstly, the Sanskrit of the philosophical texts and commentaries is often too difficult for them; secondly, most of the European Orientalists lack proper sympathy for Indian philosophical and religious thoughts; and thirdly, there are probably no European Orientalists who are also *bona fide* students of philosophy. As a rule, the European Orientalist is seldom able to understand a difficult piece of philosophical Sanskrit and when he tries to understand it he can proceed only philologically and most often misses the true philosophical import. This is enhanced by the fact that he starts, with a preconceived notion, implicit or explicit, that Indian philosophical or religious literature does not contain any such original or deep thoughts as might stimulate our present-day philosophical enquiries. His interest in Indian matters is almost wholly antiquarian and he is always satisfied with curious and antique aspects of Indian culture in his investigations. He seldom has proper respect for the thinkers whose thoughts he is trying to decipher and consequently great thoughts pass before his eyes while he is running after shadows. There are, however, a few notable exceptions, and Professor Stcherbatsky is one of them. He studied the old Nyāya at Darbhanga and Benares. He can speak in Sanskrit as fluently as a Benares Pundit. He is an excellent scholar of Tibetan. He knows half a dozen European languages almost as well as his own mother tongue. And above all, he has a genuine sympathy and high respect for Indian thoughts and thinkers and when he approaches Indian philosophy, he does so with the deep reverence of a humble learner. He has long been devoting himself to the study of mediaeval Buddhism, the Vaibhāṣikas, Sautrāntikas and the Mādhyamikas. His present work, *The Conception of Buddhist Nirvāṇa* has been published from the publishing office of The Academy of Sciences of the U.S.S.R. Leningrad, April, 1927. It may be considered as a sister volume to the author's *Central Conception of Buddhism* published by The Royal Asiatic Society, London 1924. The author was stimulated to write this work as a criticism of L. de la Vallée Poussin's *Nirvāṇa*, Paris 1925. The book contains 246 pages, of which only 62 pages are devoted to the main work of the book; 150 pages are devoted to the translation of Chapters I and XXV of Nāgārjuna's *Mādhyamikasūtra* and the *Prasannapadā* commentary by Candrakīrtti, as an appendix. The remaining 34 pages form various indices of the book.

One of the main theses of Professor L. de la Vallée Poussin, which Professor Stcherbatsky combats is that at the beginning Nirvāṇa meant a simple faith in the immortality of the soul, its

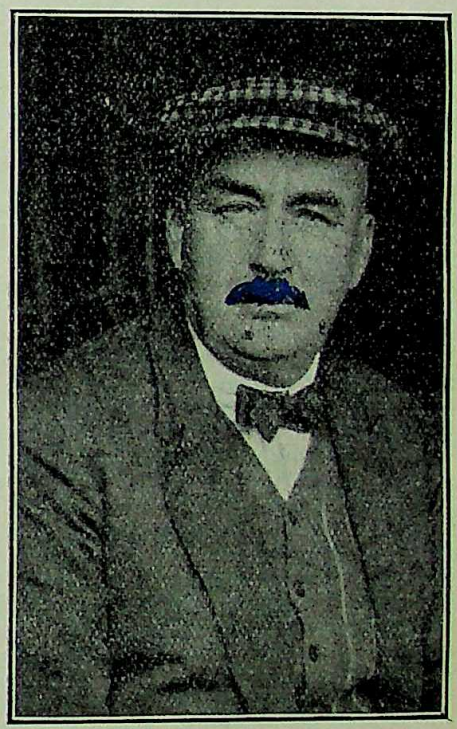
* "*The Buddhist Conception of Nirvāṇa*" by Th. Stcherbatsky, Leningrad, 1927, and "*Nirvāṇa*" by L. de la Vallée Poussin paris 1925.

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blissful survival in a paradise, a faith emerging from practices of obscure magic. I may quote here one or two passages where Prof. la Vallée Poussin tries to emphasise the view that the original conception of Nirvāṇa did not evolve in opposition to the Brahmanic view of a permanent state of liberation, but it itself meant an ever-living eternal deliverence as a positive state of supreme happiness. It is to be regarded as an invisible state of existence into which saints retired. Thus he says in his *Nirvāṇa* (Paris 1925, p. 57)" "Surtout rien ne permet d' affirmer que le Nirvāṇa des bouddhists fut concu en opposition avec quelque théorie brâhmanique que ce soit. Le Nirvâṇa, Immortal ou Délivrance, nous apparait comme une donnée rudimentaire, vierge de toute spéculation métaphysique, bien plutôt engagée dans le mythe que dans la métaphysique. Le Nirvâṇa est un séjour invisible où le saint disparaît, souvent au milieu des flames et dans une sorte d' apothéose." In support of it he refers to a passage in the *Udāna* VIII. 10, where the Buddha is represented as saying "On ne reconnaît pas où va le feu qui s'est peu à peu éteint: de même est-il impossible de dire où vont les saints parfaitement délivrés, qui ont traversé le torrent des désirs, qui ont atteint le bonheur inébranlable." He further holds that there has been a primitive Buddhism, very much different, even as it would seem, quite contrary to what later on finds its expression in the Pali Canon. Pessimism, Nihilism, Soul-denial, psychology without a soul, annihilation as ultimate end, all these features that mark out Buddhism among other religions Indian as well as non-Indian did not exist. (*Nirvāṇa*, pp 17, 27, 33-34, 46, 52. 115-116, 125, 129, 132 etc.) He further considers Buddhism as a branch of yoga or asceticism, but as to the meaning of this yoga, he thinks, one feels uneasy when such a question is asked (rien de plus malaisé. p. 11.) But, yet on the next page, he informs us that this yoga was nothing but vulgar magic and thaumaturgy coupled with hypnotic practices (Nous pensons que le yoga est, dans les temps prébouddhiques. ce qu'l restera au cours de l'histoire; essentiellement un ensemble de pratiques en honneur dès les plus vieux âges de l'Inde âryenne ou autochtone, pratiques des sorciers et des thaumaturges, et dont il semble que la recherche des états hypnotiques soit le motif dominant). He further thinks that this yoga was a technical routine in itself quite foreign to every moral, religious or philosophic view—C'est une technique étrangère en soi à toute morale comme à toute vue religieuse ou philosophique (p. 12.) The yoga from which according to Prof. la Vallée-Poussin Buddhism sprang forth was thus this kind of yoga without any speculative tendencies. And the Buddhism of the Hinayāna remained in this condition beginning from the Mahāvagga up tc Buddhaghosa as a yoga, almost without any alloy (p. 53.)

The objections against the views expressed in Prof. la Vallée-Poussin's *Nirvāṇa* as raised by Prof. Stcherbatsky in the first part (pp. 1-68) of his book under review are thus directed to two principal points viz, la Vallée-Poussin's theory that the early Buddhism was but a yoga of the thaumaturgical nature and that the conception of Nirvāṇa in early Buddhism was but a simple faith in soul's immortality. Prof. Stcherbatsky urges that there is no vagueness in the meaning of the word yoga. The word yoga can be derived, in an objective sense (*yujyate etad iti yogaḥ*), meaning the concentrated thought itself as a psychical condition, or in the instrumental sense (*yujyate anena iti yogaḥ*), as the method through which this condition has been created, or in the locative sense (*yujyate tasmin iti yogaḥ*), as the place where this concentrated thought has been produced. In the third sense the word yoga or more exactly the term samapāṭti is used as a designation of the mystic words in all the eight planes of mystic existence where the denizens are eternally merged in trance. In the second sense yoga, rather the word samādhi as the faculty of concentrated attention denotes a mystical power which can transfer the meditator to higher worlds and change life altogether. Yoga is neither, vulgar magic nor thaumaturgy but is in essence that concentrated meditation that induces a



Stcherbatsky

condition of quiescence. He then goes on explaining the method of yoga according to *Abhidharmakośa* of Vasubandhu (300 A. D.) and describes how in the incessantly changing elements, that produce delusion of a personality the struggle of moral progress between the good and bad inclinations takes place. Though the momentary elements of moral inclinations cannot really influence one another, yet in consequence of the predominance of the good elements the immoral elements are driven out. The immoral faculties or elements are of two kinds, one that can be removed by insight or reason, (*dṛṣṭi-heya*) and the other that can be removed by concentrated attention only (*bhāvanā-heya*). The fully developed faculty or concentration becomes a mystic power which can transfer the individual into higher planes of existence or spheres of purified matter (*rūpa-dhātu*) or still

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higher regions of pure spirits (*arūpa-dhātu*) with ethereal (*bhāsvara*) bodies. The denizens of these spiritual realms are merged in contemplation of some unique idea e. g., the infinity of space, the infinity of thought or of the void or in a dreamy semi-conscious state. Their condition is merely cataleptic. In this state since the meditator does not require any food, the sense-data of smell and taste do not exist for him. The feeling of hatred is totally absent. These beings have no need for clothes, they are provided with houses by their own karma. The phenomenon of sex is spiritualised and there are no organs of physical procreation; gross sexual passion does not at all exist though there may be delicate feelings. The birth of a new being is quite free from all pain and filth. The new born child does not come out of a female, and those who happen to be nearest to the place of his birth are his parents. But it is also possible that sages who are living on this earth can develop such mystic powers, that though their bodies may belong to this earth, they may attain powers of vision and sense objects of other higher worlds of the superior mystical meditators, referred to above. This shows that given a certain change, in the nature of one's existence, where the necessity of food, clothing and homes have been eliminated, there will be newer and superior spiritual elements forming the structure of his personality which are akin to those of the mystic meditators of the higher worlds. According to some schools the highest cataleptic states of trance are eternal (*asamskṛta*), i. e., they do not differ from Nirvāṇa. But, according to the majority of schools, Nirvāṇa is beyond even that. It is the absolute limit of life, the extinction even of this kind of the thinnest vestige of consciousness which is still left in the highest of all imaginable worlds of cataleptic trance. Apart from the above described, general functions of yoga, the Hīnayāna Buddhism also believes in the possibility of a sudden illumination by which the saint directly views the universe as an infinite continuity of single moments in gradual evolution towards final extincsion. Arguing in the above manner Prof. Stcherbatsky holds that the doctrine of yoga is to be regarded as an "inseparable, inherent part of the pluralistic universe of separate elements (*dharma*) gradually evolving towards extinction," though the possibility is not excluded that the germ of the yoga doctrine is older than the Buddha himself. Continuing in the same strain Prof. Stcherbatsky demands:—"In any case there is no historically authenticated Buddhism without this theory, without the mystic worlds and its inherent part, the philosophic explanation of yoga. All yoga practices which had not this philosophic and moral aim, all sorcery and thaumaturgy, the Brahmanical sacrifices not excepted, were strongly condemned by the Buddha They were considered as one of the cardinal sins. The details of the conditions in the worlds of the mystic and the degrees of mystic concentration have always given opportunities to much scholastic controversy between the schools. We can safely assert that within the pale of Hīnayāna Buddhism there is no place for trivial sorcery." (pp. 18, 19.)

Before passing to the disscussion of Nirvāṇa, it may be considered desirable to review the views of the two great scholars of Buddhism, la Vallée-Poussin and Stcherbatsky, on yoga. Both of them apply the word yoga to denote the earliest practices of concentration among the Buddhists. Prof. Stcherbatsky gives its threefold etymology in the accusative, instrumental, and locative senses. But is this application strictly correct? The word yoga can be derived from three different roots of different meanings, the intransitive verb *yuj* in the sense of concentration (*yuj samādhau*) the transitive verb *yuj*, to control (*yojayati*) and also from the transitive verb *yujir*, to connect (*yunakti*). The word yoga is formed by the addition of the suffix *ghañ*. Paṇini's rule III. 3.19 allows the addition of the suffix ghañ for the formation of technical words in all case-senses except the nominative, and as such prof. Stcherbatsky is right in deriving the word yoga in three different senses. But yoga in the sense of *samādhi* or concentrated thought (*yuj samādhau*) cannot be formed in the accusative sense, as the root *yuj* of *yuj*, *samādhau* is intransitive. It does not also seem proper that yoga can be formed in the locative sense to denote the higher worlds, where the mystic meditation is performed, for the location of a meditative operation cannot be placed in a spatial world. Prof. Stcherbatsky has not indicated the source from which he has taken these derivations. But whatever may be the source the objections pointed out seem to be strong. The word yoga in the sense of *samādhi* cannot probably be found in earlier literature. The root *yuj* with the suffix ghañ irregularly forms another word *yuga* to denote periods of time and also parts of a chariot and in these senses the word *yuga* is pretty old as it is found in several places in the Ṛgveda. The word *yoga* is sometimes found in the Ṛgveda as in VII. 67. 8., but in the sense of journey or drive. In the *Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa* 14, 7, 1, 11 the word *yoga* is used in connection with the word *ratha* in *Mahābhārata* in various senses derived from "connecting" (evidently from *yujir*, *yoge*). The word *yoga* is used also in the Kaṭha Upaniṣad (6, 11) to denote controlling of senses. The word is used several times in the *Gītā*, but in howsoever diverse senses, it may seem to have been used, they are all derived directly or indirectly from the sense of connecting (*yujir*, *yoge*.) Manu uses the word *yoga* in the sense of controlling, evidently from *yuj*, *saṃyamane* (*Manu* 7, 44). *Mahābhārata* III. 2639 also uses the word *yoga* in the sense of controlling But nowhere in any literature earlier than Patañjali do we find the *yoga* in the sense of *samādhi*. Any actual verbal use of the intransitive verb *yuj*, *samādhau* is hardly available. Turning to Pali use, the word yoga is found in the derivative senses of connection, control and effort as in *pubbayoge*, or in *cittassa nigganhane yogo karanīyo*. It seems therefore that the word *yoga* was not familiarly used in any literature earlier than Patañjali in the sense of *samādhi* and its accessory disciplines. The word *yogin* also, in the sense of a man who habitually practises the samādhi processes, is hardly available in any literature earlier than Patañjali. The *Gītā* which in my opinion is prebuddhistic as I shall show in my forth-coming volume of the *History of Indian Philosophy*, has no doubt the word *yogin* in it, but the word *yoga* is almost always used in the *Gītā* in the sense of connecting or its other remote derivative meanings but not in the sense of *samādhi*. It is probably Patañjali who first used the word

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yoga in the sense of samādhi. Vyāsa thus gives the meaning of the word *yoga* as *yogah samādhih*. Vācaspati definitely points out that the word yoga in Patañjali is derived from *yuj samadhāu* and not from *yujir yoge* (*yuj samādhau ityasmāt vyutpannah samādhyartho, na tu yujir yoge ityasmāt samyogārtha ityarthah—Tattvaiśāradī*).

Prof. Stcherbatsky is therefore right in contending against the view of la Vallée-Poussin that Buddhism is a branch of *yoga*. He is also right in holding that yoga in the sense of *samādhi* is not to be found in pre-Buddhistic literature. But I should like to go further than this and assert that in Buddha's time the word yoga meant only control or the effort of control and the different disciplines that constituted in later times the yoga processes were not brought under one systematic concept of yoga. The application of the term yoga in Vasubandhu's work ought not to lead us to believe that the word yoga meant in early Buddhism a comprehensive science holding within it the processes of *śīla*, *samādhi* and *prajñā*. It is possible that dhyāna meditations were practised by many people as isolated endeavours and it is also possible that beliefs about the mystical powers of those who perform these meditations, were current in certain circles. From the Kaṭha, we know that senses were felt like uncontrollable horses and sense control was very much praised and that cataleptic states of trance were also regarded as high achievements of perfection. It may thus be supposed that the Buddha collected all these floating traditions, interpreted them in terms of his own dhyāna experiences and assimilated them into his own system of thought. The way in which the Buddha systematised the different practices, associated them with high nobility and perfection of character and welded them together in a comprehensive whole, served as a model to Patañjali who adapted it in his own way with some very important modifications. Far from being a branch of yoga, it was Buddhism which made yoga what it was. It is needless to say that Prof. Stcherbatsky is perfectly right in saying that the Buddhism of the Buddha has nothing of sorcery and thaumaturgy in it. The mere fact that any one indulging in mystic experiences believed in certain mystic worlds in which mystic experiences could be continued without the impediments of bodily limitations of hunger, thirst and lust, connot constitute sorcery. If it did, then even Christianity which indulged in the belief in the kingdom of God, in resurrection, in the day of judgment and in the angels of God would also be called sorcery. The fact that Buddhism firmly believed in the gradual advancement and elevation of our being through more and more moral purity, the gradual destruction of passions and antipathies and the gradual moral strife in which the higher and nobler states of the mind gained supremacy over the lower ones and with the dawn of the superior wisdom all desires and rebirth became finally extinct, makes Buddhism one of the highest religions of the world. In fact, it is difficult to believe that a scholar of la Vallée-Poussin's attainments should indulge in such baseless and uncritical fancies. And one may well suppose that Prof. la Vallée-Poussin did not actually mean it; and it is on account of the lack of precision and looseness of expression that it appears that he identifies Buddhism with sorcery, beggary, mendicancy and thaumaturgy; for, on page 25 he says that these saints were very much higher than sorcerers as they looked forward towards gradual elevation and saintliness—Mais si les Yogins ou ascètes préboudhiques tiennent du "mendiant" qui jeûne contre les villages qui refusents, l' aumône, tiennent du sorcier et mettent à très haut-prix l'hypnose et la thaumaturgie, ils sont souvent mieux que des sorciers et des mendiants : ils visent à la sainteté ; ils sont souvent, avec des idées philosophiques rudimentaires et inconsistantes, une conception arrêtée de la destinée de l'homme, une sagesse. Le Yoga, vers l'époque que nous considérons, s'était ordonné ou s'ordonnait suivant trois ou quatre pensées maîtresses, les pensées qui dominent l'Inde post-védiqué, l'Inde brâhmanique bouddhique, hindoue, transmigration avec des enfers et des paradis ; mérite et démérite ; délivrance de la transmigration. bonheur supreme et définitif ; chemin qui conduit á la délivrance, à savoir le Yoga, l'effort, la discipline méditative et ascétique.

On the subject of Nirvāṇa Prof. Stcherbatsky points out that Prof. la Vallée-Poussin holds that since in the Pali Canon the word 'immortal' is used as one of the epithets of Nirvāṇa and since in the later literature Nirvāṇa is described as a reality (*vastu*), it can well be supposed that the pre-canonic Buddhism believed in immortality of the soul. He further says that Prof. la Vallée-Poussin explains Buddha's silence on the question of Nirvāṇa as his incapacity in the philopophical field. But if this is so, how can Prof. la Vallée-Poussin argue that early Buddhism believed in the doctrine of the immortality of the soul. If the Buddha denied an eternal soul against the eternalist, but maintained the doctrine of moral responsibility against the materialist, how can he be supposed to be believing in the doctrine of an immortal soul. Prof. la Vallée-Poussin draws a historical outline to explain the growth of Buddhism in which he says that there was in the beginning a simple faith in soul and immortality and a primitive teaching of an indefinite character, mainly of obscure magic, after that a mixed period supervened, when this simple creed was contaminated with confused ideology and this allows us to ask whether Buddhism at that period was not a gnosis. At last Buddhism received a super-structure of inane scholasticism and we have scholastic period of Buddhism just as one we had in mediaeval Europe. Primitive faith, then a period of gnosticism and then a period of scholasticism, these are three stages of the development of Buddhism, just as we had in the development of the Western Church.

In criticising the above view, Prof. Stcherbatsky points out that early Buddhism never believed in the doctrine of the existence of the self or its immortality. If by later scholastic Buddhism, the Vaibhāṣikas are meant, then it is not true that they represented in their teaching anything substantially different from the views of the early canonical schools, for, the Vaibhāṣikas are only the continuators of one of the oldest schools, the Sarvāstivādins and their teachings are therefore quite different from the Sautrāntikas who may be regarded as initiating a new school of Buddhism. By Hīnayāna therefore, one ought to include the

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Vaibhāṣikas, and the Sautrāntika school may be regarded as a new transitional school leading to the Mahāyāna school of pure idealism. Early Buddhism started from a sound philosophical idea of a pluralistic universe, it denied substance and established lists of ultimate realities (*dharmas*). Some of these elements are highly artificial constructions. The maxim which guided these assumptions was that corresponding to each difference of the connotative terms of language, there must be differences of things or entities. The Sautrāntikas differed from the Vaibhāṣikas in attributing only nominal existence to these felt differences in experience. They thus objected to the comprehensive list of elements or entities as the ultimate data of the Vaibhāṣikas and only believed in the sense data and the mind data. It is therefore wrong to take them in the same class with the Vaibhāṣikas under the sweeping term of scholasticism. The Sautrāntikas flourished for at least five hundred years from the first to the fifth century A. D., side by side with the Vaibhāṣikas and the Mahāyānists. Vasubandhu and his pupil Dinnāga may be regarded as partly Sautrāntika and partly Vijñānavādin. Ultimately the Sautrāntikas merged into the Mahāyānists or the Vijñānavādins. When the Vaibhāṣikas declared Nirvāṇa to be something real, they did not mean by it that Nirvāṇa was a kind of paradise. They only regarded Nirvāṇa as the annihilation of all life and as a materialistic lifeless reality (*nirodhasatya, vastu*). Sautrāntikas, on the other hand, admitted the existence of the Buddha's cosmical body and adhered to the Mahāyāna conception of identifying Nirvāṇa with the living world itself and denying its reality as a separate element transcending the living world. Thus both the Vaibhāṣika and the early Buddhist schools regard saṃsāra and Nirvāṇa as real. But Nirvāṇa is real only in the sense of a materialistic, lifeless reality (*yasmin sati cetaso vimokṣaḥ acetanaḥ*). The Sautrāntikas believed saṃsāra as real and Nirvāṇa as unreal (i. e. separately unreal). The Vijñanāvādins or the Yogācāras believed saṃsāra as unreal and the Nirvāṇa as real. The Mādhyamikas regarded both the saṃsāra and the Nirvāṇa as unreal (i. e. separately unreal).

According to the Vaibhāṣikas, existence is of two kinds as phenomenal and as eternal. Phenomenal existence of matter, mind and forces are but complexes of elements. Only space and Nirvāna are eternal existences. The phenomenal elements are however all real in the present, past and future. This reality is thus conceived in two ways, firstly, as momentary flashings in actual life and secondly, in their abiding and everlasting nature (*dharmalakṣaṇa* and *dharmasvabhāva*). They held therefore that when all flashings in actual life stopped in Nirvāṇa, there remained that lifeless entity in which all flashings of passion and life became extinct. It is impersonal eternal death, but only as a separate element and as the ultimate reality of the elements, in their lifeless condition. The simile of the extinction of light is to be explained as meaning only this lifeless condition. The difference between this view and ordinary materialism is that in the latter every death would be Nirvāṇa (*dehacchedo mokṣaḥ*). And this view is therefore called *ucchedavāda*. In the Vaibhāṣika view however, there is no Nirvāṇa at every death, but the different worlds in which a saint may be born are produced by karma and the elements composing his personality are gradually one after the other reduced to a state of quiescence and extinction until in final Nirvāṇa all are extinct. The moral law through a long process of evolution reduces the living world into a state of final quiescence, where there is no life, but something lifeless and inanimate. It is therefore wrong to think that the Vaibhāṣikas regarded Nirvāṇa as a vastu or reality in the sense of spiritual immortality. The Sautrāntikas however, denied this materialistic Nirvāṇa and regarded it as being the ultimate extinction of the entire cyclic processes of life without any residue of any kind. There was, however, a class of Sautrāntikas who believed that there was a subtle consciousness which outlived the final extinction of Nirvāṇa and that it was from this that the elements which manifested as life experiences (see Vasumitra's *Samayabheda-uparacanacakra*, Asia Major II. 1. pp. 1-78, Leipzig 1925). It is possible to trace the germs of the ālayavijñana of the Yogācaras in this doctrine. Later on, however, the Sautrántikas objected to this doctrine as it leads to the denial of the external world in the Yogācara school. It is also possible that this view was drawn from the Mahāsāṅghikas who did not wish to believe in the total disappearance of the Buddha in a materialistic Nirvāṇa.

The Yogācāra view consisted in the belief in one pure knowledge as being the ultimate reality which seemed through ignorance as being modified into the diverse modes of phenomenal experience. In the Mahāyānist view therefore there is no difference between the Nirvāṇa and the saṃsāra. Prof. Stcherbatsky then compares the Vaibhāṣika view of Nirvāṇa with the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika view of salvation, and the Mahāyānist view of Nirvāṇa with the Vedānta view of salvation. He also supplements this with a valuable general analysis of the principle of relativity in the Mādhyamika school.

The main argument of Prof. Stcherbatsky against Prof. la Vallée-Poussin may be summed up in two propositions, firstly, that nowhere in early Buddhism has the doctrine of the existence of self been preached, and secondly, it is said that this negative conclusion is strengthened by the fact that the Vaibhāṣikas who are the continuators of early Buddhism, believed in a form lifeless reality as being the Nirvāṇa. I am in general sympathy with Prof. Stcherbatsky's conclusions, but I do not think that he has sufficiently proved them. Firstly, the assertion that in early Buddhism we do not come across any belief regarding the soul's immortality as Nirvāṇa however true it may be, should have been attested by exhaustive references from the Pali canon. Secondly, admitting that the Vaibhāṣikas were the continuators of early Buddhism, it still remains to see how far the Vaibhāṣikas made new ad-

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tions to the views of early Buddhism or left off some of their doctrines or changed and modified them. This would mean an exhaustive comparision of the contents of the Pali canons their commentaries and the Vaibhāṣika works. And unless this is done, it may be dangerous to make assertions regarding the views of Pali canons from assertions in Vaibhāṣika works.

Judging from the early Pāli texts it seems very probable that Nirvāṇa was a ethico-religious state of the extinction of desires as a result of ethical practices, contemplation and insight. As such it need not be regarded as transcendental. Such a state, however, clearly belongs to transcendental, rather than normal psychology. It is, therefore, sometimes described as unspeakable, and as immeasurable, as in *Sutta Nipāta* 1076 (*attham gatassa na pamānamatthi*). It is also sometimes described as an eternal reality and as such it is described as *accutam thānam, amatam padam, amata nibbāna dhātu.* In the Abhidhamma period it is sometimes described positively, as a sphere of existence, and negatively, as a condition of utter annihilation. F. Heiler in his *Die Buddhistische Versenkung* very aptly says that "only by its concept Nirvāṇa is something negative, but by its sentiment it is a positive term of the most pronounced form. In spite of all conceptual negativity, Nirvāṇa is nothing but eternal salvation after which the heart of the religious yearns." It is by extinction (*Nibbāna*) of the fire of passions (*rāga aggi*) that the ultimate freedom is attained and there is the final extinction (*parinibbāna*). The fire of passions and desires can only go out in consequence of the cessation of the causes that were producing them, they cannot be destroyed by force all on a sudden. It is, therefore, that in the earlier texts Nibbāna is compared to a dying fire (*aggi anāhāro nibbuto Majjhima* I. 487) and not to a fire blown out—compare also *anāhāro nibbāyettha, Apadāna* 153. also *padīpassa eva nibbānam vimokkho ahu cetaso.* The eternality of Nibbāna in all probability refers to the undisturbed tranquility and peace through the cessation of rebirth and there is probably no text which can lead to the supposition that it is a state of the immortality of soul *ajaram amaram khemam pariyessāmi nibbutim* (*Vimāna Vatthu* 514), *sabdasankhārasamatho nibbānam* (*Saṃyutta* I. 136). The same idea is repeated in *Majjhima* I. 508, *ārogga paramā lābhā nibbānam paramam sukham aṭṭhangiko ca maggānam khemam amata gāminam.* Nibbāna is also often described as cessation of desire *tanhākkhaya* as in *Vimāna Vatthu* 73, also in *Saṃyutta* I. 39—*tanhāya vippahānena nibbānam iti vuccati,* also in *Vinaya* I. 5—*sabbasankhārasamatho nibbānam,* The idea of Nibbāna as the ultimate extinction and the psychosis as a whole is to be found in *Saṃyutta* I. 136. *Anguttara* II. 118, IV. 423 V. 8, 110 etc. Again in *Sutta Nipāta* 1094 we find a similar passage—*akincanam anādanam etam dīpamanāparam nibbānam iti nam brumi iarāmaccuparikkhayam* ; so also in *Saṃyutta* II. 117. *bhavanirodho nibbānam iti.* In one of the earliest passages also Nibbāna is described as cessation and as wisdom—upasammāya abhiññāya sambodhāya nibbānāyā samvattati, again in *Vinaya* V. 86 Nibbāna is definitely described as non-self—*aniccā sabbe sankhārā dukkhā nāttā ca sankhatā nibbānam ca evam paññatti anatta iti nicchaya,* Coming to some of the most authoritative traditional interpretations of Pali Buddhism, I shall for the sake of brevity only refer to some passages of Buddhaghosa's *Visuddhi Magga.* Buddhaghosa defines Nibbāna as the substanceless cessation of desires (*tanhā*)—*yasma...tanhāya nikkhanto nissato visaṃyutto tasmā nibbanam ti vuccati ti* On page 295, Nibbāna is described as the highest moral quality along with other moral qualities—*khanti paramam tapo titikkhā nibbānam paramam vadanti buddhā.* On page 498 Nibbāna is again described as the supportless liberation, the getting rid of, the forsaking and the entire and absolute cessation of desires through disinclination to them—*yo tassa yeva tanhāya asesavirāganirodho cāgo patinissaggo mutti anālayo ti evan nirodhaniddese atthato ekam eva nibbānam.* On page 507 a subjective and objective distinction of the meaning of Nibbāna is made. On the subjective ethico-religions plene Nibbāna is described as in the passage as asesavirāganirodho and on the objective side it is called the noble truth of *dukkhaniridho.* It is said there that it is on this account that Nibbāna is described as peace (*santi lakkhanam*) and as eternal (*accutirasam*). It cannot be said that because ordinary men cannot perceive it, Nibbāna is therefore non-existent like the hare's horn. For, had Nibbāna been non-existent, the ennobling of character and contemplation and wisdom which are methods of the attainment of Nibbāna would be futile. For, if Nibbāna does not exist, then the processes of character-discipline etc. do not exist, and if they do not exist, then passions and afflictions which are destroyed by them do not exist also which is impossible. Nibbāna thus is not non-existent, it is not also mere destruction (*kkhaya*), but it is the destruction of passions (*rāgakkhayo*). Nibbāna is called deathless and eternal, because it is attained only through the right path and not produced by anything *(pattab bam eva h' etam māggena, na uppādetabbam. Tasma appabhavam eva, Appabhavattā ajarāmaraṇam, Pabhavajarāmaranam bhāvato niccam)* It does not seem that Nibbana can be described as an existent with positive characters, it can be called as a negation of non-existence only because it is attainable by special wisdom and steady efforts which are positive in their *nature casithilaparākkamasiddhena onnavisesena adhigamanīato sabbaññuvacanato ca parammatthena sabhavato nibbānam nāvijjāmanam, page 509.* Again, on page 567, it is said that just as a crow when set free from a merchant's boat on sea flies to the shore if it is visible, whereas, if no shores are visible returns back to the mast of the boat, so if a man perceives Nibbāna as the wisdom of disinclination to all sankhara elements (elements forming one's individuality, he leaves the course of the out-flow of all sankharas and springs forward to Nibbāna; if he has not the wisdom of disinclination to sankhanas, he falls again and again in the course of the flow of the sankharas. It is also said there in a description of the nature of liberation as Nibbana that he who takes to Nibbana as mere void (suññata) perceives it as such. Again on page 666, it is said that just as a man suffering from heat desires cold, so does one

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suffering from the fire of rebirth desire Nibbana as the cessation of that fire.

It is unnecessary to multiply examples. But it is clear from the above that the view of Prof. la Vallée-Poussin that Nirvāṇa in early Buddhism meant immortality of soul cannot be attested by textual references from Pāli cononical worka or from the works of responsible commentators like Buddhaghosa. So the negative contention of Prof. Stcherbatsky may be regarded as absolutely correct. But it must also be said that there is no proof in favour of his view that the philosophy of Nirvāṇa of the Vaibhāṣikas was identical with the view of Nirvāṇa of early Buddhism, or that in early Buddhism Nibbāna meant a lifeless reality as the elements of dharmas as Prof. Stcherbatsky holds. Space does not allow me to enter into any discussion regarding the view of Nirvāṇa among the Vaibhāṣikas. I fear, I have to differ on some important points here also from Prof. Stcherbatsky. But I must reserve it for some future occasion.

Prof. Stcherbatsky's illuminating work on the "*Conception of Nirvāṇa*" throws a flood of light on many obscure points of the development of the history of Buddhist philosophy, and every scholar of Buddhist philosophy will feel grateful to him for his contribution. But yet it is only in his translation of the first and the twentyfifth chapters of Nāgārjuna's *Mādhyāmika Kārikā* and its commentary by Candrakīrtti, that he shows his great scholarship of Buddhism, wonderful mastery over abstruse dialectical Sanskrit and over all, his superior philosophical acumen, a rare combination among scholars of any country. I shall not enter into any details, but I fear that the translation may not generally be regarded as very exact, * but it is exceedingly readable, and excellent on the whole. Thereare only a few scholars either in this country or in Europe who can read Candrakīrtti's commentary with such ease and insight as Prof. Stcherbatsky has done. Though he has translated only two chapters of the book., yet I feel confident that they will be a real help to most Buddhist scholars in being introduced to Candrakīrtti and his master.

I now propose to subjoin a running review of some of the most salient points of Nāgārjuna's philosophy as contained in Prof. Stcherbatsky's translation of the first and twentyfifth chapter of the *Mādhyamika-Vṛtti* which form an appendix to his work under review.

Nāgārjuna's main thesis was that all things are relative and hence indefinable in themselves and hence there was no way of discovering their essences and since their essence are not only indefinable and indescribable but incomprehensible as well, they cannot be said to possess any essence of their own. Nāgārjuna was followed by Āryyadeva, a Ceylonese by birth, who wrote a separate work on the same subject in 400 aphorisms. For about two centuries after this, the doctines of Nāgārjuna were in a sleepy condition as is evidenced by the fact that Buddhaghosa of the fourth century A. D. does not refer to them. During the Gupta empire Asaṅga and Vasubanhu flourished in the fifth century A. D. In the sixth century A. D. the relativistic philosophy of Nāgārjuna again flourished in the hands of Buddhapālita of Valabhi in Sura and Bhavya or Bhavyaviveka of Orissa. The school of Bhavya was called Mādhyamika Santrāntika on account of his supplementing Nāgārjuna's arguments with special arguments of his own. At this time the Yogācāra school of Mahāyāna monism had developed in the north and the aim of this school was to show that for the true knowledge of the one consciousness (vijñāna) all logical arguments were futile. All logical arguments showed only their own inconsistency. It seems very probable that Śrīharṣa was inspired by these Yogācāra authors and their relativistic allies from Nāgārjuna to Bhavya and Candrakārti, the master commentator of Nāgārjuna's *Mādhyamika Kārikā* Buddhapālita sought to prove that the apprehension and realisation of the idealistic monism cannot be made by any logical argument, for all logic is futile and inconsistent while, Bhāvaviveka sought to establish his idealistic monism by logical arguments. Candrakīrtti finally supported Buddhapālita's scheme as against the scheme of Bhāvaviveka and tried to prove the futility of all logical arguments. It was this Mādhamika scheme of Candrakīrtti that finally was utilised in Tibet and Mongolia for the realisation of idealistic monism.

In taking up his refutations of the various categories of being, Nāgārjuna first takes up the examination of causation. Causation in the non-Buddhistic systems of philosophy is regarded as being the production from some permanent or abiding stuff or through the conglomeration of several factors or through some factors operating over an abiding stuff. But Nāgārjuna not only denies that anything ever is produced but also that it is ever produced from any one of the above ways. Buddhapālita holds that things cannot arise of themselves, for if they are already existing, there is no meaning in their being produced ; if things that are existing are regarded as capable of being produced again, then things would eternally continue to be produced. Bhāviveka criticising Buddhapālita says that the refutation of Buddhapālita should have been supplemented with reasons and examples and that such a refutation would imply an undesirable

* To give only one example, let us turn to the adoration verse with which Candrakīrti starts his introduction to his commentary on the karikas of Nāgārjuna. The verse runs as follows :—
Yacchāsti vaḥ kleśaripūnaśeṣān santrāyate durga tito bhavācca : tacchāsanāt trānagunācca śāstrametat dvayañcānyamateṣu nāsti Stcherbatsky's translation :—(indeed a philosophic treatise should contain a doctrine of Salvation, it then "rules and it saves)". "It rules over all our enemies, our passions. It saves us from the misery and from phenomenal experience (altogether.) These two advantages are not to be found in other philosophic doctrines."

Suggested translation :—Because it checks all your enemies of passions and saves you from misfortunes and rebirth, therefore on account of this checking power and the quality of saving (two parts of the word *śāstra* from śās and tra yielding these two different meanings) it is (called) a śāstra. And these two do not exist in other systems (which therefore may be called a *mata* but not a *śāstra*).

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thesis that if things are not produced of themselves, they must be produced by other factors. But Candrakīrtti objects to this criticism of Bhāvaviveka and says that the burden of proof for establishing the identity of cause and effect lies with the opponents, the Sāṅkhysts who hold that view. There is no meaning in the production of what already exists and if that which is existent has to be produced again and that again, there will be an infinite regress. It is unnecessary to give any new argument to refute the Sāṅkhya satkāryyavāda view for it is enough to point out the inconsistency of the Sāṅkhya view. Thus Āryyadeva says that the Mādhyamika view has no thesis of its own which it seeks to establish for it does not believe in the reality or unreality of anything or in the combination of reality and unreality. * This was exactly the point of view that was taken by Śrīharsa. Śrīharsa says that the Vedāntists have no view of their own regarding the things of the world and the various categories involved in them. Therefore there was no way in which the Vedānta view could be attacked. The Vedānta however is free to find out faults with other views and when once this is done and the inconsistencies of other positions are pointed out its business is finished for it has no view of its own to establish. Nāgārjuna also thus says in "*Vigraha-vyāvarttanī*" :—

"When I have these (of my own to prove),
I can commit mistakes just for the sake
(of proving)
But I have none. I cannot be accused (of being
inconsistent).
If I did (really) cognise some (separate) things,
I could then make an affirmation or a denial
Upon the basis of these things perceived or (inferred)
But these (separate) things do not exist for me.
Therefore I cannot be assailed on such a basis." †

Candrakīrtti thus emphasises the fact that it is not possible for the Mādhyamikas to offer new arguments or new examples in criticising any view, for the Mādhyamikas have no view of their own to support. They cannot even prove their own affirmations and if their affirmations contain any thesis, they quarrel with it also themselves. So the Mādhyamika scheme of criticism consists only in finding fault with all theses whatever they may be, and in replying to the counter-charges so far as inconsistencies could be found in the opponents' theses and methods, but not by adducing any new arguments or any new counter-theses, for the Mādhyamikas have no theses of their own. In an argument if one can only follow the principles that are admitted by him no one can be defeated by arguments carried on the basis of principles admitted only by his opponents.

Things are not also produced by any conglomeration of foreign foctors or causes, for had it been so then there would be no law of such production and anything might come from any other things, darkness from light. And if a thing cannot be produced out of itself or out of others, it cannot be produced by a combination of them both. Again the world could not have sprung into being without any cause (*ahetutaḥ*).

The Buddhist logicians try to controvert this view by pointing out that whatever a view may be it must be established by proper proof. So in order to prove the thesis that all existents are unproduced, the Mādhyamikas must give some proofs and that would involve a further specification of the nature of such proofs and a specification of the number of valid proofs admitted by them. But if the thesis that "all existents are unproved" is a mere assertion without any proof to support it then any number of counter assertions may be made for which no proof need be shown; and if proofs are not required in one case they cannot be required in the other case as well. So one could with equal validity assert that all existents are real and are produced from causes. The Mādhyamika answer to such an objection as formulated by Candrakīrtti is that the Mādhyamika has no thesis of his own and so the question whether his thesis is supported by valid proofs or not is as meaningless as the qnestion regarding the smallness or the greatness of a mule's horn. Since there is no thesis, the Mādhyamika has got nothing to say regarding the nature of valid proof (*pramāṇa*) or their number. But it may well be asked that if the Mādhyamika had no thesis of his own, why should he at all hold the proposition that all existents are unproduced (*sarvve bhāvā anutpannāḥ*)? To this the Mādhyamika replies that such propositions appear as definite views only to the ordinary people, but not to the wise. The proper attitude for the wise is always to remain silent. They impart instructions to those who want to listen to them only from a popular point of view. Their arguments are not their own or which they believe as right, but only such as would appeal to their hearers.

It is not out of place here to mention that the Mādhyamika school wishes to keep the phenomenal and the real or the transcendental view wide apart. In the phenomenal view things are admitted to be as they are perceived and their relations are also conceived as real. It is interesting to refer to the discussion of Candrakīrtti with Diṇnāga regarding the nature of sense-perceptions. While Diṇnāga urges that a thing is what it is in itself (*svalakṣaṇa*) Candrakīrtti holds that since relations are also perceived to be true, things are relational as well. Phenomenally substances exist as well as their qualities. The "thing in itself" of Diṇnāga was as much a relative concept as the relational things that are popularly perceived as true; that being so it is meaningless to define perception as being only the thing in itself. Candrakīrtti thus does not think that any good can be done by criticising the realistic logic of the Naiyāyikas, for so far as the popular perceptions or conceptions go, the Nyāya logic is quite competent to deal with them and give an account of them. There is a phenomenal reality and order which is true for the man in the street, on which all our linguistic and other usages are based. Diṇnāga in defining perception restricts it only to the unique thing in itself (*svalakṣaṇa*) and think that all associations of quality and relations are extraneous to perceptions and should

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* *sadasatsadasacceti yasya pakṣo na vidyate : upālambhaścireṇāpi tasya vaktuṃ na śakyate* Mādhyamikavṛtti pp, 16.

† *Anyatpratītya yadi nāma paro'bhaviṣyat*
jāyeta tarhi bahulaḥ śikhino'ndhakāraḥ
sarvasya janma ca bhavet khalu sarvataśca
tulyaṃ paratvamakhile' janake'pi yasmāt
Mādhyamikavṛtti p. 36.

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be included under imagination or inference. This however does violence to our ordinary experience and yet serves no better purpose, for the difinition of perception as given by Dinnaga is not from the transcendental point of view and thus represents the lower point of view. If that is so, why not accept the realistic conceptions of the Nyāya school which fits in with the popular experience. This reminds us of the attitude of the Vedāntists who on one hand accepted the view point of popular experience and regarded all things as having a real objective existence, and yet on the other hand considered them all as false and unreal from the transcendental point of view of ultimate reality. The attitude of the Vedāntists on this point seems to have been directly inspired by the attitude of the Mādhyamikas. The attempts of Śriharṣa to refute the realistic definition of Nyāya were intended to show that the definitions of Nyāya could not be regarded as absolute and true as they used to think. But while the Mādhyamikas who had no view points of their own to support could leave the field of experience absolutely undisturbed and allow the realistic definitions of Nyāya to explain the popular experience in any way it liked, the Vedanta had a thesis of its own, namely, that the self-luminous Brahman was the only reality and that it was through it that everything else was manifested. The Vedānta therefore could agree with Nyāya interpretations of experience and their definitions. But as the Vedānta was unable to give the manifold world-appearance a footing in reality, it regarded it as somehow existing by itself and invented a theory of perception by which it could be considered as being manifested by coming in touch with Brahman and being illusorily imposed on it.

Continuing the discussion on the nature of Causation, Nāgārjuna and Candrakīrtti hold that collocations of causal conditions which are different from the effect cannot produce the effect as is held by the Hīnayāna Buddhists, for since the effect is not perceived in those causal conditions, it cannot be produced out of them, if it is already existent in them its production becomes useless, Production of anything out of some foreign or extraneous causes implies that it is related to them and this relation must mean that it was in some way existent in them. The main principle which Nāgārjuna employs in refuting the idea of causation or production in various ways is that if a thing exists it cannot be produced and if it does not exist, it cannot be produced at all. That which has no essence in itself cannot be caused by anything else and having no essence in itself it cannot also be the cause of anything else.*

Nāgārjuna similarly examined the concepts of going and coming and says that as the action of going is not to be found in the space traversed over, nor is it to be found in that which is not traversed over and apart from the space traversed over and not traversed, there cannot be any action of going, If it is urged that going is neither in the space traversed nor in the space untraversed, but in the person who continues to go for going is in him in whom there is the effort of going then that also cannot be right. For if the action of going is to be associated with the person who goes, it cannot be associated with the space traversed. One action cannot be connected with both ; and unless some space is gone over there cannot be a goer. If going is in the goer alone then even without going, one could be called a goer which is impossible. If both the goer and the space traversed have to be associated with going, then there must be two actions and not one, and if there are two actions that implies that there are also two agents. It may be urged that the movement of going is associated with the goer and that therefore going belongs to the goer, but if there is no going without the goer and if there is no goer without going, how can going be at all associated with the goer. Again in the proposition "the goer goes" (*gantā gacchati*) there is only one action of going and that is satisfied by the verb "goes," but what separate "going" is there by virtue of the association with which a "goer" can be so called and since there are no two actions of going there cannot be a goer. Again the movement of going cannot even be begun, for, when there is no motion of going, there is no beginning and when there is no motion of going, there cannot be any beginning. Again it cannot be urged that "going" must exist since its opposite "remaining at rest (*sthiti*)" exists, for who is at rest ? The goer cannot be at rest for no one can be a goer unless he goes ; he who is not a goer being already at rest cannot again be the agent of another action of being at rest. If the goer and going be regarded as identical then there would be neither verb nor agent. So there is no reality in going. "Going" stands here for any kind of passage or becoming and the refutation of "going" implies the refutation of all kinds of passage (*niṣkarṣaṇa*) as well. If seeds passed into the state of shoots (*aṅkura*), then they would be seeds and not shoots ; the shoots are neither seeds nor are different from them ; yet the seeds being there, there are shoots. A pea is from another pea, but yet no pea becomes another pea. A pea is neither in another pea nor different from it. As one may see the beautiful face of a woman in a mirror and feel attracted by it and run after her, though the face never passed into the mirror and there was no human face in the reflected image. Just as the essenceless reflected image of a woman's face may rouse attachment in fools, so are appearances of the world, the causes of our delusion and attachment.

It is needless to multiply examples and describe elaborately Nāgārjuna's method of the application of his dialectic for the refutation of the various Buddhistic and other categories. But from what has been said, it may be possible to compare or contrast Nāgārjuna's dialectic with that of Śriharṣa. Neither Nāgārjuna nor Śriharṣa are interested to give any rational explanation of the world-process, nor are they interested to give a scientific reconstruction of our world experience. They are agreed in discarding the validity of world experience as such. But while Nāgārjuna had no thesis of his own to uphold, Śriharṣa sought to establish the validity and ultimate reality of Brahman. But it does not appear that he ever properly tried to apply his own dialectic to his thesis and tried to show that the definition of Brahman could stand the test of the criticism of his own dialectic. Both

* *Mādhyamikavṛtti* p, 90. line 6.

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Nāgārjuna and Srīharṣa were however agreed in the view that there was no theory of the reconstruction of world-appearance which could be supported as valid. But while Srīharṣa attacked only the difinitions of Nyāya, Nāgārjuna mainly attacked the accepted Buddhistic categories and also some other relevant categories, which were directetly connected with them. But the entire efforts of Srīharṣa were directed in showing that the definitions of Nyāya were faulty and that there was no way in which Nyāya could define its categories properly. From the fact that Nyāva could not define its categories, he rushes to the conclusion that they were intrinsically indefinable and that therefore the world-appearance which was measured and scanned in terms of those categories were also false. Nāgārjuna's methods are largely different from that of Srīharsa in this that the concepts which he criticised were shown by him to have been intrinsically based and constructed on aotions which had no essential nature of their own, but which were only understoood in relation to others. No concept revealed any intrinsic nature of its own and one could understand a concept only through another and that again by the former or by another and so on. The entire world-appearance is thus based on relative conceptions and is false. Nāgārjuna's criticisms are however largely of an apriori nature which do not treat the concepts in a concrete manner and which are not also based on the testimony of our psychological experience. The opposition shown therefore is very often of an abstract nature and occassionally degenerates into verbalism. But as a rule they are based on the fundamentally-relative nature of our experience. They are never half so elaborate as the criticisms of Srīharṣa, but at the same time they are fundamentally more convincing and more direct than the elaborate round-about logical subtleties of Sriharsa's dialectical criticisms, It cannot be denied that based on the dialectical methods of Nāgārjuna, Buddhapālita and Candrakīrtti, Srīharṣa's criticisms following an altogether different plan of approach, show wonderful powers of logical subtleties and fineness, though the total effect can hardly be regarded as an advancement from the strictly philosophical point of view, while the frequent verbalism of many of his criticisms is a discredit to his whole venture.

A GLIMPSE INTO THE GENERAL ELECTION IN GERMANY

By S. P. RAJU, B. A., B. E, A. M. I. E.
(*Munich, Germany.*)

GERMANY has been in the throes of a General Election, and the whole country was in a state of comparative excitement. Party papers were full of declarations of their own creeds and denunciations of their opponents, while in every street one found innumerable posters with a variety of design and colour, calculated to arrest the attention of the voter, and if possible to convert him to their faith. Above these methods of cold print came the animated personal appeals in small drawing-room gatherings as well as in big public halls, and when weather permitted demonstrations, in the open. One evening the National Socialist Labour Party had arranged twelve simultaneous gatherings in the halls of the different breweries of the city. In addition to the speakers appointed for each place every one of the meetings was addressed by Adolf Hitler, the Leader of the Party and General von Epp, the top candidate of the Party, who rushed round to all o them.

But the excitement is said to have been very mild compared to what it was on previous occasions. The Reichstag is according to the Constitution, elected once in four years, and from the establishment of the Republic up to 1924 the elections took place at times, when the country was faced with burning political problems and was subjected to a severe economic stress and when what the Government did or did not do was a matter of almost life and death to the average man. Even now one hears touching stories of the "Inflation Period", as to how the wages of the workmen were fixed and paid not by the month or the week, but by the day; how at the end of the day they would run to buy all the provisions they could for the money, lest by the next morning it may have depreciated in value; how a house sold did not fetch enough money with which to buy a suit of clothes; and so on. Such stories always end with a sigh and the expression of a wish that the

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country may never pass through such a time again. But now politics is comparatively steady, and economics steadier, and the people can afford to listen to election speeches sipping a glass of beer.

Electoral Law

According to German electoral law every man and woman who has completed his or her twentieth year on the day of election is eligible to vote. From the thorough records maintained by the State about the life's history and novements of every individual in the country, there is no difficulty whatever in determining the eligible voters. The number of forms one has to fill up in Germany, and the detailed information required are very striking. For example, every change of abode of an individual has to be reported to the police; if a person happens to have more than one 'Christian name', the one with which he is usually called should be underlined; and so on. Thus being in possession of all the necessary information the State sends out cards two or three weeks in advance, which have to be presented at the booths for identification. Out of a total population of 62, 500, 000 the voting strength is 41,000,000.

For purposes of election the whole country is divided into 35 electorates and 17 groups, the groups being formed by the combination of neighbouring electorates. People vote not for the candidates but for the parties. A party is recognised if it can produce signatures of 500 persons with powers of voting, but in the case of parties already represented in the previous Reichstags only 20 signatures are enough.

A party will get one seat for every 60,000 votes it obtains in an electorate or in a group. The surplus votes, i. e., those left over after taking the highest multiple of 60,000, in all the groups are added up into what is called a 'Reichs List' and fresh seats allotted on the same basis, but at the rate of only one for every seat already obtained in the groups ; i. e, a party that has got 10 seats in the groups cannot get more than ten in the Reichs List, even if its surplus votes amount to more than 600,000.

Each party submits a 'List' of its candidates in the order in which it wishes them to be elected, so that the election of a candidate depends upon the number of the seats his party gets and his position in the list.

On account of the nature of the system of election the strength of the Reichstag is indefinite, and the small parties that are scattered over have very little chance. In this election the votes of such parties that went to waste amounted to over 2, 700, 000 (as against 800, 000 of the previous election) i. e, a number which could have sent 45 more members into the Reichstag.

The parties

There are not less than 32 different political parties in Germany ; but the differences between some of them are not so fundamental, that they may be said to form subsections of main parties. The following facts may serve as a background for the understanding of what the different parties stand for.

Germany, as is well-known, consisted for a long time of separate kingdoms, principalities and duchies, until they were all combined by Bismarck in 1871 into a united 'German Empire'. In internal administration, however, these are still independent "Free States" (*Freistaaten*), and the keeness with which they strive to maintain their independence often forms a knotty point in the domestic politics of the country.

The population of Germany consists chiefly of 38 million Protestants, 19 million Catholics and over half a million Jews. The north and middle Germany are mostly Protestant, while Bavaria and portions of Prussia are keenly Catholic. The preponderance of Jews in trade, their supposed control of the Press, and the prominent positions held by some of them in science and art, are often red rags to some of the parties.

The flag of the old monarchy was black, white and red, while the one adopted by the Republic is black, red and gold. This, however, does not seem to have met with universal acceptance, and one often hears of the 'Battle of the Flags'.

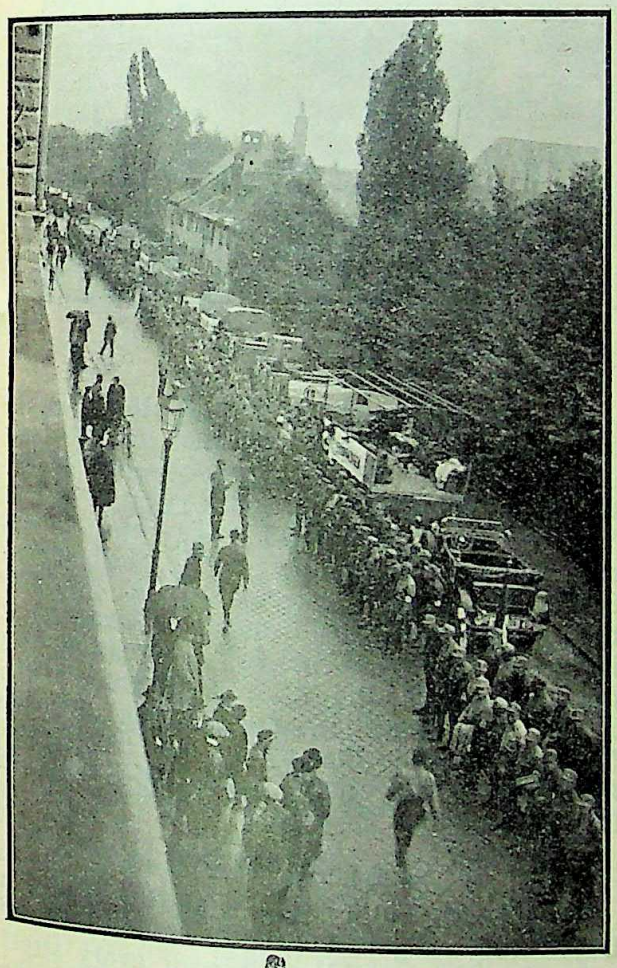
Then there are other minor social and economical problems that form the domestic politics of the country. Foreign politics, on the other hand, bristles with exceedingly acute problems like War Reparations, evacuation of Rheinland, recovery of south Tyrol ; and over these there are strong

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divergences of opinion and manifestation of feeling.

According to the positions of the seats occupied in the Reichstag in Berlin the parties fall into three groups: the "Right" being composed of Nationalists, the "Middle" of Democrats, and the "Left" of Socialists. The chief parties forming the 'Right' are the German National Party (*Deutsche Nationale Partei*) and the National Socialist Labour Party (*Nationalsozialistische Arbeiterpartei*). The German National Party is more or less a successor of the old Conservative Party of the monarchical times and represents large landed proprietors and capitalists. They



Election Propaganda. Hitler Party with Motor Lorries

were, in general, opposed to the Revolution and the Republic and favoured war to recover the lost German territories. The National Socialist Labour Party is under the leadership of Adolf Hitler, who fought in the ranks of the German Army during the war, but being an Austrian cannot himself be elected into the Reichstag. This party has the support of General Ludendorf, the well-known co-operator with Hindenburg in the Great War. Although occasionally the General addresses meetings in Munich, he has



Not a Funeral Notice but an Election Placard ! The lines in thick print only would read : Minister President Held, Murderous Attempt on Life, Dead, First Class Burial



"Vote List 1 Social Democratic Party." Children going about with red discs containing the above inscription

practically retired from politics. This party with a uniform of khaki shirt and cap and

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In front of a Polling Booth

the emblem of a red swastika is vehement against the Jews, and bitterly opposed to the conciliatory foreign policy of Dr. Stresemann. It so happens that Stresemann's wife is a Jewess! The National Socialists form the extreme Right and have presistently refused participation in any Coalition.

The 'Middle' comprises chiefly the Centre (*Zentrum*), the Bavarian People's Party (*Bayerische Volkspartei*) and the German People's Party (*Deutsche Volkspartei*). The first two are supported by Catholics, while the third represents the professionals and the moderate section of the capitalists. The German People's Party is led by Dr. Stresemann, who is perhaps the one German politician who is much in the eye of the world. While he was hooted and interrupted by the Socialists during his election speeches in Munich, he was warmly praised in Berlin on his 50th birth-day by Prince Bulow for all that he had achieved for Germany by his 'gentle and clever tactics'. His illness has not affected the elections apparently, although the simultaneous illnesses of himself and Briand were whispered in some quarters to be due to machinations of some secret international plot against foreign ministers!

On the extreme 'Left' are the Communists who have also refused to join any Coalition from the commencement of the Republic. But the important party of this Wing are the Social Democrats, who are not only the most numerous but the most influential body in the Reichstag. They in coalition with Stresemann have several most important achievements to their credit, like the ending of the war, conclusion of the Treaty of Versailles, stabilization of the Mark, the Dawe's Plan, Locarno Treaty and the entry of Germany into the League of Nations.

Election Day

Sunday the 20th May was the Election Day. According to law it should be either a Sunday or a holiday. Almost every street had its polling booth, in front of which the parties exhibited their posters. The booths were mostly inns, schools, etc. The voting started at 8 in the morning. The people approaching in queues would receive their Voting Papers (*Wahlzettel*), enter a covered "Cell,' mark a red cross in the circle opposite to the name of the party they wished to vote for, enclose it in an envelope, and,

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coming out, drop it into box through a slit after getting their identification cards checked.

The principal results of the voting are as follows :—

Social Democrats	9	287	433
German Nationalist Party ...	4	464	832
Centre Party	3	713	866
Communistic Party	3	217	339
German People's Party ...	2	692	444
German Democratic Party ...	1	448	763
Economic Party	1	409	704
Bavarian People's Party ...		938	870
National Socialists		840	856
Other Split Parties	2	716	717

Election A Reality to The People

Although there may not have been the same outward demonstrations as on previous occasions, there is no doubt that the voting is a reality to the people. The maid in our Pension when asked why she was a National Socialist could not at once think of an answer except that her father knew everything, but she almost hissed as she said pointing her finger towards the next room. 'The gantleman there is a Bayerish People's Party !' Among a family that went to a small drawing-room political meeting, the father sat out in the vestibule as he did not believe in the party that had arranged the meeting, the mother listened passively and approvingly to the speaker, while the daughter was continually putting cross questions. On the election day the voting was over by 5 p.m. I happened to be spending the evening with some friends in their country-house. At 7 p.m. the loud speaker in the next room began to announce the results of the elections in Munich. The whole family was nationalistic, and as the radio boomed out the enormous successes of the Social Democrats there were vehement gestures and exclamations of dissatisfaction ! As some paper remarked the other day, although the people may not personally do much in the four years of the life of a Reichstag, yet during the elections the voice of the people is supreme and sets the direction in which the Reichstag has to move.

A REPLY TO MISS MAYO

By ALIDE HILL BOOTH-SMITHSON

(*An American poetess*)

On India ! Country of divine dis-content,
Grieve thou not, at the cruel comment
Of our country maid (?)
Having eyes she seeth not at all,
Having ears she heareth not the call
Of thy soul. She's swayed by things external,
As all of us are...
She hitched not her vehicle to a star—
She loveth "brass tacks." (Statistics)
She heweth down here and scattereth there,
She forgeteth her ancestors bowed in prayer
For the truths which she lacks.

Forgive her India—forgive us all
For our Spiritual blindness—
For the Pekin-like wall
We've built round our hearts,
Lest seeing the light of the ages we'll be
Converted to true spirituality
That thy country imparts.

We Westerners mean, of course, to be kind,
In our science and industry we know you find
Much that is good,
But we have seen illness, disease and strife,
Where you have seen only God and Life...
We've not understood.
What you understand—
For Christ is not real
Nor Buddha, nor Krishna to us;
We don't feel
That anything matters here and now
We're SURE of THIS life
But wrinkle our brow
And scoff or doubt, or accept some creed
A few religions and faults to weed
From out our home garden—but then somehow
We always behold the far-off mote
While our beam remains—as it did in rote.
You really BELIEVE—man lives not by just
bread alone,
We give it the lie...
What our teacher taught we think is a joke,
You love and live what Buddha spoke.

So Forgive us India...I implore,
My country-woman's blunders—heart-sore
I wish my Native land could see
The depth of your—Spirituality...

[This is an Answer to Miss Mayo's own article about her book, appearing in the January 14, 1928 issue of the "Liberty Magazine" 247 Park Avenue, New York City, N. Y., U. S. A. In it she mentions that she prefers "brass tacks" (statistics) to flowery language or poetry.]

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ENGLISH

THE ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION OF THE SOVIET UNION: *By Scott Nearing and Jack Hardy. Published by the Vanguard Press, 80 Fifth Avenue, New York. 245 pp. Price 60 cents, postage paid.*

There is little excuse for any of us to remain ignorant of conditions in Soviet Russia today, or to fall back upon those threadbare charges and calling of names indulged in by the ignorant and reactionary. For, apart from the separate studies and general books that have appeared on Russia in recent years, we now have a very excellent and complete series of thirteen volumes devoted to the detailed study of various aspects of Russian life and of Soviet Russia. They are published by the Vanguard Press of America and sold at the ridiculous sum of 50 cents each, that each person may buy them. The volumes have been written after extensive and exhaustive studies by specialists, and the editor is a Professor in the Economic Research Dept. of Yale University. They cover the following subjects, one volume being devoted to Each : the Economic organization (here reviewed) of the Soviet Union; How the Soviets Work; Soviet Production and Distribution ; Trade Unions ; The Family : Religion ; Village Life; the School System; Health ; Civil Liberties; National Minorities: Art and Culture; and, Russia and her Neighbours.

The volume under review deals with economic organization, and is written by the noted economist, Dr. Scott Nearing, and an economist trained by him, Mr. Jack Hardy, It is the first and most exhaustive study made so far of the system of Soviet economic organization. It speaks in facts, figures and charts. It is in three parts, covering the following subjects; Part I, being a study of the pre-war and war system which was eventually inherited by the Bolsheviks, from the wreck of which they had to make something; and the tremendous attempt to establish a proletarian state. Part II is a very exacting study of economic functions and relationships in the Union, covering the following heads: natural resources; the central economic plan; agriculture ; industry ; transport and communication; internal and foreign trade; finance, banking and credit; the co-operative movement ; the position and organization of labour; new capital and the policy of foreign concessions ; developing new skill. The last, or third pa covers the results of all these activities. A secti is given also to the productivity of the Union, a the economic trend.

Part I, devoted to pre-war and war Russ constantly reminds one of India today, not only the feudal land system, but in retarded econom development requiring importation of manufa tured products, machinery, and even capital, fr abroad. It was this economic machinery, head by an inefficient, ignorant, corrupt and tyrannic State machinery that was expected to carry on war. 15 million Russian men, including most the skilled workers, were taken from industry a mobilized for slaughter. The gradual collapse the system is followed—again in facts and figures until we see starving cities, rebelling soldie shipped to the front with no provisions or weapon we see manufactures, mining, transport and agr culture shrink to a small fraction of pre-w volume. Then came the February break, t attempt of the Kerensky Provisional Governme to carry on the War hated by the people, then t uprising against this Government. It was th collapsed, ruined system that the Bolsheviks inhe ted and were expected to make something of. T October Revolution had Peace, Bread, Land to t peasants and the Factories to the Workers, as slogans. But it was prevented from peace reconstruction. Surrounded by a hostile wor the country was desolated by war, revolution, a then by counter-revolution, blockade, armed int vention, and famine. From 1917 to 1921—for fi long years—the Soviet Union fought for its li against the most formidable of armed Europe powers. At the end of that time production h further sunk until, in many industries, it h reached the zero point. And still the workers a peasants defeated all enemies. It is only fro 1921 that peaceful economic construction has be possible, and even this has been carried on und constant threat of further intervention and war.

Part II covers the entire economic organizati upon which the Soviet system rests. The fund mental principles underlying this organization ma be given in Dr. Nearing's own words :

1. The socialization of all basic productiv forces, such as land, mines, railroads, factories.

2. The organization and direction of productiv forces on a unified, scientific plan.

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3. The elimination of private profit and the social use of all economic surplus.

4. Universal obligation on all able-bodied adults to render some productive or useful service..."He shall not eat who does not work." (Article 18, Soviet Constitution).

5. Active participation, by the workers, in the direction of economic life.

6. The widest possible provision, among all who render productive and useful service, of : a) food, clothing, shelter. health service ; b) education, recreation, cultural opportunity.

7. "The abolition of exploitation of men by men, the entire abolition of the division of the people into classes, the suppression of exploiters, the establishment of a Socialist society and the victory of Socialism in all lands." (Article 3, Soviet Constitution.)

Two or three general results of the system may be briefly noted :

1. The budget was balanced and the currency stabilized without external loans or credits. No such record has been made by any of the other major European belligerents. The Soviet Union accomplished this result in 1924, before it was achieved in Britain, Germany, France, Italy, or Belgium.

2. The volume of production has increased each year since 1921. No other principal nation can show an equally steady gain in productivity.

3. The material well-being of Soviet workers has been improving steadily since 1921. No other European country can make a similar showing.

Part III is a short summary of the results of the Soviet system—which means the co-operative system of production and distribution. After analyzing the factors that forced Russia to introduce the New Economic Policy in 1921, with its concessions to the peasantry, its concessions to foreign capitalists, and its permission for free trade within the country, Dr. Nearing asks the very timely question if Russia is drifting towards capitalism, as its enemies amongst the Social Democrats would have us believe in an attempt to justify their own betrayal, or if the Soviet Union is developing along Socialistic lines.

The Soviet Union, he says, is passing through the transition to Socialism, and not one Communist inside or outside of Russia would hold that the present system has achieved the full measure of Socialism. An economic system is not built so quickly. But the trend of historical forces at work there is clearly seen in three prime factors : 1) the State power "is in the hands of the new order and wielded in the interests of the working class and against the growth of the capitalistic forces ; 2) Socialism is not possible without large scale industrialism, and Russia is being industrialized ; 3) the socialized forces of production, distribution and exchange continually expands, and those of private capital lose ground in the struggle—this book under review proves by facts and figures that this phase is a living reality." Therefore, we see that the capture of the State by the toiling masses is complete ; the country is being industrialized, and its agriculture is also being modernized and industrialized ; and socialized agriculture and industry is gradually replacing private ventures that sprang up after 1921. Foreign trade, transport, and finance, are State monopolies. In Russia we see the coming to birth of a new world order, and in it we see socialized economy making attacks upon private capital—not vice versa. And this is the way to Socialism.

The book is written in that lucid and yet fundamental style for which Dr. Nearing is noted. Every phase of Soviet Russian economy has been covered, and the results shown in figures and in charts. This book, as well as the entire series on Soviet Russia, should be read by Indians.

AGNES SMEDLEY

THE LIFE OF BUDDHA AS LEGEND AND HISTORY : *By E. J. Thomas M. A. D. Litt (St. Andrews), London, Kegan Paul Trench Trubner & Co. Ltd. 1927. 12s. 6d, net. Pp. XXIV, 297 with Appendix and Index.*

This work, as the author says in his preface, attempts to set forth what is known from the records and to utilise reformation that has never yet been presented in a Western form. Both the Pali and the Sanskrit canons may be regarded as having originated from other original versions which are now practically lost and the task of separating historical from legendary materials is a difficult one and few scholars could have approached the subject in a more impartial and critical spirit than Dr. Thomas has done. The discourses in *Sutta* and *Vinaya* cannot often claim to be historical and many legends of different traditions have often grown round them. The Tibetan Scriptures contain a collection of legends which are probably based on the earliest Sanskritic legends, some of the most important of which have been translated in Rockhill's Life of the Buddha. Mahavastu and Lalitavistara are also Sanskrit works which are based on earlier different traditions and so also is Abhiniskramana-sutra, an abridged translation of which from its Chinese translation has been published by Beal. Buddhavamsa and Nidanakatha are similar works in Pali and it was on works like these that the later Singhalese and Burmese works were based and a Tibetan work on the life of the Buddha was composed as late as 1734 which has been summarised by Scheifner and Klaproth. None of these documents can however be called historical, nor is it easy to discover in them any firm basis for any historical work. Their chornology is as uncertain as their legends. The genealogical accounts af ruling families found in the Puranas and the Pali chronicles of Dipavamsa (fourth century A. D.) and the Mahavamsa which was probably based on it and written in the fifth century, form the chief basis for chronology. From the conflicting accounts of these various sources Dr. Thomas has tried to form his conclusions carefully weighing his judgments in the light of available evidence suggesting a separation of the historical from the legendary materials as far as possible. The work is divided into seventeen chapters, such as the ancestry of Buddha, the home and family of Buddha, infancy and youth, the great renunciation, austerities and enlightenment, the first preaching, spread of the doctrine, legends of the twenty years wandering, rival schools, the last days, the order, Buddhism as a religion, as a philosophy, Buddha and myth, Buddha and history, Buddhism and Christianity. The method adopted by Dr. Thomas has been that of placing the informations available from different sources side by side and then of commenting on them as he dealt with them leaving the

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readers to judge for themselves. Thus in the chapter on Buddha's infancy and youth, he first gives the oldest version of the story given in Nalaka-sutta of the Sutta-nipata and shows that the legend was much later than the Sutta and attached to it probably in the Christian era. He then notices the chief differences of this version with the other accretion of legends in the Lalita-vistara, the Mahavastu, the Tibetan account, the Divyavadana, the Jataka commentary and the Buddhavamsa as well as their agreements.

In discussing Buddhism as a religion the author says that the most primitive formulation of Buddhism is probably found in the four Noble Truths. These involve a certain conception of the nature of the world and of man. The first three insist on pain as a fact of existence, on a theory of its cause and on a method of its suppression, which is the Noble eightfold path. It is this way of escape from pain with the attaining of a permanent state of repose which as a course of moral and spiritual training to be followed by the individual constitutes Buddhism as a religion. Regarding the relation between Yoga and Buddhism Dr. Thomas rightly points out that it is not probable that Buddhism borrowed its Yoga tenets from the Yoga system. My own view is that the Yoga practices were current in the country and that it was probably Buddha who gave it a systematic form for the first time. The Yoga of Patanjali is certainly indebted to Buddhism for its formulation of the Yoga system in accordance with the metaphysics of Sankhya. Dr. Thomas's treatment of the Buddhist Nibbana', though brief, is instructive. He rightly points out that Nirvana is not peculiarly a Buddhistic term though it has undoubtedly a definite Buddhistic significance regarding the chief end of man. For the Buddhist it means the extinction of craving, of the desire for existence and the consequent cessation of pain. It is difficult to find out Buddha's own words describing what happens to one who has attained Nirvana in this life and many passages show that the Buddha has himself left it unexplained. But Dr. Thomas is right in holding that there is nothing to show that the conception of Nirvana implied any existence after death as is wrongly held by Prof. de la Vallee-Poussin in his *Nirbana* (Paris 1925) which has led to the publication of The Conception of Nirvana by Prof. Stcherbatsky in its refutation. Though the distinction of sopadi and nirupadi Nirvana cannot be found in earliest Buddhism and was later on introduced by the commentators. it was fully in keeping with the spirit of early Buddhism. I have elsewhere discussed it in my review of Prof. Stcherbatsky's "The conception of Buddhist Nirvana" in the July number (1928) of *the Modern Review*.

It is not possible to refer to the many now contributions that have been made in this work regarding the life of Buddha and Buddhism in general within the compass of this brief review. But it may safely be asserted that it has not only utilised all available literature on Buddhism, ancient and modern, but Dr. Thomas has often thrown a new light on the problems that he has handled and decidedly advanced our knowledge of Buddha's life and Buddhism in general a step further.

S. N. DASGUPTA.

STUDIES IN INDIAN ECONOMICS; *By M. S. Seshu Iyengar, M. L. A. Madura. Pp. 152 : price Re. 1-8-0. 1927.*

This is a collection of ten lectures delivered by the author under the auspices of the Madura Economic Association and of three papers contributed by him to *the South India Mail* and to *the Modern Review*, during the years 1916 and 1917. They comprise a variety of subjects, including land revenue, currency, high prices and taxation. The author seems to have a thorough grasp of these subjects and shows considerable skill in marshalling his facts and using them tellingly. The discussions on currency and high prices might with advantage have been brought up-to-date. Few will be found to dissent from the author's view that Indians in larger numbers should turn their attention to the study of economic problems, if responsible government is to have any meaning in the country.

ESSENTIALS OF INDIAN ECONOMICS: *By B. G. Sapre, M. A., Professor of History and Economics Willingdon College, Sangli. Pp. 512 : Prices Rs. 4-4-0.*

In the preface, the author makes a profession of his object in writing this book, first, he desires to supply the student of Indian Economics with a book which "treats of the subject as a whole" and which deals "almost exclusively with Indian economic conditions" and not with "pieces of Indian Economics sandwiched between long dissertations upon ordinary economic theory"; and, secondly, he has tried "to arrange the subject in a manner that clearly shows the *historical* as well as *organic* relation between the various problems of Indian Economics."

We find ourselves completely at variance with the first object of the author. In the first place because we think that it is not possible, in the present stage of the development of economic studies in our country, to produce even a fairly satisfactory work on 'Indian Economics' "treating of the subject as a whole"; and, in the second place, because a book which deals simply with Indian economic conditions and makes no attempt to bring out the real significance of those conditions by reference to economic theory, would, in our opinion, be a mere catalogue of facts and figures and not a book on economics. The author also does not seem to have been very successful in realising his second object, i.e., "arranging the subject in a manner that clearly shows the *historical* as well as *organic* relation between the various problems of Indian Economics." The novel plan of arrangement that he has adopted will, we are afraid, only confuse the students, without facilitating a better understanding of the subject.

THE EXAMINATION OF THE CURRENCY COMMISSION REPORT; *By P. B. Junnarkar, M. A., LLB., Reader and Head of the Department of Commerce, Dacca University. Pp. 121; price Re. 1-4-0.*

Mr. Junnarkar's criticism of the Currency Commission's Report is not likely to attract much attention today, though it is a book of more than ephemeral interest. The controversy regarding the relative merits of the 1s. 6d. and 1s. 4d. ratios seems already to belong to a by-gone age; but that does not mean that we have heard the last

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of it. The author's statement that "the 1-6 ratio came into existence under artificial conditions produced by a definite monetary policy pursued by the Government of India" is largely true; but that the Governments policy of contraction of currency "has reduced the level of prices, paralysing industries and reducing the demand for capital" appears to us to be an over statement; while his contention that the 1-6 rupee has "considerably reduced the purchasing power in the hands of the agriculturist" and that "this is the cause of the stagnant condition of the piece goods trade. since the year 1921" is extremely fallacious. The 1-6 rupee has certainly reduced the money income of the agriculturist; but it has not reduced his purchasing power—at least not to any appreciable extent.

The question of rupee ratio will never be satisfactorily settled, nor are we ever likely to see the end of India's currency troubles, until she has openly and frankly adopted a gold currency as the proper accompaniment of her gold standard (however retrograde such a measure may appear to the more advanced currency theorists of to-day). The Commission's arguments for the rejection of the Indian Finance Department's proposals for the establishment of a gold currency would not bear close examination. We find here the same solicitation for the interests of other countries, the same (unwarranted) anxiety about the expense of the experiment to India, the same fear of opposition from the gold-grabbing countries of the West, as in the case of previous Commissions. It would be fairly safe to predict the break-down of the Gold 'Bullion' Standard as recommended by the Commission. It might work in a country where the currency system is not complicated by the presence within it of a silver note of unlimited legal tender and where the people have become. long accustomed to the use of paper. But in India, the gold bullion standard would in practice mean the gold exchange standard, with the added liability of the Central Reserve Bank to pay gold at a fixed ratio to an unlimited extent to enable the Government and foreign traders to meet their obligations abroad without loss. The internal circulation will continue to be, as heretofore, silver rupees and currency notes nominally convertible into gold but actually cashed in silver—with all the attendant inconveniences of the system.

The author takes strong exception to two features of the Central Reserve Bank as proposed by the Commission, viz., (i) that the other banks should be compelled to maintain minimum reserve balances with the Central Reserve Bank; and (ii) that the Central Reserve Bank should have no direct dealings with the public. He himself would prefer to see the Imperial Bank of India, which carries on its business in close touch with the Indian banking and business world and already preforms many of the functions of a Central Bank act as the Central Reserve Bank of India. Thus he favours, by implication, a share holders' bank. We need not follow the author into his criticism of the other features of the Bank, which have not found support even with the Government of India.

ECONOMICUS

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ENGLISH WOMEN IN LIFE AND LETTER: *By M. Phillips and W. S. Tomkinson. O. U. Press. Pp. XVIII+408.*

"This book," say the authors, "describes the lives of past English Women, some rich and of great place, others poor and unknown to fame. The material is in the main historical: but throughout the book we have drawn freely upon the rich stores of English fiction, the better to illustrate and interpret our theme. Thus Pamela Andrews and Mor Flanders testify in these pages along with Dorothy Osborne and Fan Burney. And it has been thought well to tell their own story with as little prompting as possible." We could not improve upon the authors' description of the purpose and scope of their work. It is an interesting gallery of feminine portraits, drawn from actual life and from imagination by poets and novelists from Chaucer to Mrs. Gaskell but all of these intensly realistic.

But whether the subjects of these portraits were actual human beings in flesh and blood or whether they existed only in the imagination of their creators they seem to us mostly, as we judge them by present-day standards, creatures of the fancy and fancy creature-too, made by man what they are and moving about in a man-made world pelted and pampered, scorned and exploited, on the whims and tastes and needs of the stronger sex demanded. Now and then, there is an exception, but only to prove the general rate. What a far cry from the England of today where woman, having at long last come of age, has amply avenged her century old subjection by a series of triumphs culminating in the recent amendment of the Representation of the people Act which gives the flapper of twenty-one the right to vote and this incidentally, we might mention, secures for the women of England a numerical majority and therefore, the power to rule over the men, so that a few generations hence, we may expect the greatgreat-great grand daughters of Mr. Phillips and Mr. Tomkinson to write a book called "English Men in life and letters."

The Book is profusely illustrated & beautifully printed.

HIRANKUMAR SANYAL.

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ELEMENTS OF SURVEYING AND RELAYING. *By Mr. R. L. Banerjee. Principal Mainamati (Govt.) Survey School, Via Comilla (Bengal) pp: 196 with Wallet, bound in cloth. Price Rs. 6-8.*

This book deals with the practical methods of ordinary Survey works, with special reference to relaying boundaries. It is well-written and will prove useful to Civil Court Commissioners and to pleaders, preparing for Survey examination.

INDUSHEKHAR BHATTCHARJYA.

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THE LAW RELATING TO REGISTRATION OF DOCUMENTS IN BRITISH INDIA: *By Mr. Kshitis Chandra Chakravati, M. A., B. L., Advocate, Calcutta High Court; Published by Messrs. N. M. Raychowdhury & Co., College Square, Calcutta. Price Rs. 6 only.*

The publication is an excellent commentary on the Indian Registration Act, 1908 Act No, XVI

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of 1908 in which careful and elaborate collection of authorities has been made. The author has given a complete history of Registration Law in India which will be found very useful. In the appendix, rules and notifications issued by the different Local Governments have been set out which have added to the value of the book. On the whole, this edition ef the Registration Act is a very useful publication and we hope that it will be found to be of great use by the legal public.

G. S.

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WHEN PARLIAMENTS FAIL: *A Synthetic view from the Gallery. By a Sympathiser. With a Foreword by Bertram Keightly of the Lucknow University. Thacker Spink & Co. 1927 Pp. VI+90.*

The author of this book, Mr. S. Nehru, goes to the capital cities of France, England, Germany, Italy and Switzerland in order to study the working of the national legislatures of the leading states of Europe and of the League of Nations and records his impressions in powerful and picturesque language in this small book. He sees through the pomp of Parliaments, the solemn stage-acting of representative democracy. Even the grandeur of the League of Nations leaves him unmoved. Geneva, where the League is domiciled, appears to him to be the "Mecca of the Mighty and the Babel of Bablers." He winds up by saying; "Europe's Parliaments are everywhere in chains—of their own forging, or other's imposing. They have, in a deep sense, ceased to function without friction or restraint. But, if reality, the actual world of prliamentary muddle-headedness and democratic mis-government, proves to be such a chaos of confused issues and conflicting interests, can we not seek refuge in Utopia, or, to be more precise in a dream of it, following the example of some of our most illustrious predecessors from the time of Plato downwards? And that is exactly what our author does. The Utopia that he speculates upon however, is not, happily altogether Utopian—it is not devoid of a practical interest for the erring political animals who rule and are ruled in the modern states. For, as the author remarks: "Each leading country possesses the means and the possibilities of making the most of its parliament, and of ensuring that it does its duty by the people. This clear duty is apt to be overlooked in the welter of false issues; which shortsighted deputies are tempted to raise in order to secure transient triumphs at one another's or even at the country's expense.

"No parliament is perfect. But all are perfectible". We earnestly commend this book to every one interested in the study of Government. To Indians, specially, the book conveys a message which should not be missed. For, as Mr. Keightly says in the Foreword; "Our India is just entering on democratic and parliamentary development and one hopes her guiding *intelligentsia*, especially the younger ones, may mark, learn and inwardly digest the lessons, which this survey of the position, now becoming so marked in Europe, is well-calculated to impress upon them." Those of our contrymen who think that India in order to attain her goal, not of mere political autonomy but real *Swaraj*, inward and outward, should steer her parliamentary craft clear of the Scylla of autocracy and the Charybdis of Anarchy, the fetish of Law and Order and the wild orgy of Freedom's Battle, might do worse than reflect over the contents of this book.

H. S.

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"KRISHNA OF VRINDABANA" which was reviewed by Prof. G. Tucci last month has been priced at Rs. 6 and published by the Bengal Library, Patuatuli, Dacca.

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HINDI

ITIHAS KI KAHANIAN: *By Zohur Buksh. The Ganga-Pustak-mala office, Lucknow.*

Some interesting incidents of the lives of great men are here collected and told in a beautiful style. This will be an attraction in the juvenile literature of Hindi.

LADKIYON KA KHEL: *By Mr. Girija Kumar Ghosh. The Ganga-pustak-mala office, Lucknow.*

We congratulate the author for bringing out this book of action-songs and dramatic pieces specialy for the girls. The style is light and most suited for the purpose. The book is sure to give enjoyment to the little girls. The pictures also match well with the poems.

MAHILA-HITAISHINI: *By Chaturvedi Dwarka Prasad Sharma, M.R.A. S. The Nawalkishore Press, Lucknow.*

This is mainly compiled and translated from the Bengali writings of the late Satis Chandra Chakravarty on women's walfare.

VANITA-VILASA: *By Pandit Mahabir Prosad Dvrivedi. The Ganga-pustak-mala office, Lucknow.*

Lives of 12 eminent women of various nationality are described, with some pictures and photos.

ZACHCHA: *By Kaviraj Pratap-Sinha Vidya Visarada. Ganga-pustak-mala office, Lucknow,*

A book on maternity and child welfare.

COMMUNISM KYA HAI? *By Mr. Radhamohan Gokulji, Cawnpur.*

The principles and practice of communism are described showing their various aspects.

PREM DVADASI: *By Mr. Premchand, The Ganga-pustak-mala office, Lucknow.*

Twelve out of about a century of short stories written by Mr. Premchand the best writer of short story in Hindi are selected in this volume.

ACHHUTODDHARA-NATAKA: *By Rameswariprasad Ram. Hindi Sulabha Sahitya Mandir, Barh, Patna.*

A drama on social reform of the so-called untouchabies.

APNA AUR PARAYA: *By Thakur Jugal Kisore Narain Singha-Nawal Kisore Book Depot, Lucknow.*

Translation of Mr. Hemendraprasad Ghose's Bengali story *Apna-o-par.*

KUSUMAVATI: *By Babu Chandrabhan Sinha. Mokam Ratsanda, Ballia.*

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A book of poems on various phases of nature and the human mind. The poet suggests in the preface that a compromise should be arrived at between the *braja-bhasha and khadi-boli* and Persian words also should not be excommunicated.

GO-PALANA : *Published by the Indian Press, Ltd. Allahabad.*

Various informations as regards the cow are given herewith pictures and diagram.

RAMES BASU.

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MARATHI

THE VIJAYA-SAHITYA-MALA AND OTHER BOOKS—*Publisher Vijaya Press, Poona City.*

This series has to its credit about a dozen books of considerable merit written by well-known Marathi writers on various subjects such as biography, poetry, novels, drama, science etc. *Kahin Tares* is a collection of stray political pieces composed by Mr. H. S. Gokhale. The range of subjects in this book is pretty large and the happy combination of emotion and reason displayed in some pieces appeals to the readers. The Foreward of Prof. Lagu is discriminating and impartial. *Kulhbyachi Dandy and Pahatepurvicha Kalokh* are two novels by two well-reputed authors. Both books are entertaining and useful in their own way, though they are widely different in style, sentiment and out-look of society. *De Valera and McSwiney* are two biographies brightly written and likely to absorb the interests of politically-minded class of Marathi readers. *Santati-Niyamana* or Birth-control is a subject which is exercising the minds of a great number of young persons at present and Professor Phadke's interesting brochure on the subject will no doubt be read with pleasure by them. It must, however, be said that little good to the Society can be expected from the propaganda work of this new movement adopted from the West without due regard to the special conditions and religious sentiments which characterise Indian Society. *Khadashtak* by Mr. S. P. Joshi is a dramatic play which will entertain those who do not look for any high and noble sentiments leading to the elevation of society in drama but crave only for something likely to excite an outburst of laughter. *Gelin Panch Warshen* or the past five years is a collection of certain articles in the *Kesari* edited by Mr. N. C. Kelkar. The sub-title of the book is explanatory and tells us that the articles chosen and incorporated in the book relate the history of the five years' period viz. 1921-26,—a period as eventful as it is disgraceful in the political history of India. It was a period which saw the rise, growth and decline of the non-co-operation movement, the diplomacy of a dubious character on the part of a certain section of the Nationalist party, the incessant squabbles and wranglings among public leaders and the rabid tone of the Press of both sides. These quarrels which have disgraced and humiliated Maharashtra in the eyes of the rest of India should have been allowed to be buried unceremoniously and forgotten for ever. But it is a pity that the responsivist leaders like Mr. Kelkar who wrote the articles re-printed in the book and Mr. Aney who wrote an appreciative foreword to their collection were both carried away by passion and both in their misdirected enthusiasm decided to give the unfortunate controversy a permanent form. The decision was quite unwise and I for one cannot congratulate the publisher on his achievement.

V. G. APTE.

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MALAYALAM

SRI DEVI-HARANAM ; *A drama in seven acts By Kongot Krishnan Nair. The Mangalodayam Press, Trichur. Price As. 8.*

The theme of this play is based on an incident known in history. The first meeting of the hero and the heroine and their mutual falling in love are depicted in a manner quite prosaic. The play opens with a *Nandi*, and ends with a *Bharatavakya*. It starts with a prologue in the beginning, and has a *Vishkmbha* preceding every *Anka* (act.) In the matter of dramatugry, it is a pure imitation of Sanskrit drama.

MANI-MANJOOSHA ,—*'A chest of gems', collected from the numerous learned articles contributed to the Mangaladayam Journal by Pandit P. S. Anathanarayana Sastri, Printed and published by the Yogakshemon Co., Ltd., Trichur. Pp. 139, Price As. 12.*

P. AUNJAN ACHEN.

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GUJARATI

THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF DHONKO KESHAV KARVE : *Translated by Kishan Sinh Govind Sing Chavda, and published by the Pustakalaya Sahayak Sahakari Mandal, Baroda, printed at the Kshatriya Printing Press, Ahmedabad. Cloth bound. Pp. 377. Price Rs. 3 (1927),*

Prof. Karve, the founder of the Indian Women's University has become a man of world-wide publicity and his autobiography written in Marathi is a book depicting the wonderful personality and indomitable courage of a more poor in worldly resources but rich in determination and self-sacrifice. His life is a standing lesson to all those patriots who want to raise India in the scale of nations. The translation is very well done, and the interest so well sustained that one does not like to put down the book—a big one as sizes go—his one has furnished it.

PREMA SWARUP SHRI KRISHNA ; *First Part : By Mohanlal V. Gandhi, Printed at the Aditya Printing Press, Ahmedabad. Cloth bound. Pp. 252. Price Rs. 2 (1927)*

"Shri Krishna, the Lord of Love," written by Baba Premananda Bharti has attained great fame as a book explaining why Shri Krishna is held in such veneration by us, and the deeper truths underlying his worship. This book is a translation of the first part of that treatise and the Notes given at the end add to its usefulness. It is sure to interest all those who have a religious turn of mind.

K. M. J.

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Social Reform Legislations

Mr. Indra Vidyalankara in an article in *the Vedic Magazine* for May points out some social and moral maladies in India and urges for their eradication by the legislative bodies. Says the writer:

Look, whichever side we may, what sight meet our eyes? It is an oppressive sight of pauperism and illiteracy all around us. The people seem to be extremely discontented with their existence. They find no happiness in their lives, as they are always on the verge of starvation and destitution. Really they have no comfort, no ease, no peace of mind. How to raise their standard of living! How to enhance their earning capacity? There are twenty-seven lacs of Sahdus in our country, we are at our wits' end to find out means of making them useful to our society and country. Again there is the knotty problem of widow-marriage. How to persuade the orthodox section of the Hindu community to allow young girl-widows to remarry? How to get its sanction even for the prevention of child-marriage? All these reforms are required urgently for the welfare of the country at large, but reformers alone cannot bring them about in less than a century or even more. It is impossible to wait for so long a time only for such insignificant measures of re-generation. If by means of legislation our object can be realised at once, why not resort to it? The writer is firmly of opinion that legal restrictions alone can check the ever-increasing degeneration of India. It is simply an idle business to reason with antiquated Pandits and their so-called *Shastras*. Really "that which conduces to the highest good of society is *Shatra*." Let every reform come which is consistent with the happiness and prosperity of the people. Let even a revolutionary legislation take place which ultimately adds something to the peace and tranquility of the nation. If we wish to see an end of the curse of untouchability, let a strong, definite measure be put on the statute book and enforced strictly so as to make such inhuman behaviour a severely punishable crime. Again, if we desire our country to go 'dry,' let a Total Prohibition Bill be enacted and applied by the Executive with all the earnestness at its command. The drink evil, even a part of which cannot be eradicated by hundreds of sermons, will then leave the shores of India for good.

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Khadi in Foreign Lands

The question whether those Indians who go abroad should put on Khadi dress or not and whether it can serve the purpos has been coming more and more under discussion. Several Indian sojourners have furnished themselves entirely with Khadi suits (both woollen and cotton) from Indian Khadi depots. *Khadi Patrika* of Ahmedabad gives several such instances.

For England

Sjt. Ramji Hansraj while going to England on business, got all his dresses made of Khadi. But at the last moment he had to resort to one foreign cloth suit and hence he sent us instructions for a better, softer, though a little costlier quality of woollen cloth. Now such qualities have also been made available from Kashmir.

Babu Rajendraprasad

Only last month Babu Rajendraprasad left for England attired *cap-a-pie* in Khadi.

Japan

Sjt. Nilkanth Mashruvala accompanied by his family had been to Japan on business. He had all his dresses made of Khadi. During his stay there he used to order out all his clothing necessaries from here. This gentleman used only white Khadi cap for his head dress in Japan also.

China

Sheth Maherjibhai Navroji (a Parsi gentleman) went to China all in Khadi.

Foreign Orders

Occasionally, there are orders for Khadi even from such distant centres such as: London, America, Africa, Arabia, Malaya State, Jesselton (North Borneo) and Singapore. Several members of the Khadi Sangathan scheme also belong to these centres

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The Synthetic Vision

The editor of *Probuddha Bharata* in the course of a thought provoking article states that there cannot be a more urgent task in India at the present time than the production of a large number of young workers who will represent the highest synthesis in their outlook and experience of life and reality. Says the writer in conclusion.

One great obstacle in the way of young men devoting themselves to the realisation of the spir

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tual world-synthesis is the superstition that religion is a life of passivity, and devoid of the glow of life that characterises more concrete struggles. Young minds want the taste of power. They seek those fields of action where they can wield great energies, and this often attracts them to lesser ideals. Let us assure them that the life of spiritual struggle, of the struggle to realise the Universal Vision such as wo have discussed above, requires the greatest amount of strength. There is an amount of adventure in it as is not be met with anywhere else and may daunt even the stoutest heart. Spiritual realisation is the manliest of games and the most daring of adventures. India and the world are eagerly waiting for those brave souls who will build up the glorious future of humanity through their titanic life-struggles. Where are they ? They alone can lead humanity to the land of promise.

—

Calcutta in 1870

Francis H. Skrine narrates his interesting recollections of Calcutta's external aspect during the seventies of the last century in *the Calcutta Review* for June, we read in one place :

The present generation must find some difficulty imagining Calcutta without pure water or scientific drainage ; without motor-cars, autobuses, tramlines, electricity and the other convieniences which render life in the tropics more than tolerable. Bishop Heber declared in his delightful *Diary of a Residence in India* ; "People talk of luxuries of the East, but the only luxries I am aware of are cold air and cold water—when one can get them." Half a century later things were but little better in this respect. The ministrations of a sleepy punkah-coolie were far less efficient than an electric fan, and the supply of ice was precarious. In the good bishop's time wealthy Europeans cooled their claret with ice skimmed from shallow pans set out at night during the cold weather. In the twenties, however, an enterprising American made his fortune by cutting huge blocks from the frozen surface of lake near Boston and exporting them to Calcutta, where they were stored in a massive edifice at Howrah. As the precious commodity arrived per sailing ship, stocks were apt to run short at the hottest season. In such cases every subscriber received a notice that ice would be supplied only to hospitals. In the sixties of last century a method was discovered of manufacturing ice cheaply by machinery, and several plants for this purpose arrived in Calcutta. Each was bought up and sent back by the powerful Tudor Ice Company : but it is monopoly could not be sustained, and the Howrah donjon was demolished.

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Kindergarten or the Garden of Children

Srimati Susama Sen (Mrs. P. K. Sen) writes in *the Children's News* for May :

The beautiful word kindergarten which, in German, means the garden of Children is known throughout the world unfortnately the idea that underlies it has not been vividly realised. The ideal garden of children ought to be the home and their gardener the mother. Few mothers watch the development of the child, so as to make it bloom into the Flower that it is destined to be. Instead of being under the loving care of the mother children are often put in the hands of ill-tempered and fagged out teachers. No wonder before the bud blooms, it fades away, and the garden presents a dreary desolate sight.

At the present moment in the Western countries the health, happiness, and welfare of the children are being seriously considered. Cultured women are busily engaged in discovering the right path to education of children. Only through the insight of love and sympathy can the mother direct her child's course along the right track. What are the kindergarten and the Montessori systems, but methods adapted for letting the child learn through its play. The great names of Pestalozzi, Froebel and others are associated with this endeavour to turn the instinct of play into account and make the child's play-ground its field of study. Another notable endeavour to advance education is found in the Parent's National Educationai Union, which has has founded in England to bring about a greater unity in Education by securing harmony between the home and the school by co-operation between parents and teachers who are able to meet on the same ground.

We in India have seriously to think over the question of children's education and utilise all our resources of thought and action for the benefit of children. That is what makes ultimately for them building up of India's nationhood. The time has undoubtedly come when the mothers must realise their true place when the mother-heart must awake to beat not only for own selfish ends, but for the service of the nation, and of humanity. It is when we realize this in all its fulness, that Indian womanhood will attain its end and goal.

—

Causes of Strikes

The National Christan Council Review for June says that the hunger of an empty heart and the hunger of an unfilled stomach are the main reasons of the labour unrest in India.

We have no right to ignore, withdrawn upon a hill apart, the fact that in the plains beneath men and women and children are hungry. We are inclined at times to think that the hot-weather outbreaks of discontent, the strikes and communal conflicts are in large measure due to overwrought and jangled nerves. But neither this nor Bolshevism nor the 'labour agitator' is a sufficient explanation for what we see about us in the cotton mills of Bombay and the railway workshops of Bengal. There are two main sources for the unrest that is never still about us : first, the hunger of an empty heart ; and, second, the hunger of an unfilled stomach. We cannot afford to ignore—least of all in India—this second cause of so much distress and bitterness. There is no 'agitator' that a government has so much cause to dread as the one

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called 'Unemployment,' and his dangerous influence is evident on every side of us today. There is good reason why the Jerusalem Council gave so much attention to the problems both of industry and of rural areas. It is not only among the steel workers of Jamshedpur that we see the spirit of rebellion awaking, but also among the peasants of Bardoli. We dare not turn away with indifference from problems that affect so vitally the happiness, and indeed, the very existence, of multitudes.

And suggests the following reform :

One reform that appears to be greatly needed, and that immediately concerns the employed rather than the employers, may be mentioned. It scarcely seems open to doubt that some of the leaders of the workers are seeking purely personal ends. When these leaders are from outside the ranks of the workers themselves, the opportunity for 'professional agitators' is obvious. The remedy for this evil is the training of the most capable among the workers to understand the economic situation and themselves take the position of leaders and advisers of their fellow-workers. Something similar to the institution of the Labour College in England is demanded—some means of adult training of the workers—before we can expect to find moderation and sanity in the Labour Movement.

—

Rural Reconstruction

The Hon'ble V. Ramdas Pantulu in the course of an informative article in *Rural India* for April gives an outline of a scheme of rural reconstruction and sketches a plan of work to carry it out He is of opinion that social and economic reconstruction of Indian villages would not come about by gifts from the British Government but it can only brought about by a "reconstruction of our mentality so as to make us self-reliant."

The village can be regenerated only by a reconstruction of the mentality of the villager. Charitable doles of money, or cheap money thrown into his pocket, whether by the co-operative society or by the Government, will only serve to make him more dependent and less self-reliant. If the financial assistance rendered to the ryot is not closely associated with the inculcation of co-operative principles, his position may become worse. That is why Wolff is never tired of emphasising that, 'the first step which the people's bank is bound to take is to make the improvident thrifty, the reckless careful, the drunkard sober, the evil doer well-conducted, the unlettered capable of using the pen. In this way it has become a moralising and educating agency of the greatest value to the nation among whom it acts.'

The writer proceeds :

The next essential principle which reconstructors should bear in mind is, that their scheme should embrace all sides of the village activities which are compendiously decribed in Horace Plunkett's classification of the ten principal needs of the farmer as 'business needs' and 'social needs.' Mr. MacNeil summed up the idea in the words, "Better Farming and Better Business would be a soulless thing without Better Living. ('Better Living Societies' are a noteworthy feature of the movement in the Punjab. There are 59 societies of this description with a membership of over 2,000. The plan is most popular and gives a lead to the informal groups of caste-fellows who were already trying to reform their ways. All classes and castes have joined these societies and resolutions have been passed in various places, restricting expenditure on ceremonies, penalising cattle-trespass, forbidding the sale of daughters and the giving of false evidence, and enjoining temperance and inoculation. Fines have been inflicted and realised for breach of these resolutions. Hygienic improvements are also effected by these societies.)

The question of a suitable agency for the propagation of co-operative principles and carrying on the work of Village Reconstruction is one of supreme importance. If the thousands among middle classes realise their responsibilities to the nation and resolve to contribute their legitimate share to the cause of nation-building, then India is certainly rich in human material. Let those who render this contribution remember that a regenerated village will repay their sacrifice a thousand-fold. Every one will be benefited. Our Educated men should cultivate a rural bias and should go back to the villages to spend all the spare time at their disposal. The student should spend his vacation in the village. Men who retire from services and professions should settle down in their village. The lawyer and the doctor should spend their holidays in their villages. The holiday-seeker must make the country side his pleasure resort. The cry of 'Back to the Village' must be carried to the door of every educated man. The village will then present a new life and a new aspect. Non-officials must equip themselves in large numbers for co-operative and rural propaganda.

—

Civics and Politics

Mr. P. P. Sathe in an article in *the Progress of Education* for May discusses in brief what is meant by civics and the scope of the science and advocates the introduction of subject in the curricula of the Indian Universities. He says that Civics and Political Science are very much allied but they are not the same. Says the writer :

Confusion is generally made between Civics and Poltics. It is true that both the sciences go hand in hand upto a certain extent. Both the sciences postulate the existence of a State, but, their ways part here. The State is a political unit out of several and it must make itself sufficiently strong to assert its own existence in that group. The State must, therefore, be strong enough to deal with other States. This question is dealt by International law. To be strong the State has

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to be more efficient. It must be efficient both to *maintain* its position in other States as well as to be able to do more good. It must organize as the present united whole. How to make the State *self-efficient* is taught to us by the study of Political Science. How to make the State *more useful* is taught to us by Civics. We thus find that Civics and Political Science are very much allied but they are not the same. The study of both the subjects is necessary for one who wants to take part in the development of his nation, social as well as political. It is, therefore, high time for Indian universities to introduce this subject in their curricula in these days of progress when every student would have his turn to participate in the public life of his country. The importance of the study of Civics and Politics can never thus be overestimated.

—

State Measures for the Encouragement of Shipping

Welfare for June publishes an article from the pen of Mr. Doongersee Dharamsee wherin he shows how in "other" countries State impetus is giving for the encouragement of shipping :

For the double objects of securing the large possible share of ocean commerce to nationai merchant fleet and of making the ocean traffic subservient to the interests of the production and commerce of the country, the state-measures for the encouragement of shipping in other countries have taken one or more of the following main forms:—

(1) The Navigation laws.
(2) Construction and navigation bounties,
(3) Postal subsidy.
(4) Admiralty subsidy.
(5) Reservation of coastal traffic for national ships.
(6) Cheap loans
(7) Preferential railway-rates.
(8) Training ships in all the big ports with complete arrangements for training young people as officers.
(9) Training in Naval engineering.
(10) Arrangements for granting employment to the trained youths.

It is important to note that almost all the countries except Great Britain have reserved their coastal traffic to national vessels. In Great Britain however there is no legal reservation, there being no necessity of it as 99 p. c of her coastal trade is carried by British ships. The history of all the maritime countries in the world, from which Great Britain is not excluded, proves that state-aid in one form or another has played a very important part in the development of a mercantile marine.

But in India the condition is just the reverse. Our coastal trade even is in the hands of foreign companies. The hold of the British shipping interests on the Indian export trade and the absence of an Indian mercentile marine are the reasons why the once-great Indian shipping is now left at the mercy of others.

—

Liberty

Major B. D. Basu, I. M. S. (Retd) writes in the same journal :

"Give me room to stand and I will move the universe," was uttered by a Greek philosopher. In the uplift of humanity also, standing room is required to effect it. It is liberty which supplies it. Without liberty there can be no progress, whether social or political. How liberty uplifts nations is well illustrated in History. Take for instance, the history of ancient Greece, Herodotus V. 78) says that

"The Athenians, who, while they continued under the rule of tyrants, were not a whit more valiant than any of their neighbours, no sooner shook off the yoke than they became decidedly the first of all. This shows that while they were oppressed they allowed themselves to be beaten because they worked for a master : but so soon as they won their liberty, each man was eager to do the best he could for himself."

—

Indian Cultural Influence in Oceania

Dr. E. S. Craighill Handy in the course of an illuminating article in *Man in India* (January-March) gives illustrative examples about the traits of Vedic, Brahminical and Buddhist culture in Oceania and shows that story of Polynesian culture is a mere appendix to Indian history.

The most recent phase of the movement of Indian culture eastward that concerns the student of Polynesian history is that which witnessed the spread of Buddhism into Indo-China and Insulindia during and after the seventh century A.D. While evidence of the presence of Buddhist cultural traits in Polynesia are not as clearly defined as those indicating Braminical influence, they neverthless do exist. In view of the fusion of Buddhism with Brahminism in Further India it would be inevitable that Budhist traits that came to Polynesia from this region would have been obscured. An example of a trait that probably had Buddhist derivation is the division by the New Zealand Maori of their sacred lore into what they called "The Three Baskets of Knowledge," said to have been entrusted by the Supreme Being in the highest heaven to the God of Light, who transmitted the sacred lore or wisdom (*wananga*) contained in the "Three Baskets" to the Maori priesthood. The Maori "Three Baskets" of course, suggests the Tripitaka, or Three Baskets" of the Budhist canon.

Traits of the Brahminical culture known to have preceded the Mahayana Buddhist expansion having flourished in Indo-China an Insulindia in the first centuries of our era, spread throughout Polynesia. In Indo-China and Insulindia the heart of this Brahminical culture was the worship

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of Siva. In Polynesia the cult of the lingam was fundamental in the ancient worship. Its manifestations in Symbol and philosophy parallel their prototypes ip Saivism. And associated with this cult in all phases of the native culture are innumerable traits of Indic derivation.

A good case can be made out for presence in Polynesia of distinctively Vedic elements, but the existence of such traits as distinct from the Brahminical tradition which was, of course, based upon Vedic teaching is by no means provable as yet.

Though the title of my paper is "*Indian Cultural Influence in Oceania*" as regards Oceania as a whole only Indonesi and Polynesia have so far been mentioned. It may, howver safely be presumed that cultures that have dominated Indonesia and travelled as far as Polynesia, have also contributed largely to Micronesia and Melanesia which lie between Indonesia and Polynesia.

In closing, I should like to point out that, while the story of Polynesian culture is a mere appendix to Indian history, it may be found, like appendices to some books, to contain information of prime importance to the main subject. In the isolated islands of Polynesian fringe of Further India there may have survived, there may still survive, ancient Indian lore and customs that have become hopelessly obscured or lost in India proper and colonial India.

—

The Dawn

Mr. C. F. Andrews welcomes the efforts of those who are striving for "the spiritual awakening of mankind" in the following words in *the Star* :

There has never been a time in human history in which, from one point of view, things have looked so dark and threatening as they do at present, when judged merely from the human standpoint.

Let me explain. Not a single man of eminence to-day is unaware of the fact, that a new war means nothing less than the suicide of the human race. The last war was terrible enough. But a single day of war on the new scale would be equivalent to a year's agony and misery on the old scale. For where, during the late war, a single aeroplane hovered in the air with its death-dealing bomb, in the new war, if it ever came, a thousand such death-dealing missiles would be hurled from the sky and whole cities could be blotted out in a single night. Even more horrible than this would be the results of chemical warfare, by which poison gas and disease germs could be made to penetrate the ranks of the enemy till complete desolation resulted.

Yet, in spite of knowledge so obvious, the preparations for war go on and the bitterness which leads to war increases. In every part of the world, we find that the war-spirit has not diminished, though the war-dread has become more acute.

Personally, I have felt in my own heart the agony of darkness during the past years. I have known what humanity is suffering and have felt conscious of the depths of that suffering. At times it has enveloped me in a mist which seemed impenetrable and led me almost to despair. But all through these years, I have been conscious within of a new hope dawning. Even when the darkest hour seemed to have come, the light has come with it, flashing from a far. The despair which had darkened my life has been relieved with hope.

For this reason, I welcome all the efforts of those who are looking forward to a new revelation of spiritual light and grace in the future. The special method, by which the light may come, may not be clear to me, as it is to others. There are many ways leading to the same goal. But the fact of a spiritual awakening of mankind, already dawning to-day, breaking through the darkness of our age, is to me no longer a mere hope, but a certainty.

—

Harvard University

Prof. A. K. Siddhanta gives in an article in *the Young Men of India* the reasons of the paucity of Indian students at Harvard :

The annual number of Indian students at Harvard hardly ever exceeds a dozen, whereas there are ten times the number of Chinese boys there. The reasons for this are obvious:—The Foreign University Information Bureau in India have in many cases been discouraging Indians from going to any non-British Universities ; the Government of India does not encourage boys to study along lines appropriate to American Universities ; and to crown all, recent American immigration laws place Orientals in an unenviable position. Yet there are about 300 *Bonafide* Indian students in the various American Universities at the present time.

He then summarises his impressions on Harvard life as follows :

Firstly, Harvard to-day is passing through a state of 'Discontent and Self-Criticism'. She has largely abandoned her original purpose, which was the production of an educated clergy for the ministry of the Church ; she seeks now not so much to produce 'gentlemen' as 'men'. And as men, the 'College boys' do honourably revolt against any old-fashioned tendencies ; and they are grateful to President Elliot, who gave them so much opportunity for self-expression.

Secondly, 'New methods' are at work at Harvard. Compared with other first-class American Universities, especially the Mid-Western ones. Harvard is conservative: but in many respects one finds her quite progressive. She encourages the joint method (Tutorial-Elective) of training, and allows students more freedom, encourages initiative and develops in them a sense of responsibility. She believes in the 'Honour System' and never hesitates to give the boys more of 'reading periods' with every decade that passes.

Finally, one is agreeably surprised at the great interest the students take in College affairs. There is a waning interest in inter-collegiate games. The undergraduate 'daily' paper openly declared recently against 'Juggling with football while

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studying'. The same paper, "The Crimson", published recently a 'Guide to Courses' whereby many old professors and their old courses were mildly rebuked and politely shown a new light. Prof. William James once asked Prof. Munsterberg to be 'thick-skinned'. I feel every Harvard Professor needs to be 'thick-skinned,' otherwise he will misinterpret the undergraduates' suggestions!

We in India may profitably study the following principles which Harvard follows, amongst a few others :—(1) Intellectual and moral quality of the professors leads to higher work. The University professors must be free from pecuniary anxiety and pensions must be given them in case of disability and to their families in case of premature death. (2) Libraries and laboratories must steadily improve and they must be managed almost entirely *for* the students. (3) The University must be in touch with the Alumni and the general public; the professors must be in touch with public life and thought through their books, lectures and addresses. (4) 'Youth' must be respected, as well as 'experience'.

—

Hand Bat of Indian Railway Employees

We read in the *Indian Railways* ;

Public agitation over the invidious distinction between the Indian and European as well as Anglo-Indian Locomen in the matter of their pay and allowances though apparently succeeded, it does really continue to exist. The said distinction has transformed its character and has materialised in the shape of class I—illiterate with a maximum of Rs. 62-, class II--lilterate with a maximum pay of Rs. 140,- of class III, European and Anglo-Indians with a maximum pay of Rs. 240.- Now in this connection, may we ask the authorities the following pertinent questions ? What do they earnestly mean by the word "literate' in the case of a mechanic, while a Bengali or a Urdu knowing man is as good a worker (and occasionally better) as an illiterate English-speaking European or Anglo-Indian ? Is it not an indirect mode of barring the promotion of a good many experienced and sound workers of exceptional ability ? Literacy does not evidently mean in the opinion of the authorities University qualifications ; because many European or Anglo-Indian-drivers, shunters, fireman have no university qualifications whatsoever. The object of our complaining against racial distinction really means that our capacity and education will be the determining factors that are to be counted in the appointment and promotion of officers. But alas we find not a single soul of the Indians in the class III grade. Does the authority mean to say that no Indian however good, is capable to hold a poet in the class III grade and hence it is filled up by Europeans and Anglo-Indians ?

—

Some Cottage Industries of Bihar and Orissa

Federation Gazette describes how some of the cottage industries in Bihar and Orissa have been working well on modern lines :

Tasor—Bihar and Orissa is the home of Tasar silk worm and in no other province of India, this variety of silk is produced in such a large quantity as here.

Nearly 4000 silk looms are reported to be weaving tasar in this province. The silk is reeled from the cocoons by the female members of the weavers family in such a laborious method that the output per reeler can only be 2 chitaks a day. The tasar silk weavers are, therefore, forced to remain idle for want of sufficient silk yarn. However those of Bhagalpur have started weaving imported spun silk thread very largely. If the local tasar industry is at all to be developed, economically sound reeling machines to reel silk of better quality should be introduced and new designs in tasar fabrics woven after bleaching and dyeing the silk, to satisfy the changing tastes of the people.

Pottery or earthenware.—No attention seems to have been paid in any part of India to the development of the pottery industry.

It is common to see a potter in almost every village toiling with his crude wheel and an equally inefficient kiln. It is surprising that the potter is still content with a wheel which always comes to a standstill specially when he is giving a finishing touch to the article he makes. Much of his time is also wasted in giving necessary momentum to the wheel which is being done with the help of a bamboo stick every time the wheel shows down. In the Punjab the potter has replaced this wheel with a treadle driven one which can be kept revolving at a uniform speed, thereby enabling the potter to devote all his time and attention to the shaping of the articles. The pots, after being sundried, are piled one above the other and baked on an open earth a process which causes considerable breakages and unequal baking of the pots. The quality of the earthenware particularly of those, use for storage purpose can also be improved by glazing them as it is being done at Chunar in the United Provinces. With further investigation and closer observation of the various processes now employed by our village potter, it may be possible to effect other improvements and economies in manufacture. In a country, where an earthen vessel is very often not used for the second time, cheap earthenware would be a great boon to poor people.

Basket making of bamboo and reed is an equally important village industry of our province, as pottery, supporting another lakh and a half of our rural population. As it is carried on mostly by "Doms," "Basfors" and other low caste Hindus, this industry is neglected and very few of us know its actual needs. The basket-maker in India is however carrying on his trade with some difficulty inspite of the absence of foreign competition in his goods. As Japanese split bamboo chinks and mats are slowly being iutroduced into this country, he can no longer remain indifferent to foreign competetion. He will have not only to improve his own efficiency but also produce better class of goods for which there is a market.

Smithy and iron works.—A "lohar" is an essential functionary of our village organisation, for the supply of iron and steel tools and implements to our agriculturists and artisans. The iron workers living in towns manufacture cutlery,

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trunks and boxes, "kudis" for lifting water, domestic utensils etc.

The principles of smithy and fitting on modern lines are now being taught to a few young men and boys in four or five technical institutes started in the province. But the village "lohar" is not in any way affected by the existence of these institutes; for, in the present state of his poverty and ignorance, he cannot be expected to leave his home and family and undergo a course of training in industrial schools. The few students coming mostly from non-artisan classes and trained in these schools, either get employed in big workshops or remain in towns where they can carry on more lucrative trade. Thus the scientific training given in these institutions hardly filters down to rural areas. The village "lohar" has therefore to be instructed how to use modern tools and adopt improved processes, in his own smithy, through itinerant demonstrators as it is being done in the case of hand weaving.

—

Municipal Expenditure on Education

The Educational Review writes:

It is a notorious fact that local bodies in India have not been particularly forward in incurring expenditure on educational purposes. In the majority of instances, they have been content to distribute the doles given to them by the Government and have been able to spend only a very small proportion of their revenues on even elementary education, not to speak of the fact that they have very rarely been able to do anything for secondary and higher education. The *Modern Review* has just published some interesting statistics with regard to the educational expenditure incurred by Municipal Corporations in the United States of America, which should serve as an object lesson to the local bodies in India. It has been calculated that on the average, they are now spending about one-third of their revenues on educational purposes! Some idea of the magnitude of the effort made by municipal bodies can be gathered from the circumstance that in the 250 cities containing a population of more than 30,000 each, the aggregate outlay on education was 607,059,853 dollars. The average expenditure per head was 6-30 dollars and the investments in school buildings, grounds and equipment were 2,112,000,000 dollars. We commend these figures to the city fathers in India.

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The Ideal Man

According to *the Oriental Watchman and Herald of Health* the following "essentials" constitute the ideal man:

Man's first essential is pure air and plenty of it, night and day. More time should be given to voluntary deep breathing efforts.

Second in the essentials is water - pure, fresh, uncontaminated water, four to six glasses daily. Our physical bulk is seven-tenths water.

The third essentials is a full complement of vitamins known as A. B. C. D. and E. These substances are more important for maintaining health and full vitality than the grosser food substances which compose the bulk of our diet. Vitamins are mainly found in uncooked, fresh, raw fruits, and vegetables.

Fourth:—Consideration should be given to the sixteen essential mineral salts as found in wholemeal bread, fruits, nuts and vegetables. Food must be so selected as to supply the full quota of all sixteen. Absence or deficiency in any one produces impaired health.

Fifth:—Avoid taking an excess of remaining food elements such as protein, starch, sugar and fats. Excessive food intake of proteins and starches is responsible for more ill-health than an insufficient supply.

Sixth:—Health necessitates a sanitary environment to live in. Insanitary and unhygienic practices lay the foundation for disease.

Seventh;—Daily exercise of nature to bring all groups of muscles into operation. Such exercise need not be necessarily heroic but should be done in a manner to make it interesting and not irksome.

Finally, we must stress the importance of positive, cheerful, hopeful and spiritual thoughts. The crowning glory of man comes from his thought life. A lofty mentality in a well-poised body constitutes the ideal man.

—

Post Office and Telegraph Budget

Sj. Tarapada Mukherjee points out some of the anamolies in the Post office and Telegraph Budget Statement presented before the Assembly in March last in *Labour*. Says the writer:

In page 2 is given the Revised Estimate of net profit or loss of the Posts and Telegraphs Department for 1927-28. The Post Office shows a net profit of Rs. 15, 97,000, the Telegraph a loss of Rs. 19, 89, 000, and Telephones a loss of Rs. 66,000. So far so good. But on looking into the different items of expenditure I find that under the head of "Inter Branch Adjustment" A sum of Rs. 11 22,000 has been added to the expenditure of the Post Office and Rs, 4,60,000 to that of Telephones while the expenditure of the Telegraph Branch has been reduced by Rs. 15,82,000. What is meant by the inter-branch adjustment? The expenditure of the three branches have been separately shown in the detailed accounts embodied in the Budget Statement; and unless the detailed accounts are admitted as wrong, where is the room for inter-branch adjustment of such a heavy amount? The Telegraph Branch shows a large deficit of Rs 19,89,000; and but for the manipulation of the accounts under the head of inter-branch adjustments the deficit would mount up to Rs. 35,71,000. The Postal account, on the other hand, shows a surplus of Rs. 15,97,000; and but for the manipulation of the accounts the surplus would amount to Rs. 27,19,000. I invite the attention of the Hon'ble Member to this matter that has been a puzzle to me and urge upon him to clear up the mystery.

Then, a sum of Rs. 3,58,000 has been charged as interest on capital outlay. But it appears from

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the detailed account that the capital expenditure in the Post Office is met from the revenue of the department. How is interest chargeable on the money spent out of the revenue of the department passes comprehension. I have drawn attention to this anomaly year after year but have received no solution as yet. Will some member of the Assembly kindly have the point cleared up? But for this charge of interest, for which I do not find justification, the net surplus of the Post Office would amount to Rs. 30,77,000.

A novel system of "Commercialisation of Accounts" indeed! The accounts of the Post Office and Telegraph departments should poperly adjusted so as to remove the impression that the deficit of the Telegraph department is minimised at the cost of the Post office.

—

Child Marriage

The Editor of *The Indian Ladies' Magazine* for April expresses her opinion on the question of child marriage as follows :

One has also to point out that, if India is to advance, which means, as all admit, that Indian women should advance, some of our old customs must be done away with, in spite of public and personal inconvenience. Sacrifices have to be made, ancient rites and privileges sacrificed ; or how shall we hope to hold our place in the line of advancing nations? And don't we wish our India to acquire her deserved tribute? Certainly, we do!

That being so then, ought we not to do everything in our power to benefit India? And, is it not good for India that her women should not be dwarfed, as they now, are by child-marriages? Even if early marriage has been sanctioned by the Shastras, which many deny, why should we not go against the Shashtras? Have we not done so in other important matters, such as going to England, breaking caste, etc? But then perhaps, some of these contradictions are of benefit chiefly to men, not only to poor suffering women! But, even Indian women are becoming modernised ; and certainly early marriage will not go with modern customs. What is the use of wishing with one breath to give education to our women ; and with another breath asking them to marry early. How will they find time for education, if they are so early burdened with family and maternal cares? True, home education can be given ; but narrow and cramped indeed will such an education be, if it has to be wedged in between arduous labours. Moreover, such an education is apt to be merely conventional and domestic. And do not our women, I ask, deserve to be given a larger education than a merely domestic one? It is good to learn cooking and housekeeping, it is good to be able to see to the welfare of husbands and children. But, I say, that some women are capable of a larger treatment. Have not our enlightened sisters proved the point? That being so, it will be but just to give them an opportunity of testing their powers, and such a chance can only come if young girls are not married, as soon as they get into their teens, but are allowed first to be educated, and then left to choose their lot in life. Moreover, how sad it is to see our girls never being allowed to enjoy a free and untramelled girlhood. The glory of womanhood starts, I think, in early girlhood. As is the girl, so will the woman be. But says, Mrs. Muthulakshmi, 'a new cry has taken hold of the orthodox section. They attribute the physical degeneration, the ill-health, suffering and death of the mother and infant of the Brahmin community to changed conditions, English education and Western habits' But how, she asks, can such a thing be? How is it that the men do not deteriorate thereby. And how is it, 'that those very same conditions do not affect at all the Non-Brahmins, and other classes, who do not indulge in early marriage?' How indeed?

SONNET TO TAGORE

By MEDDIE MAZE LEBOLD

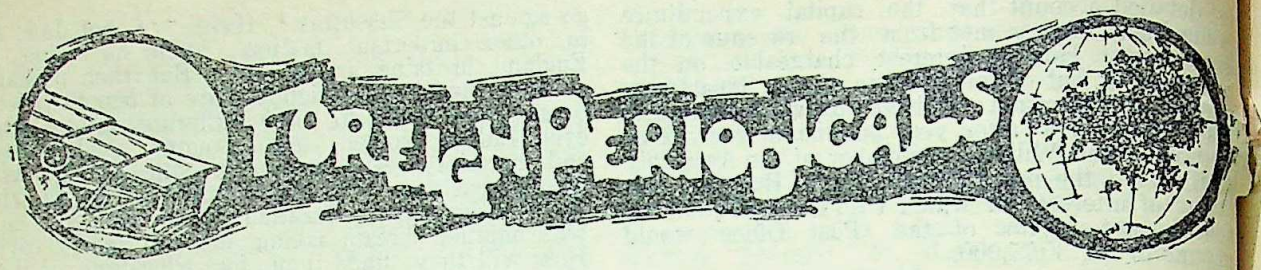
Oh poet, sage, and dreamer of old dreams,
Your gentle songs all life and love enfold.
By lanes of champac trees in flowery gold,
In paddy-fields enriched with dew that gleams,
You find a hundred plots and countless themes
For stories, with their lessons to unfold.
You set the wandering thought in higher mould
And lead us by Bengal's enchanting streams.

You gaze on clouds and strike a liquid note
Of Song, rich laden from antiquity,
While music and the melody increase.
Oh singer, bird has never had the throat
To teach us such eternal harmony
And lead us all to seek "Abodes of Peace."

4350 Pasadena Place,
Seattle, Washington.

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The Lumbini Chorus—Buddhist Music in Japan

In course of an interesting article entitled 'the Flower Fete and the Lumbini Chorus' in *The Young East*, Prof. Takakusu gives a short account of the earliest Buddhist music of Japan originating with Buttetsu of Linyi (a corruption of Lumin, hallowed by the birth of the Buddha), and thus speaks for a 'great speedy' and healthy development of Buddhist music in Japan on an occasion in near future :—

It is the 2,500th anniversary of the birth of Buddha, which falls on April 8 of 1934. If the great fete of 1934 is observed according to our plans or wishes, Buddhist music will play a very important part in the fete from beginning to end. Throughout the festival, which will last seven days, musical performances will be one of its chief features and attraction and among others all the old Hindoo music preserved in Japan will be presented. Naturally, there will be lecture meetings, future meetings for discussion, conferences concerning activities of Buddhists, amusements, open air gatherings, and so forth. But music will play a very prominent part in creating an agreeable atmosphere in all the assemblies, uniting those present heart to heart. The newly composed music will, among others, act a part of paramount importance throughout the festival days, because it will appeal to the audience much better than the old one.

Japan, as will be seen, has a glorious past to lean on in the matter—a past in which India too had some share—

The old Japanese dance and music of the Tempyo era were for the most part of Buddhist origin. Nearly all the songs which formed the music of those old days are still preserved in the musics kept by the Bureau of Dances and Musics of the Imperial Court. But, it is a pity that as stated above the music called "Bosatumai" or "The Dance of Bodhisattvas" which was one of the most genuine Buddhist musics, is now lost. Most probably the Bosatumai was part of an old poetical drama of India, which is still preserved in Ceylon and Burma, and is played every now and then.

And the future bids fair to be no less glorius :—

Dr. Levi is leaving for his country this month (May), his term of office here having nearly expired. The doctor promised the writer that on his way home, he would take into phonographic records (1) Buddhist music of Annam, (2) Buddhist music of Kambodia, (3) Buddhist music of Siam, (4) Buddhist music of Nepal, (5) Buddhist music of Burma, and (6) Buddhist music of Ceylon. The writer thinks that the addition of (7) Buddhist music of Tibet, (8) Buddhist music of Mongolia, (9) Buddhist music of (10) China and Buddhist music of make a complete collection of Buddhist musics of the world. Think of the pleasure of studying Buddhist music of the world by the help of such phonographic records. Again, if we add to this collection of Indian musics preserved up to the present, side by side with new musics of India of the present age, we shall be in a good position to study all the musics of the Orient. It is an earnest desire of the writer that the Bukkyo Ongaku Kyokai (the Association of Buddhist Music), which has just been organized, will concentrate its efforts on the pursuit of such useful work.

—

Buddha's Birthday in New York

The Oriental Press gives us a report of the birthday celebration of the Buddha in New York, whose fitly enough the orient and the world peace was the object for discussion by participants of various nationalities and religion—

The Maha-Bodhi Society of America, with headquarters at 148 West 49th Street, New York City, celebrated the 2472nd Birthday Anniversary of Gautuma Buddha with a Peace Dinner at the Aldine Club on Friday evening, May 4, 1928. The East and the West met in harmony on this the one of the happiest day in human history. The guests of honour were Hon. F. W. Lee, Representative of the Nanking Nationalist Government of China, and Mme. Lee ; Hon. S. R. Bomanji of India, lately Vice-President, Indian Chamber of Commerce of Bombay ; Hon. Kivoshi Uchiyama, Consul General of Japan, and Mme. Uchiyama ; Hon. Ali Akber Kiachif, Commercial Attache to the Persian Legation at Washington ; Hon. Charles Atwater, Consul General of Siam ; and Hon. Munir Sureya Bey, Consul General of Turkey. Dr. Charles Fleischer, the celebrated publicist, acted as the toastmaster. The topic of the evening was "The Orient and World Peace." The guests

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of honor spoke, Other speakers included Claude Bragdom of the Theosophical Society ; Swami Ganeshwarananda of the Vedanta Society ; Horace Holley of the Bahai Brotherhood ; Alfred W. Martin of the Ethical Society ; Villa Faulkner Page of the New Thought ; Charles Recht, New York lawyer ; and Basanta Kumar Roy, Founder-Director of The Humanist Society. There were present men and women of all walks of the life representing almost every nation on the earth. The twain did meet on Buddha's Birthday ; and this international gathering most heartily cheered Mr. K. Y. Kira, the Secretary-Treasurer of the Maha-Bodhi Society of America for his services on behalf of the Society that was found by the Venerable Anagarika Dharmapala in 1925.

Swami Gnaneshwarananda played Hindu Music ; and Basanta Kumar Roy read Rabindranath Tagore's immortal poem entitled "To Buddha, on His Birthday."

—

Indian Women in the West

The *Message of the East* reports the celebration of the fifth Anniversary of the Ananda-Ashram :

Sunday, April 29th, marked the fifth anniversary of the founding of Ananda-Ashrama, and it was celebrated with loving spirit and great fervor. Two Services were held, one at 11 o'clock and the other at 3-30. A both, the attendance was large and enthusiastic. The subject of the afternoon was "The Pulse of Time" and the Swami spoke with great elcquence. The music rendered by the Ashrama choir was unusually fine. The choir was assisted by a gifted cellist and several vocal solcists. Between the two services, a Hindu dinner was served. It was entirely prepared by the Swami who began to cook in the early afternoon of Saturday and who stood at the stove until after midnight preparing the food for three-hundred people entirely with his own hand. After the morning Service, the benches were removed from under the wide-branching trees besides the Cloister and small tables were placed here and there among the shrubbery and along the terrace. The dinner was enjoyed by a very large gathering whose comfort was looked after by the watchful and loving members of the Ashrama.

In welcoming Swami Paramananda the same Journal says :—

It is with great happiness we welcome Charu Shila Devi, the new Indian. Sister whom Swami Paramananda brought with him on his last trip from India. We cannot help but feel that this new aspect of the Swami's activities in bringing Hindu ladies to assist in the American work will be of significant value. No amount of reading from books written by globe trotters can give us as clear a view of India's life, religion and social customs as the presence of these cultured Hindu ladies among us.

—

Spiritualizing the Newspapers

Rightly enough Swami Jogananda pleads in the *East-West* for the above subject :—

"Blessed are those who do not indulge in sensational news."

Millions start the day with the gruesome sight of murder headlines in the morning newspapers. The sleep-refreshed young mentality stars the days race for success with the dark cloud of wrong thoughts hanging over his mind. The law of "All's well that starts well" is trampled upon.

Newspapers have more or less become the tin gods worshipped by the mass mind. They can make or unmake a man, at least in the public eye. Human opinion, however, and God's opinion are different. One forsaken by all humanity may not be forsaken by the God of Truth. One worshipped by all the world may not be true to himself. He may not be acceptable in the eyes of Truth. It is the duty of truth-loving people to reform the newspapers since they almost completely control unthinking child-like mentalities.

The Press has great liberties and responsibilities as well :—

Freedom of the press must respect the law by which true freedom can alone exist. Intoxicated with the wine of freedom, some newspapers often abuse their powers. They often do not know how to operate the gates of information. They have not learned how to exercise self-control and thus prevent the wild river of muddied information from overrunning and clogging the tank of human mentalities. Moreover, newspapers ought not to introduce poisonous news into the tank of human minds, for the thirsty, undiscriminative masses drink poisonous, unwholesome news wherever they find it and hence suffer with nervousness, worry, fear, and subconscious criminal suggestions.

—

A Glimpse of the East

'*The Living Age*' presents the following beautiful episode from the German of Bernard Kelbermann in *Berliner Tageblatt* :

In the court of the only Hindu temple in Leh a holy man was speaking. He looked like a wild faun, with wild black hair and a black beard, and all he wore was a dirty loin cloth. But his look was keen, and his bearing proud and self-possessed. He explained to me in excellent English the primitive paintings in the outer court of the Hindu temple. I listened to him in amazement. Where had he learned such good English:

'I used to be in government service.'

'In what capacity ?'

'I served in the Indian army.'

'What rank did you occupy ?'

The barefooted preacher tightened his lips scornfully. 'I was an officer.'

He had fought in France, Mesopotamia, and in the Malabar revolt. He even spoke a little French, and described Neuve-Chapelle and the cemetery near La Bassee.

'And now ?'

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The beggar made a disdainful gesture, as if he were pushing aside something offensive, "One day I awoke," And on that day he cast aside everything —home, family, and position.

'Are you happy now?'

He looked off in the distance. 'Yes, I wander about meditating. What inconceivable journeys I have made. I have just arrived from Tibet from the holy lake of Manasarowar.'

'What do you live on?'

"Whatever I am given. I need nothing"

With the able and learned Bishop Peter of the Moravian Mission, one of the few real Christians I have ever met in my life a similar holy man, a real Sadhu, who had spent the last year and a half in a woodshed. This Sadhu had reached such a degree of indifference and humility that he ate out of the same dish with the dogs.

—

Soviet Student Life

Poverty and nervous afflictions are rampant in the Universities' tells us the *Pravda* (reproduced by *The Living Age*).

Two thirds of the students at the Second Moscow State University live on twenty-one to twenty-five rubles a month (about twelve dollars), and twenty-seven per cent get along on even less. This means that most of them spend only ten kopecks on breakfast, twelve on dinner, and nine on supper. Nearly all the students eat at the Moscow Social Relief kitchens, where the food is neither good nor nourishing, and frequently contains insects. Forty per cent of the students are undernourished and the rest are half hungry, or even famished. Their living quarters are miserable, and they seldom take baths or change their underwear.

Under these conditions it is not, perhaps, surprising that the relations between the sexes should be conducted on a higher plane than seems to exist at our own co-educational institutions. Questionnaires prove that only twenty per cent of the students stand for casual, temporary relations; the rest prefer a stable married life. The girls are treated with increasing politeness, fewer distinctions are drawn between Party and non-Party members, and a more friendly atmosphere prevails.

On the other hand, a new ambitious type is beginning to appear. This brand of student wants a snug berth for himself, and is inclined to look down on women. The reason for this may be that the female students are of a higher standard than the males—supposedly because the present epoch encourages the feminine temperament. The old-fashioned girl is going out of style and is being replaced by up-to-date young women, full of initiative, and eager to change and influence their men or man, as the case may be. If present tendencies continue, the Russian male will be reduced either to a sort of drone or to a self-seeking opportunist, while the real progress of the country will rest in the hands of the women.

There is, however, some ground for optimism. Since education connot be easily come by, it is valued enormously, and the students work from twelve to thirteen hours a day, and even more. Nervous affictions, loss of sleep, and lack of exercise accompany this state of affairs, which should certainly tend to arrive at some sensible balance in the course of time. The Communist League rejoices over the fact that ninety per cent of the students read the newspapers, forty per cent the magazines, and twenty-eight per cent books on social problems outside their regular work. The teachers all agree that interest in study has grown perceptibly of recent years, especially along philosophical, ethical, hygienic, and theatrical lines.

—

Dr. and Mrs. Sudhindra Bose honoured in America

The Hindustanee Student reports regarding Dr. and Mrs. Sudhindra Bose, whom the mother country has been so glad to receive though for a short time—

Letters of appreciation of the valuable services rendered to the cause of the Hindustan Association of America by Dr. Sudhindra Bose, one of the founders of the Association and its former president, reached Dr. J. T. Sunderland who was presiding at the "Farewell Dinner-Reception" arranged in honor of Dr. and Mrs. Bose by the members of different organizations in New York City on March 25th at the Ceylon India Inn.

"He (Dr. Bose) has been interpreting India to America in a true light, and he is one of those energetic pioneer students from India whose efforts have resulted in a public appreciation of Indian culture in America" wrote Mr. B. S. Sindhu of Michigan University, the present President of the H. A. A. Similar commendation of Dr. Bose's work came from many chapters: Massachusetts, Pittsburgh, Utah, Chicago, New York, Cornell, Iowa, and from Mr. P. C. Mukerji, Chairman of the Committee on International Federation of Indian Students of which Dr. Bose is a member.

The members and friends at the gathering (about 150 in number) and the chairman of the evening wished him and Mrs. Bose bon voyage.

—

Swedish Students as anti-drink Workers

It fills one with hope to learn from *the International Student* that Swedish students are going on anti-alcohol lecture tours—

The leaders of the Swedish Students Abstinence Society regard the lecture work they have organized as perhaps the most valuable task that they have undertaken in their educational work against Alcoholism. On one hand, it seeks to bring information on the temperance question to the younger students and the boys and girls in the schools of Sweden; on the other hand, adds new members as a result of the work done by S. S. U. H. and keeps former members active.

A number of young men and women, mostly university students, selected by the Central

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Board, are sent out on circuits, or separate lecture engagements, especially in the fall months, to various parts of the country. These speakers visit the local groups connected with the society and deliver lectures at meetings of the society and the public gatherings arranged by these local societies; they work for the distribution of temperance literature.

—

Egyptian Independence—and India

Dr. Taraknath Das writes in *The Chinese Students' Monthly* on the Egyptian Independence and India.

Great Britain has theoretically acknowledged the independence of Egypt; but in actual practice Egypt's sovereignty is limited. Under the garb of protecting the interests of foreigners, the British Government maintains the right to interfere in Egypt's internal affairs. Great Britain infringes upon Egypt's territorial sovereignty by maintaining British troops on Egyptian soil. Lastly, Egypt does not enjoy the freedom of carrying on foreign relations to promote her best interests

The Egyptian Nationalists, the followers of the late Zaglul Pasha, are determined to remove these limitations of sovereignty of their motherland and make her truly independent of foreign control. On the other hand all, the political parties of Great Britain are imperialistic in action. They are virtually united in following the policy of preserving the British Empire at any cost.

Egypt will have a bad time of it for

Today, as a matter of general principle, Great Britain, France, Italy and Spain, to preserve their North African colonial empires, are agreed to follow a uniform policy of keeping the North Afghan peoples under subjection.

Willingly or unwillingly, India will be made to share the guilt though not the gains will go to her masters:

British authorities are hoping that communal struggle between the Hindus and Moslems of India will prevent the Indian Nationalists from making their agitation effective. They are depending upon a section of Moslem Indian leaders (especially of the Punjab and Bengal) to support the British Indian Government against the Indian Nationalists. They are hoping that the demand of Moslem Indians will afford splendid opportunity to perpetuate "Communal Representation" which is bound to promote communal distrust and conflict and hinder the cause of national solidarity.

Many Moslem Indian supporters of the British autocracy in India are Pan-Islamists. However, it is a fact that for some peculiar reasons they do not seem to realize that India holds the key to the solution of international problems affecting the Far East, Central Asia, the Middle East and the Near East. They seem to ignore the fact that unless the people of India become masters of their own country and control Indian's Internal Affairs, National Defense and Foreign Policy, one of the Islamic countries, now under British control and domination, can never assert their complete independence.

It may be safely asserted that as long as Britain holds India in subjection, she, for the purpose of retaining control over the sea route to India, will maintain some form of control over Egypt. Thus some day after the Indian people will recover their national freedom, the final act of Egypt's struggle for independence may be enacted in India.

In this connection it should be noted that the All-India National Congress, during the last session held at Madras, adopted a resolution in favour of Egyptian independence.

—

East and West to Indians in West

The Edinburgh Indian says its Editorial:—

There is an inner contest between East and West. The East has survived because of its culture, and the West is now leading because of its tremendous success in physical science. On the one hand, the West is now transplanting thoughts of the East. On the other hand, the East is tempted to follow in the footsteps of the West while watching its new lead. After years of struggle the West has learnt how to face troubles and why strength is necessary, but the East has learnt what is perhaps a more important lesson—that though old age may bring wisdom through experience, it also brings weakness. To-day we find the West sending its people to the East as traders, soldiers and governors, while the East sends only students—students to know how to assimilate what is best and beneficial in the West. Thus their purpose is not similar. The object of the one is to preserve, and that of the other is to observe, and thereby revive. The contest lies not in the purpose, but in the speed to gain security for the purpose.

Not very far back from our present age in the history of man there was a time when the purpose of various nations of the world was directed towards the extension of area of land under domination. For some, perhaps, it was necessary for the material maintenance of their well-being, but for others it was just a curious game for some it was for the struggle for existence, for others it was an attainment of fashion of the age. We shall not be far from the truth if we say that Europe was not out of that pursuit. To capture land and utilise it to every possible extent was the clamour of instinct of nations then. When such was the state of things outside, East was musing upon its glory achieved in the past. Unguarded as it was, East lost many of its brilliant jewels, not to shine again. What was fashion (call it necessity if you like) some years ago, has now taken the shape of "policy." Policy of the present age is to maintain things gained in the past. Thus we will not have much to say against the Indian Reform Commission when its report will be announced, for we know that no Commission can give what India wants to-day. It is the Indian people alone who must work for their own salvation.

—

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League and China

On the Chinese appeal to the League of Nations concerning the Japanese invasion of Shantung, the following observations of *The Japan Weekly Chronicle* will be read with interest :—

Long ago, when the League of Nations was still an ideal, people had an idea that when such a body came into being there would be a sort of supreme court of appeal. If a weak nation complained that it was even threatened by a strong one, wise and impartial representatives of the Powers, it was supposed, would examine the case, and decide whether the complaint was a just one. If the weaker power's fears turned out to be unfounded, the wise men would not thereupon be scornful, but would search into the causes for such disturbing suspicions, and have them removed. However, the League has never operated that way. There have been national disputes since its formation ; it started quite well, with Sweden and Finland agreeing to leave the settlement of the Aaland Island dispute to the League : but that appears to have exhausted the League's capacities. It occupies itself with a number of activities, all excellent in their way, like a sort of glorified Red Cross ; but when the military men get busy, why then the League seems to understand that old women must not interfere with serious affairs. A telegram from Geneva states that the appeal made by the Chinese Nationalists to the League of Nations concerning the invasion of Shantung by Japan has caused quite a flutter. This flutter is described as being due to the fact of the Nanking Government not even being a member of the League, the consequence of which, from the juridical point of view, is that the appeal has hardly any standing. If the appeal is so ineffectual, then why the flutter ? But it is a strange sort of League if it refuses to listen to any communication from nations which are not members. Such an attitude reduces it to a sort of combine for self-interest, and if anybody has aggressive designs against a country which is not a member of the League, well, they must just go ahead. No cry for help from a non member can be listened to : we should never know where we were.

The most striking feature of the business of presenting an appeal to the League is the alacrity and ingenuity with which a search is immediately instituted for reasons for doing nothing. "How can we put this troublesome person off ?" is the first instinct, the Council being in fear of losing face by being defied by even a second-rate Power.

—

Democracy and Autocrats

Is Democracy a Failure is a vital question today and in *Current History* Ex-Kaiser Wilhelm, Benito Mussolini, and Governor Ritchie (of Maryland) say 'Emphatically yes,' while Prof. James T. Shotwell says, 'no.' In course of his reply to the autocrats the Professor says :

To conceive of democracy in terms of the mob is as unfair as to conceive of autocracies in terms of a Nero or an Ivan the Terrible.

Instructive are the ideas of the historian regarding the best form of government and Democracy :—

This brings us to a point which somehow is often forgotten in this world-old controversy as to the best form of government. We keep forgetting that we cannot get rid of the "people" by concentrating our attention upon the monarch. They are always there, just as much there in monarchies as in republics ; and their interest in their own betterment is a continuing one under all forms of government. Now after centuries of experimentation, we are finding that there is only one path of progress which does not turn back upon itself, and that is through the education and advancement of the entire nation. Education is as definitely called for in the field of politics as in art or science or literature ; for politics is, after all, a part of the art of living. In its theoretic aspects it plays with the forces of economics, national characteristics, geographical situations and the changing phenomena of material forces, as well as the inherited strength of ancient and accepted ideals and in institutions pertinent to its need, it builds the architecture for a society to live in. Democracy is a nation at school studying the great theme of human adaptation. But it should not be forgotten that this schooling has only just begun ; for there never were any complete democracies in the world before our day. There was slavery to falsify its antique counterpart ; there was privilege to modify and limit its capacities in the early modern period. Its advent is so recent that only now has it begun to grapple with the final problem of its great concerns, namely, the inter-relation of the States in which it has taken its most enduring form.

Democratic Experiments Still Evolving

This newness of democracy means that it has not by any means completed any of its experiment. It is still working with a parliamentary form which it has inherited from the earlier days of the formation of the national State, when representation rested primarily upon the basis of an agricultural society. Representation according to localities is the simplest and oldest method that has been devised, and is valid in so far as these localities have political personality based upon local interests and points of view. But the cross-section of any nation that has achieved industrial democracy is not the same as that of the agricultural era, and representative government must take account of the transformation that is going on within the State and adapt itself to the new situation. There will be, therefore, many changes in the form of democratic government with reference to the problem of representation.

—

Post War German Mind

Post War Germany is to some a future term, to some others a helpless object of

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pity, to others again a curiosity; but to all Germany is of engrossing interest, and it will be of interest to us all to hear one of the greatest German novelists of the day, Lion Feuchtwanger, the author of 'Jew Suss,' and 'The Ugly Duchess,' on *The German mind* in the *London Express*.

"There is much talk in Germany just now of what is known as 'Sachlichkeit'—'thingliness,' a practical realism which insists on getting down the brass tacks of life. Berlin is fond of calling itself the most American city in Europe. It is 'the thing' to laugh at enthusiasms and force down emotions to the sphere of things measurable and real.

"As soon, however, as you pass beyond the newspapers and literary coteries, and leave the great city of Berlin, you find that all this Americanism is external. It is paint; a modish pose which has no bearing on the true character of the nation.

"If you want to find a factor common to every German, a dominant characteristic in terms of which you can calculate all his other peculiarities, you had best turn to his bourgeois idealism. "Yes, despite all his shrieking protestations of Americanism there is still a wealth of religion and metaphysical speculation in the German."

Surprise may follow Herr Feuchtwanger's next assertion—that politics "do not appeal to the German, foreign affairs leave him cold, and the class-war interests him little." Then—

The musical feeling of the German is right down deep within him. It is surprisingly sure and swift to condemn the cheap and inartistic. "He has little love of pomp, but great sympathy for well-produced drama. His craving for culture is constant, hard to satisfy, and often rather pedantic.

"German literature is not light and pleasant, but the Germans write and read more books than any other people under the sun. Their scientific literature is more theoretic than practical—it is twice as comprehensive as that of any other race, and is absorbed not merely by a narrow circle of scholars, but by the whole country. "The German inquires 'Why?' and 'Wherefore?' oftener and with greater insistence than any other nation. Less frequently than others he asks 'What for?' and even then he does not press overhard for an answer. "Despite his lip-parade of practical realism and his much-talked-of business instinct, the German is a fundamentally reflective being. He is slow to the point of awkwardness, kindly, heavy-mannered, contemplative, and reliable.

—

No Speed Limit

'Speed' is the cry of the age, and Prof. A. M. Low is of opinion (as can be seen from his article in the *Daily Mail*) that there is no speed limit for man:

"That every one should appreciate the importance of speed is very material. We must accustom ourselves to the idea that in the future 500 miles per hour in the air will be an every-day—or night—affair.

"There is no limit. The suggestion that speed will kill is as out-of-date as the famous medical expression of opinion eighty years ago to the effect that sixty miles per hour might be fatal to the heart's action.

"Speed is so relative that without its accompanying sensations it is virtually unnoticeable. The rapid development of engines, of electrical methods of transmission, and the economical use of fuel are all leading to a decreasing weight and an increase of speed in our travelling vehicles. When we remain in constant touch with homes and offices throughout our tours all over the world at speeds which will render it possible to pay week-end visits to India, we shall lose the fear of bodily translation, and we only look for more comfort or new means of thought transmission in order that our dwindling bodies can be saved from all exertion.

"In motor-cars it is not only high speed that causes danger, it is the immense forces produced by changing the direction of motion of a relatively heavy body. In airplanes we may travel so fast that the heating effect of the air becomes important. Even to day it is necessary to get rid of the electrical charges upon the silk skin of airships produced by the rush of wind. Who knows but that these very forces may not eventually be turned to useful account until we regard this world as a mere landing-ground in the path of travel so vast as to be beyond conception."

"Wide-world travel is not an accomplished fact, it is only beginning. How interesting it well be when the inhabitants of Central Africa take week-end excursions to Hyde Park on Sunday morning, or when the necessary power is transmitted over half a continent from centralised coal-mines."

—

Marriages and Divorce which wins the day:

In this age of speed 'speedy divorces' are not however, so much in the air as they are taken to be. The *Literary Digest* quotes Judge Appell from the Baltimore *Sun* to prove that old-fashioned marriages are still in fashion:—

"In this country marriages were 8.7 a thousand of population in 1890; they were 10.2 a thousand in 1906; they averaged 10.52 a thousand for the years 1922-25.

"Thirty-eight per cent. of the inhabitants of the United States were married in 1910, according to the census figures for that year. This proportion had increased to more than 40 per cent. in 1926. Despite a prevailing opinion to the contrary, our people are continuing to marry in normal numbers. The figure of a 25 per cent. fall in marriage licenses can reflect nothing but a local or temporary fluctuation.

"As for the increase of divorce, while it is rapid, it still strikes at only a very small minority of American homes. Out of something over 24,000,000 couples in this country, 180,686 secured divorces in 1926.

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This much married dreaded phenomenon of the decaying American home is something that every body talks about as tho it were a fact somewhere, but always remote from our own circle of friends. Looking about us in our own neighbourhood, we see happy, prospering families, such as we knew in our youth. We do see broken homes here and there but very much in the minority

The tendencies towards materialism selfishness spiritual insolvencey and sense-gratification which I emphasized above are present and obvious everywhere. They are increasing to an ominous extent. But they still are very far from infecting the American home universally. The drift has not become so powerful as to be irresistible.

—

Turkey's Religious Outlook

Turkey was much agitated over the Christian propaganda in American Schools. But Turkey is fair to all religions as will appear from an article by Md. Asim Bey in *Vakul* (quoted by the *Literary Digest* for May 19, 1928.)

"Turkish laws do not permit any discrimination in dealings as between Moslems and Christians. Any one may profess any religion he chosses. Such matters of conscience lie outside the duties of government, The fact that the educatioual system of the Turkish republic is based upon secular principles," adds Asim, "is not an excuse for making Christians out of Turkish children."

—

Silk Culture

The China Journal devoted in the May issue a great deal of attention to silk, and the following will shoo that there are reasons for it :—

The astounding increase in the production of artificial silk during the past few years, and the enormous profits made by the companies engaged in the development of that industry, read almost like a romance. As pointed out by the founders of one of the most important of the artificial silk producing companies, the world's population is increasing at a faster rate than can be kept pace with by the production of silk and cotton goods for clothing ; which simply means that every bit of additional fabric for clothing that can be produced must find a ready consumption. This accounts for the fact that the enormous production of fabrics of artificial silk and artificial wool (for wool, too, now has a very good substitute) has not affected the world's consumption of silk, cotton or woolen goods.

Following is a table kindly supplied by the Chinese Maritime Customs Statistical Department giving statistics of the import of artificial silk, etc. into Shanghai during the past three years.

	1925.	*1926.*	*1927.*
Artificial Silk Floss and Yarn.	Piculs.	27,233	42.781	82,169
„ „ & Cotton Piece Goods	Yds.	2,191.090	3,663,698	5,130.123
„ „ & Woollen „ „	„	183.442	368.781	221.473
„ „ Piece Goods	„	1,114,229	1,151.304	869,193

The silk export trade of Shanghai is, as large this year as ever, yet great quantities of artificial silk are being used in Europe and America for the manufacture of fabrics that are finding a ready sale.

In Shanghai, perhaps unknown to the general public, a very big industry in artificial silk and artificial woolen goods has arisen. In fact, fabric of this nature is actually being manufactured in Shanghai on a large scale and shipped to Europe and America, some of the stuff being of such high quality and beautiful design as to compare more than favourably with that of European manufacture.

Strangely enough, this local production is not all used to satisfy local demand, and large quantities of artificial silk fabric are imported.

All of which goes to show how important is the silk industry, with which must be included the production and weaving of artificial silk, to Shanghai and China generally.

—

'Risks' in Labour life

'Measurement of 'Risk' in connection with Labour statistics' forms the subject of an informative and remarkable article by J. W. Nixon in the *International Labour Review*, May. Risks include unemployment, sickness, accidents a 'confused Terminology' and industrial disputes, each of which has been throughly studied, and the writer's conclusion on their basis is this :

The problem of measuring risk has not yet been reduced to a common set of principles. Though each of the risks has its special peculiarities which must necessarily be taken into account in measuring the risk, yet there are certain common principles underlying the problem.

For each social risk, two different rates can can be calculated, frequency and severity ; and though in practice prominence has been given in certain social risks to the former (e. g. in accident and in other social risks to the latter (e. g. in unemployment), both are necessary if the whole problem of the risk is to be understood. The frequency rate corresponds to the probability of an event ; the chance of being injured by accident is a measure similar to that of the chance of death or the "probability of dying within the year" of the actuary. The severity rate is a measure of the loss occasioned by such events and is of value to the worker in giving the number of days of work he is liable to lose and to the employer or the State in giving the amount of compensation which may have to be paid, or the amount of

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productive time lost. This rate is the one of chief value for purposes of for insurance or compensation.

There are two methods of calculating this severity rate—on which the time lost on a single day is taken as measure, and the other in which the time lost over a certain period is taken. Both of these applications are justifiable. Where the phenomenon is fairly continuous and not subject to sudden and unexpected events (e.g unemployment and sickness) the usual method of a "sample severity rate" is satisfactory, even though there may be, and often is in regard to unemployment, a considerable "turnover". In the case of accidents, however, though statistics show that there is a remarkable uniformity in the average casualty rate over a period of years, yet within these periods the events often happen with sudden and erratic movements, and it is more desirable to calculate the time lost by considering not a single day but a long period. The source and nature of the statistics also determine which of these methods is to be used.

Hitherto there has been no general survey of the problem of social risk as a whole. In some cases, the evil has not been considered at all from the point of view of a risk. The risk of becoming unemployed by reason of a strike or lockout may be as important to the workers in some countries or industries as the risk of becoming disabled through sickness or accident, and the loss of production may be as serious to employers or the community as the loss through other risks, yet the statistics of industrial disputes have not hitherto been compiled with a view to measuring this risk.

—

What America thinks of the Afghan Tour

The Amir rather the King of Afghanistan is back to his territories, but he still looms large in the press of the Continent of the New World. Interesting and significant are the following remarks of *The New Republic.*

Shortly before the Ameer of Afghanistan began his triumphal tour of Europe, the papers carried an inconspicuous report of the opening of an air line connecting Tashkent in Turkestan with Kabul, the capital of Afghanistan. The line is operated by the Russian government, and connects with the air route from Moscow to Tashkent. There is no railroad across Afghanistan. The map shows how the rails have pushed up to Quetta and Peshawar on the Indian border, and to Kooshk on the Turkestan border, but the final link is lacking. The Hindu Koosh mountains may partly account for its absence, but trade history offers a better explanation. From time to time before the War, British or Russian interests would project a railroad into Afghanistan, only to find their plans obstructed by jealous Russian or British interests. So the only western approach to India was by sea the southernmost rail route across Asia was at the level of northern Manchuria, and Afghanistan remained, as Chicherin recently called it, a fortress at the junction of the Asiatic trade routes. Now this fortress is claiming new attention. The King of England gave the Ameer and his queen a doubly royal welcome on his visit last month, never referred to the Anglo-Afghan wars, and looked away politely in the carriage when the non-chalant Ameer blew his nose with his fingers. The Russians are providing a competing entertainment; the Russians are wily diplomats and fellow orientals. Even if their hospitality should fail to outshine King George's, they would still have stolen a march on him. Amanullah is used to going home in a caravan, Now he can go home in a Russian aeroplane.

—

Colour Prejudice Dying

It is refreshing to learn this from *The World Tomorrow*:

Two Negroes have been asked to contribute to the new Encyclo pedia Britannica. Dr. W.E.B. Dubois will write on the literature of the Negro: James Weldon Johnson on Negro music.

—

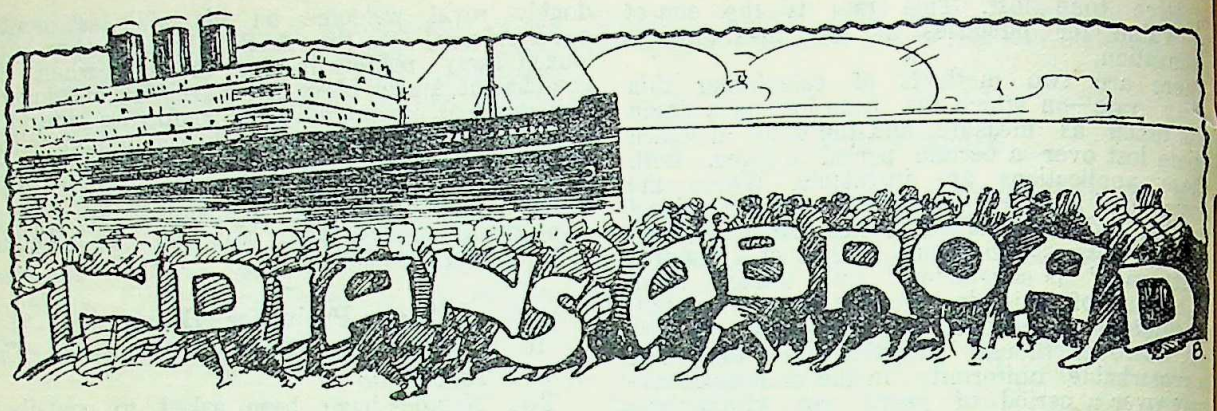
Pacifist-spirit

The same journal—pacifist itself—has from the pen of Reinhold Niebuhr the following on the pacifist position:

The Validity of the pacifist position rests in a general way upon the assumption that men are intelligent and moral and that a generous attitude toward them will ultimately, if not always immediately, discover, develop and challenge what is best in them. This is a large assumption which every specific instance will not justify. The strategy of love therefore involves some risks are not as great as they are sometimes made to appear for the simple reason that love does not only discover but it creates moral purpose, The cynic who discounts the moral potentialities of human nature seems always to verify his critical appraisal of human nature for the reason that his very scepticism lowers the moral potentialities of the individuals and groups with which he deals. On the other hand, the faith which assumes generosity in the fellowman is also verified because it tends to create what it assumes. If a nation assumes that there is no protection against the potential peril of a neighbor but the force of arms, its assumption is all too easily lustified. for suspicion creates suspicion, fear creates fear, and hatred creates hatred, It is interesting to note in this connection how in the relations of France and Germany since the war every victory or seeming victory of the nationalists in Germany has given strength to the chauvinists of France, and vice versa; while every advantage for the forces of one nation which believe in trust has resulted in an almost immediate advantage for the trustworthy elements in the other. Hence the contest between the apostles of force and the apostles of love can never be decided purely on the basis of scientific evidence. The character of the evidence is determined to a great degree by the assumptions upon which social relations are initiated. This is the fact which gives the champions of the strategy of love the right to venture far beyond the policy which a cool and calculating sanity would dictate. It may not be true that love never fails; but it is true that love creates its own victories, and they are always greater than would seem possible from the standpoint of a merely critical observer.

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By BENARSIDAS CHATURVEDI

Returned Emigrants at Matiaburz

I understand that the Government of India is now in communication with the Government of Bengal regarding the possibility of emigration to Malaya being arranged for those returned emigrants at Matiaburz who are anxious to take up employment in the country. It will not be out of place to mention here that the following standard wage rates have been fixed in certain areas in Malaya for Indian labourers on estates:

	Men (per day)	Women (per day)
Fairly healthy and easily accessible tracts (Province Wellesly)	50 Malayam Dollar Cents =12 annas	40 Malayam Dollar Cents =10 annas approximately
Rather unhealthy, inaccessible and costly tracts (Inland districts of Penang)	58 Malayam Dollar Cents =14 annas approximately	46 Malayam Dollar Cents =11 annas approximately

The Government is endeavouring to pay its own employees these rates and an effort is being made to get the standard rates applied to private employees in other areas.

It is now for the returned emigrants at Matiaburz to make their choice. If they get an opportunity to go to Malaya let them go after knowing these facts and figures. I do not know anything about the cost of living in Malaya but there can be no doubt that it will be higher than that of India. It is necessary to explain everything to these unfortunate people before their departure to Malaya.

I am glad that the Government of India is now trying to do something for these people. Mr. S. A. Waiz, Assistant Secretary of the Imperial Indian Citizenship Association of Bombay, wrote to me in his letter of 28th January:

"I may tell you that the Education Departme of the Government of India is horribly slow a indifferent towards these unfortunate people.

After my last visit to Calcutta in 1926 t Government of India had definitely promised ameliorate the helpless condition of these wretch countrymen of ours, but inspite of our repeat reminders their condition continues to be as ba as ever."

The problem of these returned emigrant has been continually before the India public and the Government for the last seve or eight years. After a good deal of agita tion in the press Mr. Andrews was able t persuade the Indian Government to giv Rs. ten thousands to the Indian Emigrant Friendly Service Committee, which did use ful work for more than a year. But as soo as this committee ceased to exist the Go vernment, so far as we know, did not d anything to ameliorate the condition of thes wretched returned emigrants. A number o them died miserable deaths living as do in the most unhealthy quarter of Calcutta. I the Government had been at all careful about these people it could have done a great deal to improve the lot of these peopl by inviting the assistance of some non official workers, as it did in 1921, but it did n't do anything of this sort.

Yesterday I interviewed some of thes returned emigrants. More than five hundre of them have already got their name registered at the Emigration office to be sen to Malaya. There still remain a few misle by some malcontents to believe that the may be sent to Trinidad or British Guiana Of this there seems to be no possibility. have one suggestion to make in this con nection. Leaflets written in vernacular should be distributed among these people giving all possible information about Malay and telling these people to make their choice

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Five years ago some of these people were sent to Mauritius by the Government and most of them returned again to Calcutta to live here in those dirty quarters! It is to be hoped that the Government would give consideration to this suggestion.

Joint Imperialism and Chhota Imperialists

My notes in the *Modern Review* of March on this subject have attracted much wider attention than I expected. The Indian Daily Mail of Kenya, the Zanzibar Voice, the African Chronicle of South Africa, and the Vriddhi of Fiji have commented upon them. I have read these comments carefully and with an open mind but they have only convinced me of the rightness of the views and sentiments expressed by the poet Tagore, Mehatma Gandhi and Dinbandhu Andrews. The Poet is absolutely right when he says "Our only right to be in South Africa at all is that the Native Africans, to whom the soil belongs, wish us to be there." I am afraid our colonial critics take a different attitude and thus there is a fundamental difference between our views. It is not a question of mere sentiments or over-suspiciousness as the Zanzibar Voice puts it. If our compatriots in the Colonies have an earnest desire to serve the cause of the Natives, let them do so by opening schools and hospitals for them, by living among them and devoting a part of their charities to their institutions. No doubt they have done a great deal of good to Natives but *indirectly*. Will our critics tell us how much good they have done *directly*? With the exception of the late Mr. M. A. Desai I do not know of any Indian leader in East Africa who stood up for the rights of the Africans. Let us cease to talk of the Natives in a patronising manner as most of our leaders in the colonies have been doing. The very idea of trusteeship has something of the superior attitude so frequently taken up by the "whites" and we, who have suffered at their hands, must not copy their arrogance. It is all very nice to say on the paper that the interests of the African Natives must be paramount, and that if, and when, those interests and those of the immigrant races should conflict, the former should prevail but has this noble sentiment been ever carried into practice? There is nothing but hypocrisy behind it and we must refuse to be hypocrites even in the company of the British. the British Imperialists in India have been saying that they are the trustees of the dumb millions and we know to our cost what this trusteeship means. What reasons have we got to suppose that the British Imperialist in Fiji or Kenya is different from his cousin in India? And then what guarantee is there that we shall not be as bad trustees of the Africans or the Fijians as the British have been. The probability is that we shall be much worse. A slave will prove a much worse slave-owner than a free man. During the days of slavery the slaves received the harshest possible treatment at the hands of their own countrymen under the service of the white planters.

Mahatma Gandhi, who understands the mentality of our countrymen abroad much better than any one else, has written :—

"I fear that if the British Imperialist rulers offer the Indian emigrants in any part of the world, sufficient inducement, they will succumb and imagine that they are 'equal partners' not knowing that they are but 'Jackals'."

It will be really unfortunate if our colonial compatriots fall a victim to this policy of 'Joint imperialism' so aptly called as 'Jackal policy' by Mr. C.F. Andrews.

Fort Hare College

Shrijut Bhawani Dayal Sanyasi, a prominent worker of South Africa, has, at my request, sent the following communication about the College at Fort Hare :—

"As desired by you I give here my views regarding the Fort Hare College Scheme. The "Gentlemen's Agreement" states that better provision shall be made for Indian Students at Fort Hare, and the Indian Community in South Africa has generally agreed to this proposal with the exception of a few short sighted people who cannot at present see beyond the political horizon. There is no fear of losing diginity or degrading oneself by attending this college which has been a great boon to the members of the Indian Community in the past. I know that Indian students had some difficulty in their meals when attending this College, but I was told by responsible people that this defect could be easily remedied provided there was a larger number of Indian students. Why should Indians object to send thejr children to the College? We claim equality with the Europeans and we shall have no objection if they admit us in their Colleges to-day; why then should we object to attend a Native College? Many Mohammedan and Hindu students have studied in this institution and are proud of their *Alma Mater*. The

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Natives are progressing. This is *their* country and we have no right to grumble at the arrangement made by the Rt. Hon. Sastri. Of course it will be left to the leaders to decide when the final arrangement are made. The Poet, Rabindranath Tagore, has rightly rebuked Habib Motan and his crowd and he has sounded the right note at the right moment and his statement has been greatly appreciated by majority of people of S. Africa. Why should the Natives, who attend this College, be considered lower than the Indians? Professor Jabava who takes Latin and the European Professors who teach other subjects are qualified to teach students in any College of the world. I am afraid the agitation against this College is carried on with some personal and ulterior motives by people who have no inkling of what education is and I should warn the India public not to be misled by the writings of irresponsible people who represent none except themselves.

A Responsible Statement

The Secretaries of the Congress in South Africa write in the Natal Advertiser :—

"The objections raised against the facilities for higher education at Fort Hare are ridiculous and beyond the comprehension of any-one claiming that men are equal and that one's education and character should, if at all, be the line of demarcation. What one would like to say to these objectors is that if it is the proper thing to claim to sit alongside the European for your studies why not alongside a native of the country? If the European does the wrong by refusing this right, has the Indian the right to look down upon a native and refuse to sit alongside of him? We have yet to learn that two wrongs make a right. What is more regrettable about these objection to Fort Hare is that it savours of base ingratitude in return for what that institution has done for several Indian youths. We are sure if these young men who have gone to England from Fort Hare for their further studies are to learn of what is being said about their Alma Mater, their blood will boil."

In view of these opinions so ably expressed by Sanyasi Bhawani Dayal, Vice-President of the Natal Congress and the Congress Secretaries, the Indian public should reject the irresponsible utterances of our *Chhota* Imperilists.

An Advice to Mr. C. F. Andrews

The editor of Indian Views of South Africa after strongly criticising Mr. Andrews' article on the Round Table Agreement published in the *Modern Review* of April 1923, offers him the following piece of advice :—

We know we are in very bad odour with the Rev. Andrews and other of our venerables simply because we refuse to be mercenary-minded slaves of expediency—because we try to stick to the the truth and damn the consequences. Nevertheless, we will venture to proffer him a word of well-meant advice, and that is ; Shun politics as you would the devil, for they are both of a kin because Saint and Politician are diametrically antagonistic terms.—To the Rev. C. F. Andrew who is a gentle, sweet, sacrificing servant o humanity—whose noble fire to serve Him and His oppressed creatures knows no bounds—who, while himself sick spends sleepless nights tending small pox victims ; crosses oceans to succour th poor and the needy—To him—To this God's ow good Charlie Andrews we humbly take off ou hat. But to the other Andrews who—after th style of Dr. Jackyls Mr. Hyde—is budding out in a polished diplomat ; who pays smiling courts t ministers and Viceroys and hobnobs with th cunning forces of politics, parties, expediency an propaganda, we would say : Please chuck it.—Th game is not worth the candle."

I am afraid the Editor of the India Views has been rather quarter of a centur too late. If he had only given this wholesom advice in 1904 it should certainly have bee in time to prevent the misguided activities o this gentleman. Then the immense mischie that he had done since that time would hav been prevented and evil nipped in the bud to use the phrase of the editor. The blessed Indenture system should have then continued at least five years longer and the many improvements made in the position of our people in Ceylon, Malaya, Fiji and other colonies should have been delayed at leas by a decade, Alas! now it is too late to shut Mr. Andrews' activities in watertight compartments. We sympethise with Mr Editor for the keen disappointment that is in store for him.

Though this Andrews is a humanitarian his humanity is not divided in different compartments, educational, social and political etc., and he will continue to serve the cause of India in all these fields as a humanitarian in spite o the advice of the Editor of the Indian Views.

Hindu or Indian ?

Our readers will remember that His Excellency the Governor of F. M. S., while referring to the appointment of Honourable Mr. S. Veerasamy of Kuala Lumpur as a member of the Federal Council, uttered the following words :—

"Though the community which is represented now by Mr. Veerasamy is called the Indian community, we regard it as including Ceylonese, and him *as especially representing Hindu interests on this Council*"

It was decidedly a mischievous move to put the Indian community of Malaya on a wrong track and it has produced its desired effect. The Mohammedans of Klan

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have passed a resolution for special respresentation !

The Tamil Nesan makes the following comments on this subject :—

"We stick to the conviction that the Indian whatever his caste or creed will ever act in the true interests of his community when he is placed in a position of trust and responsibility. In this respect we are happy to find that the Government of India has not allowed itself to be swayed by any other considerations but the fitness of the person to his task. We have in mind the appointment of the first Agent of the Government of India who was not a Hindu and the present one who is not a Tamil. The interests of the Indian labourer never suffered but on the contrary, considerably improved under their paternal care. Appropriately enough we have at present a Mohamedan of eminence in the person of Sir Mohammed Habibullah Sahib Bahadur in charge of the port folio of Emigration to Government of India. This brings back to our mind that in the last Commission of enquiry into labour conditions in Malaya it was Khan Bahadur Ahmed Thamby Maricar who accompanied Mr. Marjoribanks the only other member. All the above adds force to our contention that the Indians abroad have nothing to fear from any distinction brought about by religion or nativity. Reverting to our original suggestion we wish to add that any other line of conduct will land us in endless difficulties and greatly disturb the peaceful progress of the community in these parts.

As far as our experience goes we feel sure that the leading Mohamedans of Klang have full faith in the capacity of the Hon. Mr. Veerasamy to protect and further their interests. We are sorry for the hasty action of the misguided section and we hope that better Counsels would prevail, and correct the wrong impression created. Just as we expect our Mohammedan and Christian brethren to acknowledge Mr. Veerasamy as the Indian representative we make bold to say that our Hindu compatriots will welcome with similar enthusiasm the appointment of a Mohammedan gentleman in the Straits Council.

We whole-heartedly support the views expressed by the Tamil Nesan and earnestly request Sir Hobibullah to take immediate action to stop this evil of communalism from spreading in the colonies.

Indian Servants in Kenya

I confess that I have read without any great regret the news cabled by the London correspondent of the *Leader* that the Domestic Servants' Bill, which orginally provided for the identification of native servants by finger-prints, photographs and registration, has been amended so as to include Indians also. Nothing will draw the two communities—the Indians and the Africans—nearer than common suffering at the hands of the whites. That will ultimately result in common action on behalf of the two communities and thus there will be a greater chance of the removal of these disabilities. The solution of the Indian problems in Africa does not lie in "*due share* in the trusteeship of the Africans and their nomination along with the Europeans to represent native interests" but in *due share* of the suffering of the dumb Africans, who are the children of the soil and who will ultimately control her destinies.

Hindustan Ka Meva foot

Here is a resolution passed at the tenth anniversary of the Arya Pratinidhi Sabha in Fiji :—

"This tenth Anniversary of the Arya Pratinidhi Sabha of Fiji regards with contempt the words used by Mr. Chowla (President, Indian Reform League) in a meeting of the Madrasis of Suva held on 26th December 1927 to the effect that the religious people are *badmashes* and do not know religion."

The annual report of the Indian Reform League for the year 1927 contains the following words :—

There are, however, in the community, extremists who still advocate sectional unity at the expense of Indian unity as a whole, but their influence, owing to the recent formation of important associations, is on the wane. Their attitude is undoubtedly due to ignorance of local conditions, as some of these men are new arrivals in the Colony. The League trusts that these men will soon realise the folly of their actions and fall into line with others representing saner elements.

Elsewhere in the same report we read :—

"There also arrived in the colony Pandit Srikrishna, Aryasamaj preacher Thakur Sardar Singh and Prof. Amichand Vidyalankar, teachers by profession. We cannot agree with all they have said or done since their arrival, but we hope that after they have studied local conditions they will become more liberal in their attitude and act differently."

So we can easily understand for whom the hints are meant.

Some months ago I received news of an Aryasamajist preacher in a colony whose only business was to condemn the *Sanatanists* and the Muslims and now I learn that a Sanatanist has been reading 'Dayanand Timir Bhaskar' a wretched book writes against the Aryasamaj, to his audiences.

Pandit Tota Ram Sanadhya has sent me a copy of a letter, alleged to have been

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writer by a Sanatanist preacher in India, who is extremely anxious to go to Fiji Islands. The letter says that the Aryasamaj was established to uproot all *Dharma* and it urges the Sanatanists in Fiji to oppose it with all their might even at the cost of their lives !

It has been alleged that some Christians have joined hands with the Sanatanists in a conspiracy against the Aryasamaj.

Where will these things end ? Has not the time arrived when our religious associations in India should take some steps to stop the undesirables from going to the colonies? We should specially draw the attention of Pandit Madan Mohan Malvia, Lala Lajpat Rai and Shriyut Narayan Swami to this subject.

It was perhaps Bhartendu Harishchandra who used in one of his books the phrase '*Hindustan Ka Meva foot*' (Disunion, a peculiar fruit of India). Why should our Indian people be so anxious to introduce this peculiar fruit in Greater India also, we fail to understand.

Indian Education in Tanganyika

On 29th May. 1928 Sir Donald Cameron the Governor of Tanganyika laid the foundation stone of the Indian Central School at Daressalaam. After the speeches of the Director of Education and Honourable Mr. S. N. Ghose, the Governor delivered a sympathetic speech which was much appreciated by the Indians. Here is a report of the speech published in the Tanganyika opinion :—

His excellency the Governor made an excellent speech which had a profound effect upon all those present on the occasion. He said that he required no thanks from the Indian community for coming over to that place to be able to lay the foundation of the school buildings, he had nothing more to add to what the Hon. the Director of education had already said except to confine himself to two or three things in particular. First was the contribution of £3,000 by the Indian community already referred to by the Hon. the Director of Education. H. E. congratulated the Indian community on their readiness to co-operate with the Government, H. E. joined with the Hon. The Director of education in acknowledging the debt of obligation to the leaders of the Indian community who came forward in the spirit of real service and brought to success the programme of raising the necessary funds.

H.E. further said that besides the Indian Central School, Dar-es-Salaam, the Government had in view the system of grants-in-aid for the benefit of other schools in the territory. They were preparing a code of regulations for these schools which would in due course be laid before the Legislative Council for its approval and in which, he said, provision had been made for setting up a council to deal with questions connected with the education of the Indian children. Before these draft regulations would be passed the Indian leaders would be given an opportunity to discuss them in consultation with the Hon, the Director of education and other Government officials.

Before he came to Tanganyika he had thought that while returning he should have the satisfaction to know that the young Tanganyikan, born of the Indian parents, the son of those who had been taking a large share in trade, in commerce, in public life of the Territory would now have the opportunity and the means of taking his due place in every phase of the public life and future development of the land of his adoption, H. E. wished every measure of success to the school.

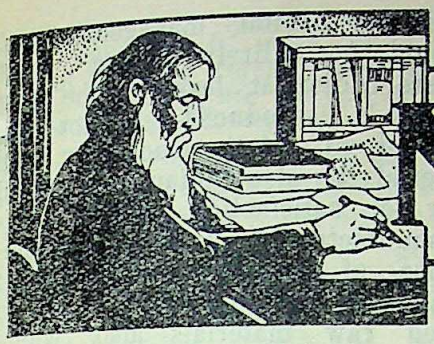
Lastly, he emphasised the fact that they should not forget that they were building not for to-day, not for to-morrow but for generations and generations to follow who would continue to reap the benefit long, long after they (the present generations) had disappeared from this place. (prolonged cheers).

The Governor, it may be noted, has sanctioned £5000 for the building of this Central school,

Honourable Mr S. N. Ghose spoke of the May 29th 1928 as a red-letter day in the history of Indian education in Tanganyika and praised the Governor for his wisdom and foresight. No doubt Sir Donald deserves every praise at the hands of our compatriots in Tanganyika, for he has been absolutely just and genuinely sympathetic towards them.

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NOTES

India's Congress Presidentship

Every year, for a good many years, one has been reading in the papers that the coming session of the Indian National Congress will be a very important one, that the times are critical, that momentous issues have to be settled and vital problems solved, or words to the same effect. And then it has been argued that the circumstances being such, this or that public man being possessed of this or that supreme qualification ought to be chosen to lead the army of constitutional or non-violent or *passive* (!) fighters to victory. And so some leading person has been elected president. But it does not seem that the country is on that account any nearer the goal. If, however, we are blind and do not see that we are within sight of victory, can it be rightly claimed that the nearness of success is due to some one having presided over a particular session of the Congress and not some one else? Can it even be claimed that when victory comes it would be because the country had for its Congress presidents exactly the persons it had and not others? On the attainment of Swaraj, would it be right to claim that the result was due entirely or even mainly to the *sittings* of the Congress?

This year, as in years past, a discussion is going on in the papers as to who should be elected president for the next session of the Congress. We are not among the king-makers and have not the least desire to poach on their preserve. But as journalists we may be allowed to say a few words.

For some years past the Congress has been run by the Swarajists, who claim to be non-co-operators both within and outside the Councils whereas your orthodox and old-fashioned non-co-operators waged their non-violent war only outside them. The Swarajists also profess to believe in the efficiency of civil disobedience as the last weapon in their armoury. It seems to us that, as except Mahatma Gandhi, no other past president of the Congress ever led a campaign of non-violent resistance to despotism in India or abroad, and as these persons, including Gandhiji, have had their say from the Congress presidential chair, it would be a novelty and an experiment worth trying if this year we had as president one who has led a campaign of non-violent resistance in India. There have been several such campaigns hitherto: that led by Mahatma Gandhi in Champaran, Bihar; the campaigns which the Sikhs fought to the death in and about Guru-ka-Bagh, Nanakana Sahib and Jaito; the present Bardoli campaign; etc. It would be fitting, therefore, if some leading Sikh campaigner or Mr. Vallabhbhai Patel were chosen to preside over the next session of the Congress.

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The Swarajist's Claim of Non-Co-operation

It has been said above that the Swarajists claim to be non-co-operators within and outside the Councils. Those who are not Swarajists have often pointed out that there have been numerous occasions when this claim could not be consistently maintained. A few days ago a correspondent sent us a note, entitled "A Swarajist M. L. A. on the Swaraj Party and its Leader," in which he gave some extracts from Mr. C. S. Ranga Iyer's "Father India." We have not seen the book and are not in a position to pronounce any opinion on the subject. What is needed is that all parties should be what they profess to be, and should claim to be what they really are. If circumstances necessitate a change of policy, there should be an open declaration of such change. The extracts sent to us are given below:

"With the passing away of Mr. C. R. Das, the Swaraj Party, under the leadership of Pandit Motilal Nehru, imperceptibly settled down to a

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policy of opposition *cum* co-operation. Obstruction, which had succeeded in Bengal in suspending dyarchy, the last achievement of the Deshabandhu, was after his passing away, suspended actually, if not verbally, as an active policy of the party. In the winter session of the Legislative Assembly of 1926-27, the Swaraj Party abstained from making, as in previous years, the rejection of the Finance Bill on the ground of "no taxation without representation" a party question. Last year, when Miss Mayo's "thrice damned" member of the Swaraj Party moved the rejection of the Finance Bill, he was clearly incurring the displeasure of the mighty stalwart who led the Party. The Secretary and the whip of the Swaraj Party remained neutral when the motion was pressed to a division. The leader of the Party was absent from the House, only irresponsible extremists like Lala Lajpat Rai, also known as "the Lion of the Punjab, and Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, also known as the "Dharmatma" (the soul of goodness), and their satellites voted for the extreme step, but not the saner Swarajists. Surely this is not Swarajist obstruction, but plain and simple co-operation." Pp. 151-52.

"Pandit Nehru has roused the suspicion of the extremists in the country, who fear that he and his party might even secede from the Congress like the old moderates and go over completely to the side of the Government and work the Reforms, if the Government accept the compromise, which clearly falls short of Dominion status. If he has roused their suspicions, he has done so deliberately and with open eyes. The Pandit has never been a believer in the spiritual idealism of the East, or the Socialism of the West. He is a man of the world with abundant commonsense and a penetrating head for practical politics. So far as temperament, taste and outlook are concerned, he has more in common with the conservative aristocrat of England than middle-class Liberal and Labour Parties," P. 155.

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The Next Congress Exhibition

The papers are discussing what things are to be allowed to be exhibited in the next Congress Exhibition in Calcutta. It is, we suppose, correct to assume that these latter-day Congress Exhibitions are Swadeshi exhibitions. If so, evidently only those things ought to be exhibited there which are Swadeshi. In the widest sense—a sense which would suit the purposes of the foreign administrators and exploiters of India alike, everything made in India is Swadeshi. But there is another meaning of Swadeshi more acceptable to Indians and more in accord with the spirit of the Swadeshi movement. Mind is superior to matter and man to materials. In India that alone is a genuine Swadeshi article which is produced by a combination of Indian skilled and unskilled labour, Indian capital and Indian direction and management. Preferably such labour, capital, management and direction should be entirely Indian. But unless these are Indian at least for the most part, the goods produced cannot be considered Swadeshi. If the machinery and the raw materials be also Indian, that would be a matter for satisfaction. But as India does not manufacture most kinds of machinery, the use of machinery made abroad has to be allowed, and there is no harm in using imported raw materials also, where necessary. But foreign machinery ought not to be allowed to be exhibited in a Swadeshi exhibition.

Crusade against the City College

The Amrita Bazar Patrika, which is a paper owned and conducted by Hindus, writes :—

No student will be admitted into any of the Colleges in the Punjab unless he signs a pledge, at the time of admission, that he will take no part in political activities of any kind as long as he is a student of that college. If students in the Punjab have any sense of self-respect they will give a wide berth to Government Colleges. But we are not very sanguine, for we find that, in Calcutta, Colleges from which students have been expelled or otherwise punished for participation in politics continue to draw as before a large number of students while all the fury is reserved for a College, the politics of which has all along been ardent nationalism, but which had the temerity to claim some indulgence for the religious faith of its founders and conductors.

The college referred to is the City College of Calcutta.

Our contemporary adds :

There are colleges in which the hearing of lectures on the scripture of the religion to which the college belongs is made compulsory for all students and where even in the general classes pungent criticism is made of other religions and from where politics is banned. But these colleges have all along challenged the students to do their worst with impunity. How to explain this when we remember the crusade against another inoffensive denominational college? The matter is one of psychological speculation. People who are themselves weak have an instinctive desire to persecute others who are weak like them. These very people will, however, avoid taking up the challenge of the strong. The well-known story of 'Brahma' and the deputation of goats readily comes to mind.

The "inoffensive denominational college", referred to above is the City College.

In the prospectus of the C. M. S. St. Paul's College in Calcutta, which is given to all students who want to join it, *the following sentence, framed within two thick black upright lines, occurs under the heading, "Religious Life and Teaching"*

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"Full liberty of conscience in the matter of personal devotions is given to all students; but no acts of corporate worship which are contrary to Christian principles are allowed in the college, or in any of its attached messes."

In the City College and in the Ram Mohun Roy Hostel and messes attached to it, "full liberty of conscience in the matter of personal devotions" has always been given to all students, the only restriction being that in the Ram Mohun Roy Hostel no acts of corporate worship which are contrary to Brahmo principles have been allowed. The City College has, however, agreed to open an "attached mess" for orthodox students of any sect where they may perform corporate acts of worship according to their faith, provided at least thirty such students of a sect apply for this privilege. In the City College, unlike some Christian Colleges where "hearing of lectures on the scriptures" "is made compulsory for all students," there is no compulsory attendance at any kind of religious lecture or service.

But in spite of these differences between the City College and some Christian Colleges all the fury of some self-constituted defenders of the Hindu faith is reserved for the City College! The explanation implied but not expressed in words in the passages quoted above from the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, is that these crusaders and their followers are not exactly heroes.

They have, in addition, little regard for truth.

The student crusaders and some of their leaders started by stating that of the total amount subscribed for the City College more than 75 per cent. was subscribed by Hindus, and that the contribution made by Brahmos was insignificant. This statement has been repeatedly contradicted. It was contradicted for the last time in the *Asadh* number of *Prabasi* (published on the 14th June last), which published a full list of the principal donors and showed that more than two-thirds of the total amount was subscribed by Brahmos and the balance by persons belonging to the Hindu, Christian, Muslim and Sikh communities. But the falsehood is repeated in "An Appeal to Brahmo Samaj and College Authorities", published in the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* of June 22 last. This "appeal" has been issued over the names of the following persons:—

Mahamahopadhyay Pandit Panchanan Tarkaratna; Mahamahopadhyay Pandit Lakshman Sastri Dravid; Mahamahopadhyay Pandit Bamacharan Nyayacharya; Maharaja Sir Manindra Chandra Nundy; Subhas Chandra Bose; Mahamahopadhyay Pandit Durga Charan Sankhyatirtha; Pravupada Atul Krishna Goswamy; Rai Dwarakanath Chakravarty Bahadur; Tarakn.th Mukherjee, M. L. C.; Hon'ble Lokenath Mukherjee; Prof. Jitendralal Banerjee, M. A., B. L. M. L. C.; Durga Charan Banerjee; J. C. Banerjee; Bijoy Chandra Singha; Dr. Promotha Nath Nundy; Mr. D. P. Khaitan; Dr. Baridbaran Mukherjee; Hemendra Nath Sen; Santosh Kumar Bose; Kaviraj Siva Nath Sen; Jyotiprosad Sarbadhicary; Prabhudayal Himatsinghka, M. L. C.; Kshitish Chandra Chakrabarty; Gobinda Chandra Dey Roy; Swamy Jnanananda.

We need not examine the other oft-repeated and repeatedly contradicted false allegations contained in the "appeal," that relating to donations being quite sufficient for our purpose, as it is a question of simple arithmetic.

We cannot hold the gentlemen whose names are printed above responsible for making false statements, as we do not know whether all or any of them have really signed the "appeal." But if any of them have really done so after reading it, they are guilty of making false statements, some or all, it may be, unconsciously.

—

Soviet Russian Opposition to Asian Nationalism and Pan-Asian Movement

The Chinese Students' Monthly for March, 1928, published an excellent article on "National and Colonial Revolution" by V. J. Lenin. This article contained several valuable and interesting excerpts from the writings and speeches of Lenin dealing with the colonial and national revolutionary movements. The following extracts will give the fundamental principles on which the Soviet authorities are interested in supporting the cause of nationalism in Asian countries and opposing it (nationalism) and the Pan-Asian Movement.

It is necessary to combat the Pan-Islam and Pan-Asiatic and similar tendencies which strive to combine the struggle against European and American imperialism with the growing power of Turkish and Japanese imperialism, of the nobility, large landlords, the priesthood, etc.

Particularly necessary is it to give special support to the peasant movements in backward countries against all manifestations or survivals of feudalism. Efforts must be made to make the peasant movement assume a more revolutionary character and wherever possible to combine the peasants and all the exploited in Soviets and in this way to bring about the closest possible alliance between the West European Communist proletariat and the revolutionary peasant movements in the East, in the colonies and backward countries generally.

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It is necessary resolutely to combat the attempts made to paint non-Communist revolutionary liberation tendencies in backward countries in Communist colors. It is the duty of the Communist International to support the revolutionary movements in colonies and backward countries only for the purpose of enabling the elements of future proletarian parties, Communistic not only in name, in all backward countries, to be grouped and trained to recognize their special tasks of fighting the bourgeois democratic movement in each country. The Communist International must enter into temporary agreements and even alliances with the bourgeois democracy in colonies and backward countries, but must not merge with it, but preserve the absolute independence of the proletarian movement, even in its most rudimentary form.

It is necessary persistently to explain to and expose before the masses of the toilers, particularly of the backward countries and nations, the systematic deceit which the imperialist powers, aided by the privileged classes of the oppressed countries, perpetuate by setting up alleged politically independent states which in fact are completely dependent upon them economically, financially and in a military sense. In contemporary international conditions, there is no salvation for the dependent and weak nations except in an alliance of Soviet Republics.—*Thesis on the National and Colonial Question* (1919).

It must be recognised that the Soviet Russian Government in the past supported the Turkish Nationalists under the leadership of Mustapha Kemal Pasha, and also the Chinese Nationalists under the leadership of Chiang Kai Shek and others. But true to the principle of "*fighting the bourgeois democratic movement in each country*," the Soviet agents' activities have proved to be disruptive of nationalist solidarity both in Turkey and China. There is much talk about establishing a socialist government in India and international solidarity with the socialists and communists of the world. But the thing that should receive the foremost attention of Indian nationalists is national solidarity.

T. D.

There is a tendency noticeable among some of our political and labour leaders of seeking the pecuniary and political help of Soviet Russia. We are against such mendicancy and political alliance. The Soviet leaders are at heart opposed to nationalism. They are as much interested in promoting class struggle as the British autocrats and exploiters are in the longevity of religious dissensions in India.

Nor are we in favour of allying ourselves with the British Trade Unions or the British Labour Party. We do not believe in the disinterestedness of these and other similar bodies in other European countries. India's welfare must depend on her children learning to stand on their own legs.—Editor. *M. R.*

—

Dacca University (Amendment) Bill

A short Bill to amend the Dacca University Act has been published in the *Calcutta Gazette* of the 7th June, 1928. As stated in its Objects and Reasons, with one exception, the Bill deals with minor matters. The material amendment is in clause 5, which seeks to take away an important academic matter from the control of the teachers of the University.

The constitution of the University of Dacca is materially different from that of Calcutta. The Dacca University Court, unlike the Calcutta Senate, is a purely advisory body, the actual management of the University being vested in the Executive Council. The Academic Council has, as its name implies, power to deal with academic matters only. As the soul responsibility for finance rests with the Executive Council not a farthing can be spent by anybody without its sanction, and its decision is final. At present, it consists of 18 members, 9 of whom are non-teachers. The Academic Council now consists of about 20 members all of whom except the Librarian are teachers.

Section 20, clause (c) of the Dacca University Act, 1920, runs thus—

"The Executive Council shall, subject to the powers conferred by this Act on the Visitor, Chancellor, regulate and determine all matters concerning the University in accordance with this Act, the Statutes and the Ordinances:

Provided that no action shall be taken by the Executive Council in respect of the fees paid to examiners and the emoluments of teachers otherwise than on the recommendation of the Academic Council."

It is now proposed to amend this proviso by substituting the words "without *consulting* the Academic Council" for the words "otherwise than on the *recommendation* of the Academic Council."

The object of this change, as stated in the Statement of Objects and Reasons, is to 'make it clear that the final word about fees to be paid to examiners and the emoluments of teachers shall rest not with the Academic Council but with the Executive Council." *This is not correct.* For, by the Act, as it now stands, the final word *does* rest with the Executive Council.

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the proviso only gives the Academic Council the power to initiate. The real object and effect of the amendment is to take away this power, and to give the Executive Council, not merely the final word but also the first word in an academic matter.

We cannot find any reasonable ground for this change. The Executive Council already has the absolute power of preventing the Academic Council—a body of teachers—from improperly raising their own emoluments. On the other hand, the Executive Council, half of which consists of non-teachers, cannot raise the emoluments of any professorship, lectureship, etc., unless the body of teachers take the initiative. This system of mutual check is, in our opinion, eminently desirable in the case of a university like that of Dacca. We know of at least three instances in which an attempt to import fat-salaried European teachers had to be given up on account of the opposition of the Academic Council.

In the Statement of Objects and Reasons, it is said that "this was *certainly* the opinion of the Calcutta University Commission." We confess we are not certain about the matter. The Commission recommended for the re-constituted Calcutta University on Academic Council of 80 to 100 members, and the suggestion of the Commission on this point (see Vol. IV. Chapter XXXVII, para 46, page 393 of the Report) was made with reference to this unwieldy body. The Dacca University Act (Schedule, Clause 5), however, provides for a much smaller Academic Council. It is, therefore, not unreasonable to suppose that the Legislature *deliberately* departed from the suggestion of the Commission as to the powers of the Academic Council of Dacca. That this is so, will appear from other provisions of the Act.

When the Act was passed, it was hoped that the predominant element in the Academic Council would be European. The Nathan Committee had recommended that the staff should contain about 45 members of the I. E. S. rank, some of whom were to have salaries ranging from Rs. 1,800 to 2000. On the other hand, it was apprehended that the Executive Council would contain a fairly strong Indian element. It was apparently thought undesirable to give such an Executive Council the power of initiative as to the emoluments of teachers, in preference to the European Academic Council. The fact that the Academic Council of Dacca now consists (with one exception) of Indians only, is surely no ground for curtailing its power.

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Rana Pratap Anniversary.

Rana Pratap Singh of Chitore has our unqualified homage because he fought for the freedom of his country. As a fighter for freedom, he should be loved and revered by all lovers of liberty, whatever their religion or race may be. Though we are not believers in caste, either in theory or in practice, we respect Rana Pratap also for opposing the practice of some Rajput Princes giving their daughters or sisters in marriage to the Mughals. For such marriages were contracted as a means of effecting the social conquest of the Hindus to stabilise and consolidate their political conquest by the Mughals. We call such marriages social *conquest*, because there was no equality between husband and wife in them—all the issue of such marriages becoming automatically Muhammadan. If some Rajput men could and did take Mughal wives, and their offspring became Hindu Rajputs, these inter-communal marriages would have worn a somewhat different aspect. Marriages in which the cult and cultures of the contracting parties are different are not desirable, in our opinion.

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Delay in the Delivery of Postal Articles

Dr. Besant's complaint that some of her letters are not delivered or are delayed in delivery has received attention in the press, because she is prominent in the public eye. But such things are by no means rare. The editor of this Review received a letter from the Rev. Dr. J. T. Sunderland, dated the 3rd April, 1928, advising actual despatch of the manuscript of a book by "registered first-class mail" on that date. The letter was received on the 29th of April, but the packet containing the manuscript was delivered on the 14th May, that is, a fortnight later. Delay in the delivery of literary contributions to the Modern Review sent by certain contributors from abroad is usual. Unless postal articles sent from abroad are registered, the date of delivery can not be proved. For in Calcutta (we do not know what the

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practice is elsewhere) ordinary foreign letters do not bear any post-mark indicating the day and hour of delivery.

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Unemployment in Bengal, and High Education

Statements relating to the financial condition of the Calcutta University have appeared in many papers, in some cases with comments on the same. We also feel bound to contribute our quota of comments. Before proceeding to do so, we wish to draw the attention of the reader to some remarks on the subject which have appeared in the *Bengalee*. It writes :—

A somewhat anxious situation has arisen at the University on account of its rapidly growing expenditure and diminishing income. The Post-Graduate Department shows a forty per cent. falling off of its students and the University Law College of at least thirty-three per cent. The 'students' fees which are a large source of income have thus decreased ; on the other hand, the increased emoluments of teachers in these departments as well as other commitments have led to an abnormal growth of expenditure. The reason for the decline in the number of students is easily discovered, not in the alleged unpopularity of Mr. Jadunath Sarkar, as was foolishly done by "Forward", but in the unemployment problem.

That the decrease in the number of students is not in the least due to the alleged unpopularity of Mr. Jadunath Sarkar, is quite true. But neither is it due solely or mainly to the unemployment problem. That problem has existed for at least more than a decade and was discovered long ago. It is not a year-old or two or three years old problem that it should now suddenly affect the number of students.

It is not merely in the post-graduate departments or in the university law college that there has been a falling-off in the number of students. The number of candidates for the Matriculation, I. A., I. Sc., B. A. and B. Sc. examinations has also fallen, and the number of B. A.'s and B. Sc.'s has consequently decreased. That in itself would naturally mean a diminished enrolment in the university classes. The decrease in the number of under-graduate candidates for examinations is due partly to the fact that the university no longer, directly or indirectly, pursues the "ideal" of having as large a number of candidates and passing as many of them as possible, irrespective of their intellectual attainments. Of course, the evil has not been killed yet, it has been only scotched The reason for the erstwhile artificial inflation in the number of candidates and passes is to be found in the fact that the larger that number, the larger was to be the fee-income and the income from the sale of the university publications prescribed for the examinations, thus providing ample resources for patronage, nepotism and favoritism.

There are critics who seem to consider the spread of secondary, collegiate and university education as the only or the main cause of the unemployment problem in Bengal. That is not a correct view. Do matriculates who never graduate, do graduates who never pass the M. A., M. Sc. or B. L. examinations, get plenty of jobs ? Or, are there plenty of jobs for even absolutely illiterate Bengalis? The unemployment problem in Bengal would remain at least as acute as now even if all the schools, colleges and universities were closed to-morrow. The number of the really unemployed would in that case remain substantially the same, though there might be an *apparent* decrease in their number owing to there being less applications for clerkships etc.

That foreigners and non-Bengali Indians in large numbers can earn a decent living and even get enormously rich in Bengal shows that money can be made here by Bengalis also, provided they would turn their hands and their minds to all those avocations which make others well-to-do or wealthy. Scotland, England, Belgium, Czechoslovakia, France, U. S. A., Japan, Germany, etc., from which foreigners come to Bengal to exploit its resources, and become rich, have all popu-lations proportionately far more literate than Bengal, and the number of Universities in those countries is larger in proportion to their population than in Bengal. But in those countries there is also ample provision for technical, industrial and technological training, which is not the case here. It is some times asserted that in Bengal secondary education is more widespread than even in England. Those who say so are misled by the name "secondary". The pupils in the highest classes of Bengal secondary schools know less than the pupils in the highest classes of English elementary schools, generally aged 14 or 15, which is due in part to the fact that our secondary school children have to learn mostly through

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the medium of a foreign tongue. To arrive at a comparative estimate of the number of children of a certain age possessed of a certain amount of knowledge in England and Bengal, one should, therefore, take the enrolment in the highest classes in elementary schools in England and that in the highest classes in secondary schools in Bengal.

But that is a digression. What we drive at is that in order to solve the problem of unemployment in Bengal, it is not necessary to aim at diminishing the number of educational institutions and students. What is necessary is to have in addition a sufficient number of institutions for technical, industrial and technological training, as is the case in all progressive Western countries and in Japan. In order to solve the problem of unemployment, there should be a variety of careers. For that there should be adequate commercial and industrial development, for which the State in India should do at least as much as the Japanese Government has done in Japan.

Above all, the educated people of Bengal should be cured of their excessive preference for clerical jobs and the legal profession. The people of Western countries have prospered, because they have combined in their ideals of manhood those of *homo sapiens* (the man who knows or who is wise) and *homo faber* (the man who can make things). Figuratively speaking, they are devoted both to Minerva and to Vulcan.

As for the illiterate people of Bengal, agriculture is at present their mainstay. There are also numerous landless unskilled labourers who support themselves with difficulty by doing odd jobs when they can get them. But neither agriculture, nor such casual work can be sufficient for such a numerous population. Agriculture must be improved and extended. That would depend on agricultural education, fixity of tenure and the financing of agriculture by facilities for obtaining loans on easy terms. Irrigation is also required, particularly in the West Bengal districts, where Government has been guilty of criminal neglect in allowing the ancient irrigation works to become useless and in not providing new facilities for irrigation. The landless labourers can get sufficient work only if there be an adequate development of manufacturing industries in the province. Even then, however, these persons would not be able to work unless malaria and kala-azar are stamped out in the province. For a people devitalized by attacks of various diseases for decades, nay generations, can never work as hard as labourers belonging to regions were these diseases have not done such havoc for such long periods.

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Superfluity (?) of Post-Graduate Machinery in Bengal

The *Bengalee*, which is not now a days exactly what its name signifies, says, without any note of regret that we can detect in the statement that, "as students are falling off in the way they have been doing in recent years, the Post-Graduate Department will have to be closed down." We hope and trust it will *not* have to be closed down. In the opinion of this cynical Calcutta daily,

> It was rather a generous-minded error to have started a separate Post-Graduate Department; on the Arts side at least it certainly was. Bengal cannot live on idealism alone or on a pursuit of culture for its own sake. For a poverty-stricken province like Bengal the money value of a degree can never be a secondary factor. A Post-Graduate course must be the affair of a handful of earnest and solvent students. There never is earnestness and solvency enough among our Bengalee students to justify two separate Post-Graduate machinery at two different centres in Bengal. Educational efficiency consistent with Bengal's present-day conditions can only be secured by strengthening the courses and increasing the value of the B. A. degree and not by taking away two years of every student's life, almost compulsorily, by getting him to make up for a poor B. A. degree by an at least showy M. A. degree. The Vice-Chancellor must make this his chief duty; he will be judged by the posterity according to the degree to which he succeeds in taking away unreality and pomposity from Bengal's higher education.

It need not be discussed whether the starting of a separate Post-Graduate Department was a generous-minded act; but a mistake it certainly was not. No journal has tried more than the *Modern Review* to expose the nepotism, favouritism, plagiarism, sham research, etc., of which the history of the Post-Graduate Department has furnished examples, and consequently none has been calumniated so much. But it has never denied and can never deny that this department has really done much for the cause of the advancemement of learning and of genuine research. Men like Sir J. C. Bose and Sir P. C. Ray won fame as researchers not because of but in spite of the conditions of work of the Government education depart-

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ment, where the color bar keeps down struggling merit even now. So that it is mathematically correct to say that more research work of a genuine character stands to the credit of the Post-Graduate Department of the Calcutta University during the ten years of its existence (1917-1927) than that which stands to the credit of the Bengal Education Department during the seventy years which have passed since the foundation of the Calcutta University. The Post-Graduate Department has encouraged the spirit of research even among its students, which has not been the case with our colleges. It is not entirely irrelevant to state here that the I. E. S. men and many P. E. S. men have drawn higher salaries than the generality of post-graduate teachers. It should also be borne in mind that the Post Graduate Department, which has been always entirely under Indian control, has proved beyond doubt the high intellectual and educational capacity of Indian teachers to a degree and to an extent which the Government Education Department and the Colleges do not give facilities for proving and have never done so.

Hence we earnestly hope that the Post-Graduate Department will continue to exist to promote the cause of learning and high education.

But in order that it may do so, it must get rid of "duffers," of superfluous men and of plagiarists. Those who have opposed all reform have been and are its worst enemies.

We will turn now to the adjective "generous-minded." We have not got the exact figures before us now to be able to say who have given most for the Post-Graduate Department—the Government or the people. The people have given large sums in the shape of endowments, examination fees, tuition fees, prices of text-books published by the University, etc. And what the Government has given has also come from the pockets of the people.

The starting of the Post-Graduate Department, even "on the Arts side," was "certainly" *not* a mistake. It cannot be said that even the Science side is not open to criticism. But the Arts side has given more scope for "patronage" of an injurious character, because, whereas in the Science College no one can be a teacher of Physics or of Chemistry who has not taken a degree in these branches, on the Arts side there have been and are self-made, patron-made and self-constituted teachers and researchers in ancient and modern history, economics, anthropology, current Indian languages, Indian philosophy, etc. But even the presence of these prodigies should not blind one to the existence "on the Arts side" of real scholars and good teachers.

"Bengal cannot live on idealism alone or on a pursuit of culture for its own sake." Can any other province of India, can any other country, do so? Can or should Bengal live on the negation of idealism and on a pursuit of money-making alone? Both idealism and the practical spirit are required. Neither culture nor business enterprise is a superfluity in any country. But while the abolition of the Post-Graduate Department may seriously affect Bengal's idealism and culture to some extent, it is not certain that such a step will promote practicality and business.

Bengali students are generally poor and are not solvent in the sense of having comfortable bank balances. But even in countries and provinces which are not "poverty-stricken" like Bengal, has it ever been the case, is it the case even now, that the most earnest and capable students have come from the wealthier classes? Even in rich countries the money value of a degree is never a secondary factor to a large proportion of students. It is not axiomatic that "a Post-Graduate course must be the affair of a handful of earnest and solvent students." In the progressive countries of the world, those who pursue post-graduate studies are not a handful. In Bengal, we do not know what proportion of post-graduate students are earnest, but the proportion of solvent men among them may be ascertained by enquiring how many, if any, of them are beggars and loafers without ostensible means of livelihood and thieves.

Bengal has been rightly called a "poverty-stricken province", and that is indirectly urged as a ground for depriving it of its Post-Graduate Department. But if the British Government in India, which extended its empire in the country very largely with the help of Bengal's revenues, and which even now collects more revenue in Bengal than in any other province, does its duty to poor but most revenue-yielding Bengal, then it can easily maintain its Post-Graduate Departments. The following figures for 1924-25, the latest available, will show that, both absolutely and relatively to population,

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Government is niggardly in its educational expenditure in Bengal.

Province.	Population.	Govt. Educational Expenditure.
Madras	42,318,935	Rs. 1,71,38,548
Bombay	19,348,219	,, 1,84,47,165
Bengal	46,695,535	,, 1,33,82,962
U. P.	45,375,787	,, 1,72,28,490
Punjab	20,685,024	,, 1,18,34,364

The British administrators of India have, intentionally or unintentionally, kept the public exchequer of Bengal "poverty-stricken," though as a milch-cow she is not deemed poverty-stricken. It is the duty of these administrators to feed the province educationally and in other ways to an adequate extent. Moreover, as Bengal is poverty-stricken, the European and fat-salaried Indian Government servants here should draw lower salaries than elsewhere.

Though Bengal is a poverty-stricken province so far as its native Bengali population is concerned, the foreign and non-Bengali Indian industrialists, merchants, traders and other exploiters here grow wealthy;—they are not poverty-stricken. Should not they be among the educational benefactors of Bengal? How many, if any, among them are so? If they did their duty, Bengal would not be hard put to it, to maintain its Post-Graduate classes.

The majority of rich Bengalis also have done little for the cause of the highest education in Bengal.

It has been said that "there never is earnestness and solvency enough among our Bengali students to justify two separate Post-Graduate machinery at two different centres in Bengal." We do not know the shop where solvency-meters and earnestness-meters can be had. So we must needs admit that we cannot refute the argument of our contemporary. But as nevertheless, we have our doubts we have to point out that the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh have *five* universities, four unitary and one affiliating, all of which have the right to teach up to post-graduate standards, which they do. We have also to point out that in the Madras Presidency (excluding the Indian States of Mysore and Hyderabad, which have Universities of their own) there are two Universities teaching up to post-graduate standards and there is going to be another richly endowed one at Chidambaram. So, there is no objection to there being more than two separate post-graduate machinery at more than two centres in the U. P. and in Madras; but such arrangements are bad for Bengal, because there are few earnest and solvent post-graduate students in this most poverty-stricken province.

Let us go to a foreign country. Scotland with a population of less than five millions (as against more than 46 millions in Bengal) has four universities teaching up to post-graduate standards. We know, it will be said that the Scots are a thrifty, earnest and solvent people, and so they may have four centres of post-graduate teaching. But in 1901 Andrew Carnegie gave £2,000,000 for the Scottish Universities, "*for* (among other objects) *paying the University fees of students Scottish born or of Scottish extraction.*" If Scottish students are all solvent, why did hard-headed Carnegie give away his hard-earned money for the free *University* education of all of them? Did he want to pour oil over oily heads, as the Bengali adage goes? Perhaps at least a considerable proportion of Scottish students are not "solvent," and yet, wonder of wonders, nobody has questioned their right to have free University education up to any standard they like!

We have no objection to the Vice-Chancellor increasing the value of the Bachelor's degree. But even when it has been made more valuable, there is no reason why the Master's and Doctor's degrees and their examinations should be scrapped. Are there no British or other occidental Universities with "valuable" Bachelor's degrees which have higher degrees also? Our inspired contemporary should be ready with its answer.

After having made a wholesale pronouncement against two centres of P.-G. teaching, our contemporary relents and becomes very kind to the P.-G., Science side, and to the endowed chairs of the Arts side. Let them remain, it says. Why? Because, for one thing, being endowed, they cannot be abolished! "But there is no reason why departments such as English, History and Economics should continue to be separate departments." It is suggested that M. A. classes in these three subjects and "some of the sister" subjects should be transferred to "the leading Colleges in the city." The only leading Colleges in Calcutta professing to be competent to teach all these subjects up to the M. A. are the Presidency and the Scottish Churches Colleges. So the suggestion comes to this that the higher Arts teaching should be placed under British

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bureaucratic and Scottish missionary control, so that Indian educational talent may not have free and full scope.

There are endowed chairs in most of the subjects referred to above. With their classes transferred to some Colleges, are the occupants of these chairs to be like capitals without shafts and bases? That would indeed be a very original style of academic architecture!

Both as teachers and examiners, the best professors of the Colleges should be certainly invited to take their part in University work. Neither "youngsters," who have been sneered at, nor "old fossils," who are also at times sneered at, should be condemned as forming a class of academic Brahmans. The services of all should be utilised according to their capacity, as far as necessary and practicable.

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Wanted, Economy in Calcutta University

We have always been for economy in the Calcutta University. If the University had not been, as it is now, in dire need of funds, if its coffers had been overflowing with cash, we should still have been against wasteful expenditure. But economy is all the more necessary now, because there is not enough available money even for necessary expenses, not to speak of extravagant expenditure. And economy is possible. It has become necessary, because the artificially impoverished Bengal Government will not help the University to the extent desired, unless forced to, which there is no available means of doing; nor will the Government of India do so, unless compelled to do so, which also there is no available means of doing;—though both the governments ought to supply the just requirements of the premier university in the artificially impoverished province of Bengal. All the internal resources of the University have been exploited to the full. The income from examination fees and other fees has been decreasing and will still further decrease in the coming year. With the decrease in the number of candidates for examinations the income from the sale of university publications has decreased and will diminish further. Nothing substantial would be gained by increasing the rate of tuition fees in the Post-graduate classes, as the number of post-graduate students is falling rapidly.

One has, therefore, to see how expenses can be cut down without impairing efficiency.

The post of controller of examinations with a separate office and staff was created a decade ago in order to hoodwink the public as to the real cause of the repeated leakages of question papers engineered during the Vice-Chancellorship of Sir Devaprasad Sarvadhikary. No such separate high officer, office and staff were necessary. The leakages were due not to the absence of these paraphernalia, but to other causes which need not be now discussed. If the work of the Registrar's office had grown heavy, the addition of some more clerks would have quite sufficed. We think that, if retrenchment cannot be effected immediately, then when the term of office of either the present Registrar or the present Controller expires—whichever may expire first, the posts of Controller and Registrar and of assistant Controller and assistant Registrar, and their offices should be combined and a reduction should be effected in the establishments of both offices. An enquiry should be instituted as to whether the two sides of the Post-Graduate Department have not any superfluous secretaryships, staff, etc. Proper auditing is no doubt essentially necessary. But a big Accounts staff like the present one is not necessary.

The financial condition and needs of the Law College and the Post-Graduate Departments should not be mixed up. They stand on different footings. Let us take the Law College first.

Under the scheme of Sir Asutosh Mookherji, adopted by the Senate, each section of 100 students is to be placed under the charge of two teachers. In 1927, though there were only 2300 students, yet inspite of protest, 54 lecturers were reappointed. In 1928 the number is about 2050; but still there has been no reduction of staff and expenditure. On the contrary, the cost has increased from 2·06 lakhs in 1924 to 2·50 lakhs in 1928-29! Four lecturers costing Rs. 1000 a month are engaged for delivering M. L. lectures. Now M. L., is only the examination portion of the D. L. which ought to be gained by self-study. D. L. students do not require to be spoon-fed by means of lectures. Moreover, for some years past only one candidate, in some years none at all, has been is appearing at the M. L. examination, and yet the annual expenditure of Rs. 12,000 is going on

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Let us now take some of the university professorships.

Agriculture is not one of the subjects taught in or by the Calcutta University. Yet there has been since 1921 a Guru-prasad Singh Professor of Agriculture, who will hold his post till 1931 at least! The emoluments of this *absolute* sinecure amount to not less than Rs. 6000 per annum, perhaps they are at present Rs. 9000 per annum. So by 1931 the university would be out of pocket to the extent of at least Rs. 60,000 without getting anything in return. What absurdity! What jobbery! What an expensive farce!

The Rani Bageswari Professorship of Indian Fine Arts, carrying similar emoluments, though not such an absolute sinecure as the agricultural professorship, is nevertheless also superfluous, as Indian Painting, of which the present incumbent is the greatest master, or any other fine art *as* fine art is not taught or offered as a subject for any Calcutta University examination.

The above two superfluous professorships have been instituted under what is known as the Khaira Trust. While this sort of wasteful expenditure has been going on, the financial prospect of the Trust is anything but satisfactory. It has invested Rs. 3,47,000 at 6 per cent. When these bonds and mortgages mature (in about 1931) and the money is reinvested at 4·7 p. c. net in 3½ p. c. Governmet. Paper, the income of the Trust will be Rs. 25,612, against a permanent annual expenditure of Rs. 33,100, or a recurring net deficit of Rs. 7,488, which must come from the general funds of the University. The University also pays out of its general funds Rs. 12,000 a year as allowances to eke out the salaries of the Professors under this Trust. That is, while the Trust will yield only Rs. 25,600, the University will have to supply an additional Rs. 19,488 per annum under this head alone.

We understand that the Hardinge professor of Higher Mathematics, drawing Rs. 15,000 per annum, has or does no teaching or lecturing work! We are not satisfied that the superannuated University professor of botany and the Sir Rashbehary Ghose professor of botany, drawing high salaries, both have or do sufficient work for their emoluments. We understand that the Carmichael Professor of Ancient Indian History and Culture, drawing Rs. 12,000 per annum, has not, does not do, or is not required to do any work!

On the Arts side there has been undue inflation of curricula and papers, etc. History has been divided into General, and Ancient Indian History. The General has been subdivided into 10 special and mutually exclusive sections or 20 papers; the Ancient Indian into 4 sections or 16 papers. Sanskrit into 10 groups or 40 papers, Pali into 4 groups or 16 papers, besides a large variety of Asiatic vernaculars in which elaborate M. A. courses are supposed to be taught, by a full staffs of lecturers, and a time-table provision for teaching every group and language is made, irrespective of the likelihood of any class getting students or not.

In Pali, besides 4 compulsory papers, there are four mutually exclusive groups or sections of 4 papers, each requiring to be taught separately, but only one 6th year student in group c. * It is, therefore, physically impossible to hold classes in the other three groups (12 papers), and yet the full staff is maintained. The B and D groups of Pali 5th year, 1928. are very precarious with only one student each. We think under the circumstances, adequate arrangements to teach only the Pali language should be enough.

The natural consequence of the paucity of students in some groups is that some times students are solicited to join a particular group or subject to save the staff in it. Such teacher cannot be very strict in examining such obliging pupils, and hence first-classes often get cheap. Some times students are induced to join a particular class in Arts by free tuition being given to an inordinate proportion of them—in some languages all or more than one-half are exempted from payment of their monthly tuition charges. And even many of those who have in theory agreed to pay are not made to pay regularly every month but allowed to run into arrears and finally excused their tuition fees. (See the Minutes of the P.-G. Arts Executive Committee of June, 1928 for glaring cases). It seems an Andrew Carnegie is wanted to come to the rescue of these classes! In any case the University should not keep up a huge show of classes at an expenditure which it cannot afford simply for a few students of the above description

* There was a second student admitted at first to group A, but he has been absenting himself since October, 1927. He ought to be tempted to come back to save the staff.

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whose names are kept on the rolls to provide bread for the staff.

We need not give more details. While we are firmly of the opinion that both sides of the Post-Graduated Department ought to be maintained, we are equally convinced that, if they are to be saved, all make-believe should be sternly done away with. We say this with particular reference to the fat-salaried professors who do no work, or are not required to do any. In India in bureaucratic parlance retrenchment has usually been a synonym for the discharging of a few peons or low-salaried clerks. It would be a tragic farce if the Calcutta University authorities followed this tradition and stopped short with doing away with the services of a few low-salaried lecturers, teachers and clerks, while the big sinecurists continue to be able to snap their fingers at them by taking shelter behind legal technicalities relating to the terms of their appointment and by currying favour with the powers that be. Those responsible in times past for the creation and in recent times for the continuance of these sinecures, superfluities and shams have done the greatest disservice to the cause of higher education in Bengal, including the moral education of our youth. How can farcical arrangements and sham professorships exert an elevating influence on the character of students? Our newspapers discuss in detail and *ad nauseam* the alleged merits and demerits of this or that Vice-chancellor or possible Vice-chancellor, while the most patent evils remain unexposed and unremedied. What a pity!

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Pandit Gopabandhu Das

The sufferings of Orissa know no bounds. She is poverty-stricken, she has been repeatedly devastated by flood and famine, she is parcelled out among many provinces, making it impossible for her sons to make a combined effort for the amelioration of their lot. Not the least of her misfortunes is the untimely death of a devoted, self-sacrificing, well-informed, wise and pure-hearted leader like Pandit Gopabandhu Das. He was the very embodiment of plain-living and high-thinking. With that he combined incessant labours for the realisation of his high ideals for his motherland. He became known to the public first as an idealist in education by founding an open-air school known as the Satyabadi School, which was conducted on lines different from those recognised by the education department. Later, he came to be known and respected as also a self-sacrificing philanthropist on account of his untiring labours to improve the economic, social and moral condition of Orissa. Though he thought and worked most for Orissa, he felt and worked also for India as a whole. At the time of his death, he was a Vice-president of the Servants of the People Society of Lahore.

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The Simon Commission

The little concession made by the Simon Commission to the Punjab Council Committee elected to co-operate with it, which relates to evidence in camera and the calling for and inspection of confidential papers, cannot be considered by boycotters of the commission a sufficient ground for changing their attitude towards it; and so they have not changed their attitude. One of the main objections, for example, still remains—the Commission continues to be a purely British one without any Indian members in it. Our opposition to the appointment of such a commission is fundamental. In our opinion, which may be considered the opinion of an upractical dreamer, every nation or people is entitled to self-rule as its birth-right, and no foreign nation has the right to judge of another nation's fitness for self-rule. Therefore, we do not admit the right of the British Parliament to appoint a British, or an Indian, or a mixed British-Indian Commission to judge us. What ought to have been done was to take it for granted that India is to have self-rule within a year or two and then to ask the Indian legislatures to appoint a committee of Indians, with foreign constitutional experts to advise them, if necessary, for the drafting of a constitution and the elaboration of administrative details. Or arrangements for the convening of a constituent assembly might have been made.

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Principal Syamacharan Ganguli

Though a man may die at an advanced age, honoured and loved by all who knew him, and after doing all his duties to the best of his knowledge and ability, yet it is human nature to feel sorrow at his departure.

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Such a man was Principal Syamacharan Ganguli, who died a few days ago in Calcutta, aged 90. He was a sound scholar and a man of high character and strict sense of duty, known for his clear thinking, lucid style, and up-to-date information about the affairs of the world till almost the year of his death. He was one of the earliest graduates of the Calcutta University. Taking his B. A. degree from the Presidency College in 1860, Mr. Ganguli entered the Provincial Educational Service two years later, and held, among others, the appointments of Head-masterships of the Malda, Arrah, Chapra and Uttarpara Government Schools, Lectureship in the Sanskrit College, Calcutta, and ultimately Principalship of the Uttarpara College when that institution was founded.

He has left a trust fund of Rs. 2,000 for help to the needy of his native village, Garalgacha in the Hooghly district, and in 1921 he made over to his University Government Promissory Notes of the face value of Rs. 3,000 for the creation of an endowment for the award of two annual money prizes.

He was one of our most valued contributors. Among his contributions to the *Modern Review*, twelve full articles and an extract from another brought together in his *Essays and Criticism* in that book will be found, along with his contributions to some other periodicals. Some months ago he permitted his autobiographical sketch, written in Bengali for his family, to be published in *Prabasi*, with some omissions. It is to be hoped that an attempt will be made to bring out a fuller biography. So far as we know, he was the first Bengali to advocate the adoption and use of "spoken" Bengali in books, his article on "Bengali, Spoken and Written" having appeared in the *Calcutta Review* in October, 1877—more than half a century ago.

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Famine in Bengal

Famine conditions continue to prevail in many districts of Bengal. News have been published in the papers that 29 persons have died of starvation in Balurghat sub-division of Dinajpur district! Sales or desertions of children, and the desertions of husband or wife, are also reported.

Details of the relief work being done in various districts are being published in the dailies. The appeals for help issued by the philanthropic committees doing relief work are also to be found in the dailies. We earnestly support these appeals. Kind-hearted persons cannot make a better use of their money than to feed those who are without food —sometimes for days together.

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Famine in Bankura

The editor of this *Review* has been entrusted by the Bankura Sammilani to receive contributions in cash, rice and cloth for the relief of the famine-stricken persons in a few villages in Bankura district. Other organizations are doing good work in other villages. Those who wish to help the Sammilani to do its work will kindly send their contributions to the Modern Review Office.

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Sweepers' Strike in Calcutta

Some months ago the municipal sweepers and scavengers in Calcutta struck work for the redress of their grievances. They resumed work on the late Mayor Mr. J. M. Sen Gupta promising to increase their wages, to pay the wages of the strikers during the period of the strike and not to victimise any one among them. These promises not having been fulfilled even after the lapse of some months, many of these humble individuals have again struck work after giving a month's notice. We have every sympathy with them. They cannot be blamed for doing what they have done, after petitions, representations, and entreaties have failed to bring them relief.

It is alleged that the municipal authorities are trying in conjunction with the police to terrorise the strikers into submission. It would be wiser and better to look into their grievances and wants sympathetically and remove them at once. Even the poor and despised can never be crushed once they have become self-conscious. These humble servants of the public are more necessary for social welfare and a civilised existence than many a fat-salaried man dressed in brief authority.

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Arrest and Persecution of Sweepers' Leaders

It has been alleged in the papers that, as part of the campaign of terrorism, two

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leaders of the strike, Dr. Miss Probhabati Das Gupta and Mr. Mujaffar Ahmed, have been arrested, and re-arrested after having been let out on bail. On the other hand, the police allegation is that there are six charges against them. The courts of justice will decide whether these charges are true or false. What the public are rightly indignant over is that bail was refused for a whole night to Miss Das Gupta on some flimsy pretext or other and she was kept without food and rest the whole night in the police station. This is an outrage which throws into the shade the "third degree" treatment accorded to Miss Savidge in Scotland Yard which roused such angry feelings in and outside the British House of Commons, compelling the Home Secretary to appoint a committee of inquiry. Such outrages are possible in India because we are not a free people.

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Labourers' Strikes in India

The strikes at Lilooah, Jamshedpur, Asansol, etc., continue and may spread to other centres. Fear of loss of prestige prevents the men in possession of wealth and power from agreeing to negotiations with the strikers. We do not say off-hand that all their demands and grievances are just. But they certainly have some just grievances, otherwise they would not face starvation and run the risk of being shot down. Their housing conditions, for example, are a disgrace to civilization and savagery alike. Wages of Rs. 9, 14, or 16 a month are quite insufficient. We have to pay more to our menials, besides free quarters.

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The Barh "Sati" Case

The Barh "Sati" case, which recently came up in appeal before the Patna High Court and in which the accused have been rightly punished, shows that there are still people who superstitiously support the inhuman and barbarous custom of concremation of widows with the bodies of their dead husbands. Such suicide and its abetment can neither be commended nor tolerated or permitted. The best and only course which widows who want to remain widows should adopt is to lead pure and useful lives of beneficence to their families and neighbors.

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Sir A. Muddiman's Successor

The vacancy created by the sudden death of Sir A. Muddiman has been temporarily filled by the appointment of the Nawab of Chattari, senior member of the U. P. Governor's Executive Council, to the acting governorship of that province. He has not been superseded as Sir Abdur Rahim was in Bengal in similar circumstances. What is the reason ?

Some people have been asking, without hope, that Sir Atul Chandra Chatterjee, who is senior to Sir A. Muddiman, should now be made *pucca* governor of Agra and Oudh. No doubt, he should be. He is an able man. But so long as the government remains foreign and the system of this foreign government remains what it is, no governor, whatever his nationality, character inclinations and capacity may be, can do any substantial good. In small things an able and sympathetic man is of some use. But even in such matters, if they require courage and the taking of risks, other things being equal, a British officer may be able to do more than an Indian officer ; because the British officer is sure to receive support even if he makes mistakes or does illegal or non-legal acts, whereas the Indian officer may not receive similar support under the same circumstances.

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Responsibility of Parents of Child Wives

Recently the Allahabad High Court had to try a case of rape by an adult husband on his child wife. After passing sentence on the accused, the Judges have drawn attention in their judgment to the defect in the law which provides no punishment for the parents of little girls whom they hand over to their elderly husbands. This defect should be remedied as soon as practicable.

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Housing Conditions of Indian Labourers

Dewan Chamanlal, the Indian Workers' Delegate to the International Labour Conference at Geneva, has secured the adoption of a resolution requesting the International Labour Office to investigate "the housing and general living conditions" of the workers

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India. In many industrial centres these conditions are extremely bad and insanitary. Dewan Chamanlal deserves credit for the adoption of the resolution. Such an investigation ought to have been held long ago,

Here is a description of Indian workers' living conditions in an industrial centre, taken from an article contributed to the *Daily Herald* by Mr. A. A. Purcell, M. P., who with Mr. J. Hallsworth, recently spent several months in India inquiring into labour conditions on behalf of the British Trade Union Congress.

A poor, illiterate peasant evinces more interest in his cow, or goat, in the course of one day than do the capitalists, governmental, native or foreign, in their work people in the course of a whole twelve months. My considered view is that the workers are treated worse than cattle.

Life is regarded as dirt cheap, but one would have thought that the law of self-preservation would have induced the British and native rulers to pay more attention to sanitary matters. There are women and grown-up girls, most of them remarkably beautiful—even though poorly clad—who are paid a daily wage of less than four pence for attending to the street sweeping and sewage and garbage gullies, keeping the muck moving, often pushing it along with their hands.

The housing conditions are in conformity with the prevailing sanitation I have mentioned the huts. Each hut is a one-roomed structure, windowless, built of any old thing, a mosaic of shreds and patches. May be a dozen persons, sometimes of both sexes, various ages, often not all of one family, live, eat, sleep in a room eight to twelve feet square at the most.

Over two hundred and fifty millions of the Indian people are hungry all their lives—hungry with a raw, gnawing, physical hunger. They do not get even enough rice to satisfy this hunger. All the time there are thousands who must be dying from sheer, slow, agonising, torturing starvation.

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Honored During Exile

New India writes :—

Mr. Khankhoje has been an exile in America owing to the displeasure of the Indian bureaucracy. He has been a Professor in an Agricultural College in Mexico for a long time. His knowledge and efficiency have so impressed the Mexican Government that he has now been appointed a Minister of Agriculture by that State.

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Satyagraha at Bardoli

Mahamata Gandhi writes in *Young India*:

Here is the naked paw. Says His Excellency : "Why should Government give up its undoubted right of administration to, as you suggest, the decision of some independent committee ? I am anxious to meet the situation in every way that is possible, but no Government would be worth the name of Government which allowed such a thing to happen."

'The undoubted right of administration' is the uncontrolled licence to bleed India to the point of starvation. The licence would be somewhat controlled if an independent committee were appointed to adjust the points in dispute between the people and the executive authority. Let it be noted that the independent committee does not mean a committee independent of the Government. It means a committee appointed by the Government of men known to be independent of official pressure and authorised to hold the enquiry in the open with the right to the aggrieved people to be duly and effectively represented. But such an open enquiry means the death-knell of the secret, autocratic revenue policy of the Government. Where is in the modest demand of the people, the slightest 'usurpation of the functions of Government' ? But even the least check upon the utter independence of the executive officers is enough to send the Government into a fury. And when the British lion is in a fury in British India, God help 'the gentle Hindoo.' Well, God does help the helpless and He only helps when man is utterly helpless. The people of India have found in Satyagraha the God-given infallible *gandiva* of self-suffering. Under its stimulating influence the people are slowly waking up from the lethargy of ages.

Gandhiji then proceeds to refer to some struggles in recent Indian history which show how God has helped the weak, and also that Satyagraha is not unconstitutional.

The Bardoli peasants are but showing India that, weak as they are, they have got the courage to suffer for their convictions, It is too late in the day to call Satyagraha unconstitutional, it will be unconstitutional when truth and its fellow—self-sacrifice—become unlawful. Lord Hardinge blessed the South African Satyagraha and even the all-powerful Union Government gracefully bent before it. Both Lord Chelmsford, the then Viceroy, and Sir Edward Gait, the then Governor of Bihar, recognised its legitimacy and efficacy and an independent committee was appointed resulting in adding to the prestige of the Government and resulting in the ending of a century-old wrong. It was then recognised in Kheda and a settlement reluctant, half-hearted and incomplete as it was, was made between the Government agents in Kheda and those who were guiding the movement and the people. The then Governor of the Central Provinces condescended to treat with the Nagpur Flag Satyagrahis and released the prisoners and recognised the right claimed by the Satyagrahis. Last but not least Sir Leslie Wilson himself, when he was yet untouched by the atmosphere of 'the most efficient service in the world' recognised its efficacy in Borsad and granted the Borsad people relief.

I wish both His Excellency the Governor and Sjt. Munshi will take note of these facts that have happened within the past fourteen years. Satyagraha in Bardoli cannot now be suddenly declared unconstitutional. The fact is, the Government

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have no case. They do not want their revenue policy to be challenged at an open enquiry. If the Bardoli people can stand the final heat, they will have the open enquiry or the withdrawal of the enhancement. It is their undoubted right to claim for their grievance a hearing before an impartial tribunal.

—

Slavery in Assam Tea Gardens

Messrs. Purcell and Hallsworth write in their report on labour conditions in India :—

"Our view is that, despite all that has been written, the tea gardens of Assam are virtually slave plantations, and that in Assam tea the sweat, hunger and despair of a milllon Indians enter year by year.

—

Anti-Purda Movement in Bihar

Some leading gentlemen of Bihar have started an anti-purdah movement. It is to be welcomed. The education and emancipation of women should proceed pari passu. In the purdah-ridden provinces of India it was the Brahmo Samaj which began the movement for giving women freedom and education more than half a century ago. Many other movements, since re-started or joined in by others, owed their origin to the Brahmo Samaj.

—

Dr. Iqbal Leaves Shafi League

Dr. Sir Mohammed Iqbal has resigned the Secretaryship of the All-India Muslim League, Lahore, known as the Shafi League, because that League's Memorandum to the Simon Commission is considered objectionable by him. Says he in his letter of resignation :—

The extract of the League Memorandum, as published in the Press, makes no demand for full Provincial Autonomy and suggests a unitary form of Provincial Government in which law, order and justice should be placed under the direct charge of the Governor. It is hardly necessary for me to say that this suggestion is only a veiled form of Diarchy and means no constitutional advance at all.

"Since I still stick to my opinion, which I expressed or the first meeting of the Draft Committee, that the All-India Muslim League should demand full Provincial autonomy (which in my opinion is the demand of the whole Punjab Muslim Community), I ought not, in the circumstances, to remain Secretary of the All-India Muslim League. Kindly accept my resignation."

—

Tenth Anniversary of the Arya Pratinidhi Sabha, Fiji Islands

One of our correspondents has sent us full proceedings of the tenth anniversary of the Arya Pratinidhi Sabha, Fiji Islands, which was celebrated at Lautoka. Of the resolutions passed two deserve special mention: one about the observance of Indian festivals in Fiji and the other about the solemnisation of marriages of boys and girls according to Vedic rites. Thakur Sardar Singh made an appeal for a Kanya Mahavidyalaya to be built at Suva. £503 were subscribed on the spot and an equal sum was promised. Seth Jagannath of Labasa promised to pay the entire expenses of building an orphanage on the Gurukula grounds and Mr. Santokhi of Tabua promised to donate £100 for the creation of an Arya temple at Tabua. Some gentlemen promised to supply the timber and iron for the extension of the Gurukula and construction of a Kanya Pathshala in Lautoka.

Young men's conference was also held under the Presidentship of Mr. Raghwanand. Speeches were delivered by Messrs Gopendra Narayan, Amichand, Shrikrishna, Tej Ali, Shanti Swaroop and others. Undoubtedly the Undoubtedly Aryasamaj is doing very useful social and educational work in Fiji.

We congratulate the Aryasamajists of the Islands on the splendid success of their anniversary.

ERRATA

Page 5 4 Col. 1, 9 lines from top *for* 'rustic' *read* 'frame'

Page 5 7 Col. 1, last line *for*

"attest,
'With honour, honour, honour, honor to him,
Eternal honour to his name."

read attest, "with eternal honour to his name."

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Paper Gods For Sale

In China the Paper Gods are freely sold and bought by the purchasers for worship. They are printed over in Chow Wang Miao. Here are some of them as presented by a writer in *The China Journal.*



The Chinese God of Riches



The Devil Drivers.

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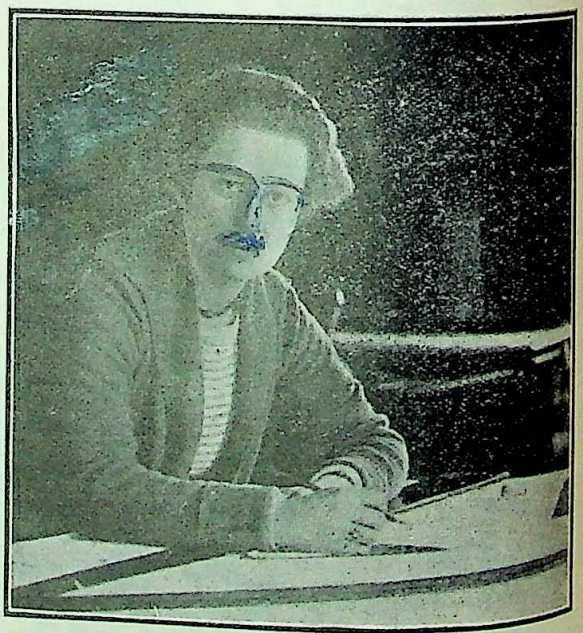


A Pair of Door Gods:—These are fastened on the door to keep out evil from entering the house.

A Woman Designs the Stratford Theater

The winner of the prize for a design for the Shakespeare Theater at Stratford-on-Avon is a woman. Out of seventy-two competitive designs submitted, it was one of the six selected for the final choice. Out of the six, Mr. Bernard Shaw says it is the only one that showed "any theatre sense". An invitation to compete was sent to the Architects of Canada and the United States as well as to those of Great Britain, and at least one design from America figured in the final six. The winner is Miss Elizabeth Scott, aged twenty-nine, the daughter of a Bournemouth doctor, who completed her architectural studies only three years ago.

It has a largeness and simplicity of handling which no other design possesses. Miss Scott says, "The main theory to which I have sought to give expression in the Shakespeare Memorial Theatre is that buildings should not conceal the functions which they exist to fulfil. My design certainly owes something to France, Germany, and America."



Miss Elizabeth Scott—the Woman Architect.

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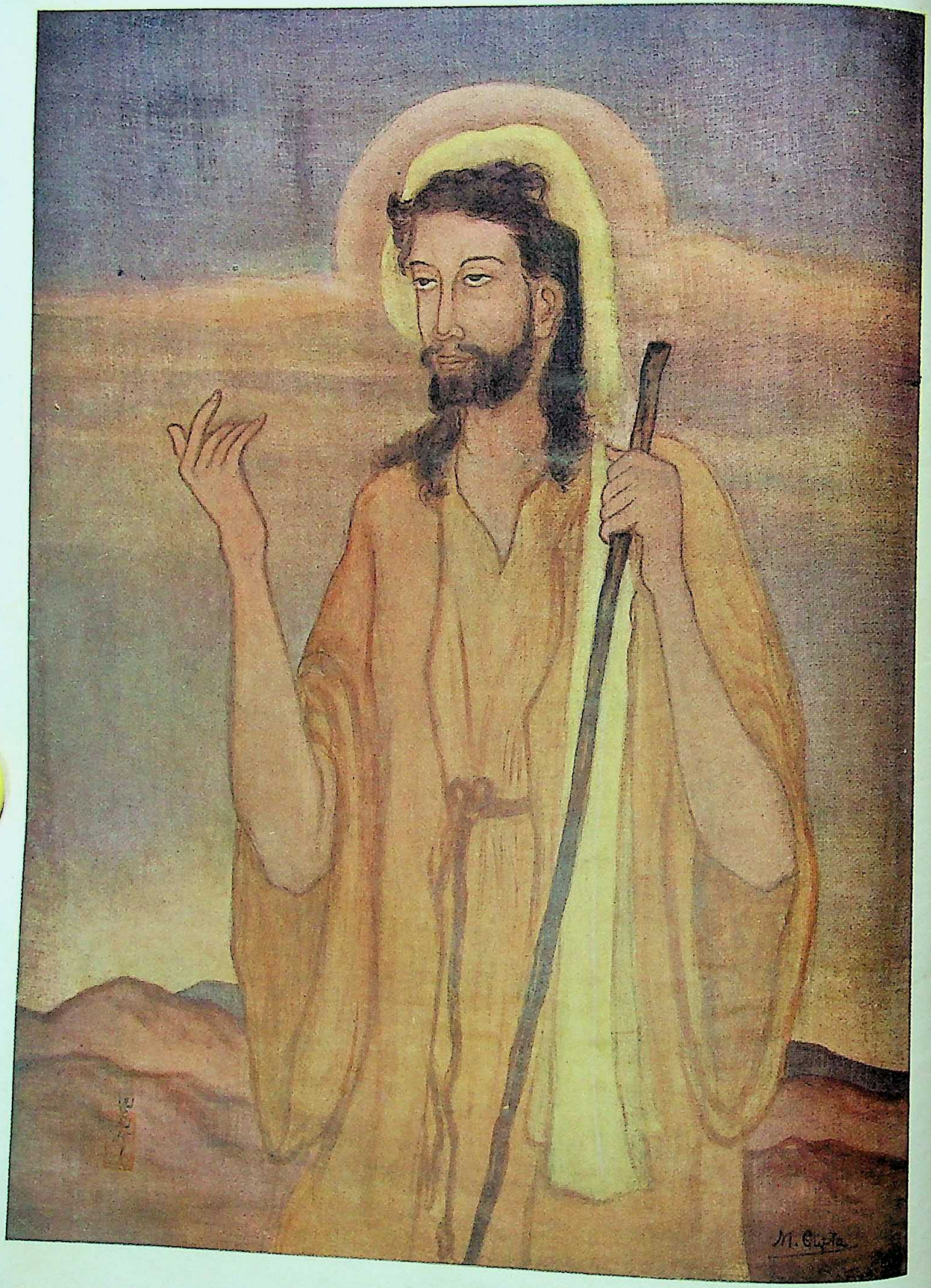
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JESUS CHRIST

By Mr. Manindrabhusan Gupta

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to put on the chemise of a prophet; but I can at least note what the Chinese themselves *think* of the job.

"In the six centuries of unceasing and almost uninterrupted centuries of Catholic missionary effort since John of Monte Carvino became the first Bishop of Peking in 1307," writes a Chinese scholar, "the number of Chinese Catholics was only 1,971,189 in 1919. The Protestants, entering the field considerably later, boasted of only 700,000 in 1923. At this rate the salvation of heathen souls is indeed a long, tedious job, fatally disheartening to all except those inspired with divine courage and fortitude. The most elementary mathematical calculations will show how hopeless the task is, how the ratio between the saved and damned will always remain where it is now (that is, about 133-to 1), since the birth-rate of heathen Chinese is apparently greater than the rate of [illegible]"

for the Chinese" is on every one's tongue. This nationalism is no longer an academic affair. It is aggressively pro-Chinese and vigorously anti-foreign. When necessary it practises non-co-operation with the foreigner, using such weapons as strikes, boycott, withdrawal of service, and withdrawal of patronage from Christian missionaries. Practically all China—north and south, radicals, moderates and reactionaries—is in active agreement with this program of non-co-operation, which is born of nationalism. Somehow or other, the benighted Chinese are unable to reconcile the inhumanities and brabarities, of the whiteman with his white christianity. Say the Chinese in effect: "Let the whiteman

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CHINESE REVOLT AGAINST CHRISTIANITY

By SUDHINDRA BOSE

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I

IN trying to understand China, one should keep in mind the simple fact that most of its institutions were developed a long time before the birth of Jesus Christ, away back before the dawn of Jewish history—sacred or profane. They have behind them the sanction of centuries, even milleniums. The Chinese, however, are not an intolerant race, any more than Indians are. Confucianism has taught Chinese for twenty-five centuries that "within the four seas all are brothers." As far as religious freedom is concerned, Buddhism, Taoism, Mohammedanism, Judaism, and other religions have lived in China side by side for ages with no cause of burning human beings at the stake because of credal differences. Tolerance, alas, is too deeply rooted in the institutions of Oriental society and in the hearts of Asians.

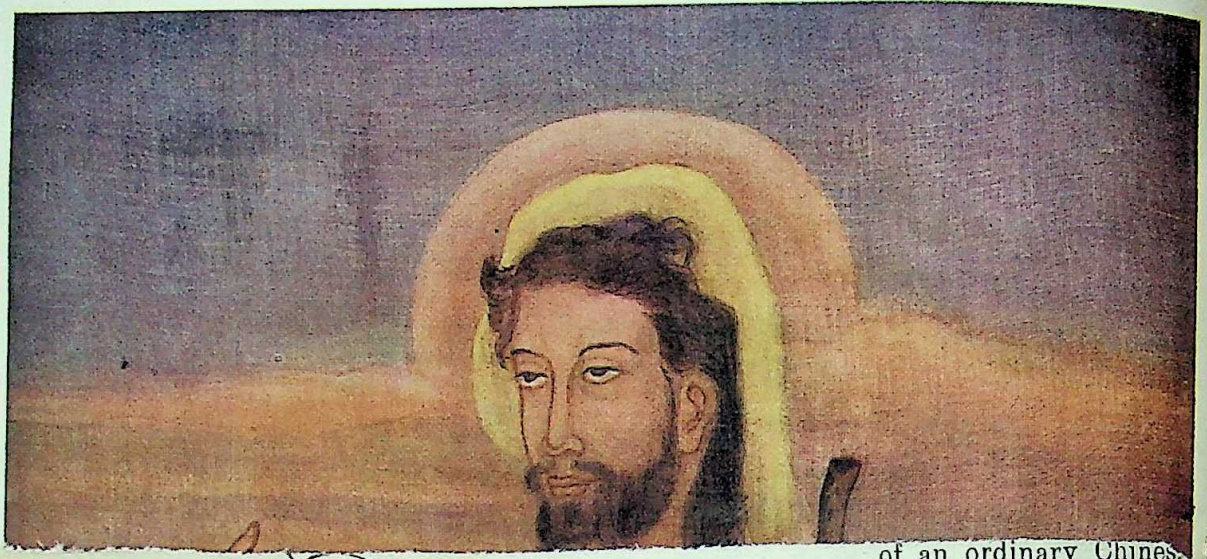
Why then, ask the zealous missionaries, are Chinese now anti-foreign, anti-Christian? The question is not overeasy, and the answer cannot be given in a single sentence. The situation, even from an American angle, is extremely complicated. Whereas America went through a single revolution in 1776—a political revolution—events have so come to pass that China is now confronted with six revolutions simultaneously: a political revolution, an economic revolution, an educational revolution, a social revolution, an industrial revolution, and a religious revolution. China is passing through a period of transition and readjustment. Within the past few years, there has been a radical change in China's form of government, in its social and economic organizations. Due to violent contacts with the West, the older civllization of China is giving birth to a newer civilization. The Chinese intellectuals are calling for an examination of the old social and political order as well as of religion. Is there any system of belief which is infallible? Is there any human institution which is immutable? During this period of searching and overhauling, China must make many readjustments. Things that are of native beauty and strength will doubtless be retained; but those that are not, will be dumped into the gutter.

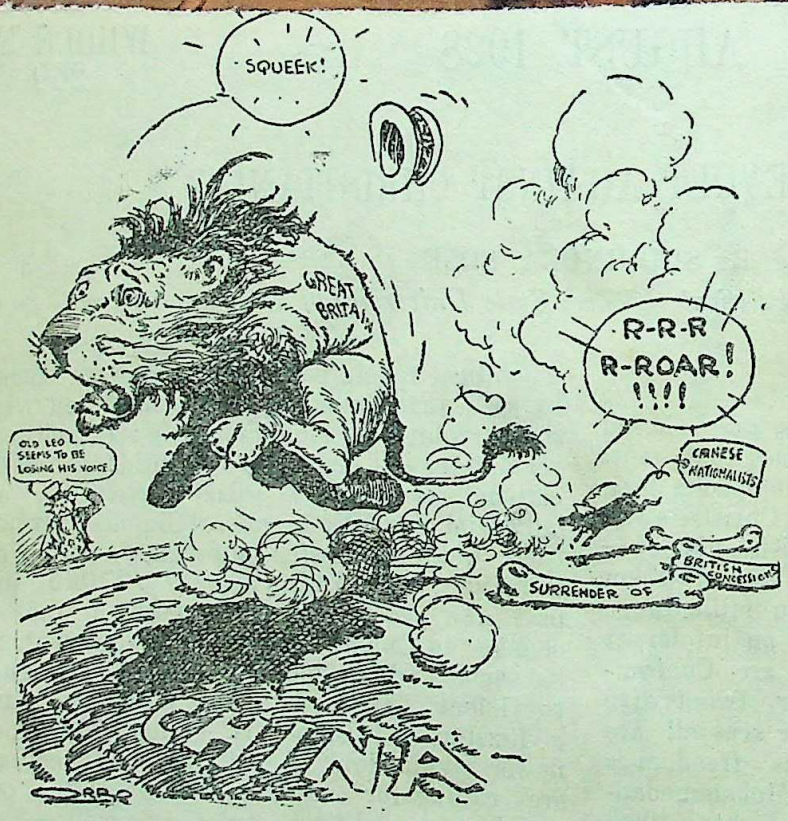
II

Instead of making any intelligent attempt to understand the new psychology of China, the returned missionaries that I have seen

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What strange things we're hearing from China Nowadays!

—*American Paper.*

on Chinese Immigration; "if they had any, they are not worth the saving."

The Chinese idea of salvation and of religion dees not coincide with that of Christian missionaries. These divines profess that there is no salvation except in Christianity. Their theory is that there is one God which is Jehovah, one incarnation which is Jesus Christ, one Church which may be Catholic or Protestant, though strangely enough it may not be Russian, Greek, or Armenian

of an ordinary Chines... when death claims one of ... members. The funeral servic... are likely to be held in ... most cosmopolitan way. T... Confucian priests, the Tao... priests, as well as the Buddh... monks and nuns are call... in to recite prayers a... perform other religious ri... for the departed. The id... seems to be that there a... many ways of ascendi... heaven. If one cannot g... to the "pearly gate" by t... Confucian ladder, he c... still climb either of t... other two.

III

Some one has obser... in discussing Voltaire a... the French enlightenment t... the thinking people of Fra... in the eighteenth centu... were "more absorbed w... the economics of this l... than with the geography ... the next." In mingling w... the Chinese in China a... in other parts of the world, I feel t... they too are more deeply concerned w... the kingdom of God Here on earth t... over There beyond the clouds. Chine... especially the modern Chinese, are so m... that they have little interest in ether... ecclesiasticism. They are by racial temp... ment more concerned with this life than ... one hereafter. They are immensely practic...

Can the Chinese then, as a people, ... converted to Christianity? I do not ...

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to put on the chemise of a prophet; but I can at least note what the Chinese themselves think of the job.

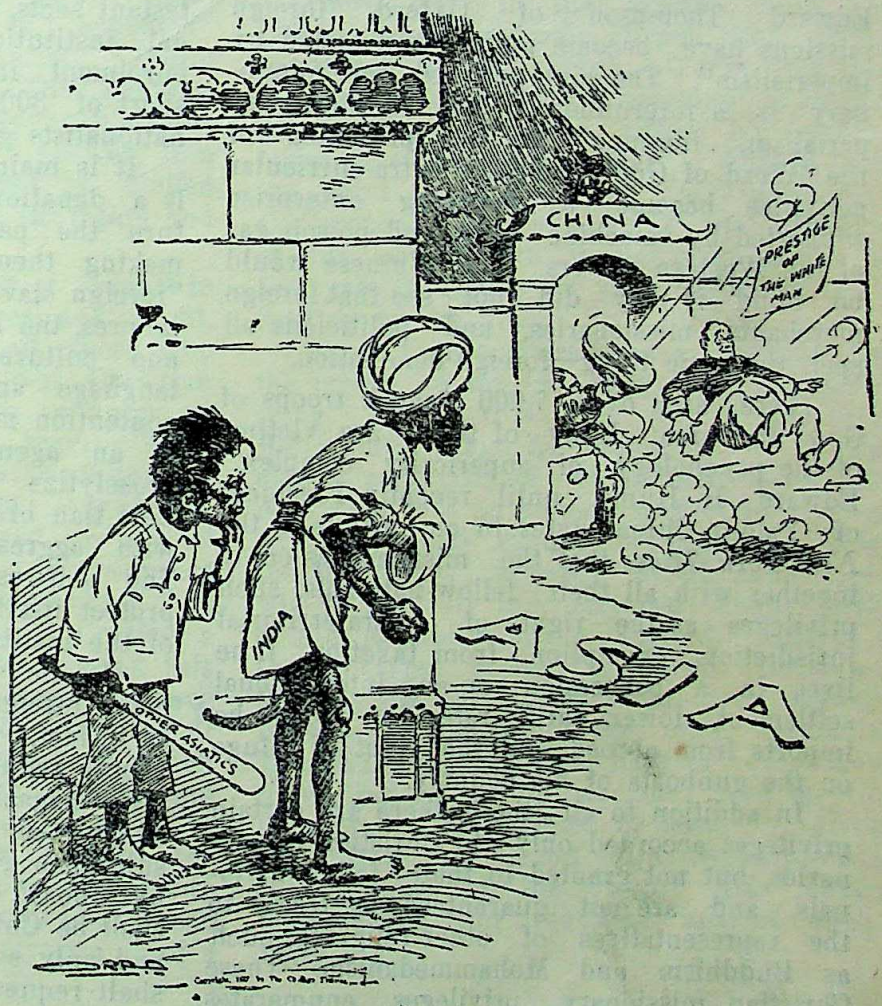
"In the six centuries of unceasing and almost uninterrupted centuries of Catholic missionary effort since John of Monte Carvino became the first Bishop of Peking in 1307," writes a Chinese scholar, "the number of Chinese Catholics was only 1,971,189 in 1919. The Protestants, entering the field considerably later, boasted of only 700,000 in 1923. At this rate the salvation of heathen souls is indeed a long, tedious job, fatally disheartening to all except those inspired with divine courage and fortitude. The most elementary mathematical calculations will show how hopeless the task is, how the ratio between the saved and damned will always remain where it is now (that is, about 133-1/3 to 1), since the birth-rate of heathen Chinese is apparently greater than the rate of baptismals, infantile, juvenile or adult."

Moreover, one should not forget that the two or three million Chinese Catholics and Protestants may not be hundred per cent Christians. The Chinese "rice Christians," like the Indian "belly Christians," who literally "eat" religion are notorious. It is equally well-known that many Chinese call themselves Christians because of the special advantages they can have in mission schools and hospitals, and not because of their devotion to the Bible creed. Can such Christians be considered as hundred per cent saved?

IV

The Chinese, as has been stated before, have the traditions of utmost religious tolerance. The earliest Catholic missionaries were not only received with hospitality, but were given honors at the court. The present anti-Christian movement is not so much religious, as it is political. One may also add that political intolerance of the present age was born in the Occident. It is an undeniable phenomenon of this time, and cannot be removed by the waving of a wand in the Orient.

The China of today is nationalistic. "China for the Chinese" is on every one's tongue. This nationalism is no longer an academic affair. It is aggressively pro-Chinese and vigorously anti-foreign. When necessary it practises non-co-operation with the foreigner, using such weapons as strikes, boycott, withdrawal of service, and withdrawal of patronage from Christian missionaries. Practically all China—north and south, radicals, moderates and reactionaries—is in active agreement with this program of non-co-operation, which is born of nationalism. Somehow or other, the benighted Chinese are unable to reconcile the inhumanities and brabarities, of the whiteman with his white christianity. Say the Chinese in effect: "Let the whiteman be honest, be just, be human, or stay where he belongs and forever hold his peace." John Chinaman is nationalistic. He sees in the non-co-operation philosophy the salvation of his country. He is in no mood to import evangelical devil-chasers from the Occident, which is a reeking nest of Christian imperi-



Interested Spectators —*American Paper.*

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alism. It is here that the dervishes of missionary religion rise in alarm.

The trouble in China cannot be put down to the perversity of the Chinese, and let it go at that. One thing we need to get into our thinking is that there is an amazing amount of hypocrisy and preposterousness connected with the foreign exploitational domination as well as missionary work. The go-getting missionary is being definitely challenged because he is considered as the advance agent of imperialism. There is vigour and bite in the challenge. The man of God relies upon unequal treaties with special privileges, which are beyond the reach of the Chinese law. "From being a heroic lonely enterprise," remarks Reverend Edward Thompson of Oxford, "foreign missions have become praised and petted by imperialism". The high-powered rev. missionary is a forerunner of the Western imperialism, inasmuch as the preaching of the "Word of God" and other extra-curricular activities become a charming enterprise supported by machine guns and poison gas of the Western powers. The Chinese would be blind if they did not see that foreign merchants, missionaries, and politicians all spell the same thing—foreign domination.

There are over 7,000 "shock troops of God" in China. Many of them are victims of the psychology of "superiority complex." Edward H. Hume, until recently President of Yale-in-China, states in an article in the *New York Times* that the missionaries enjoy together with all their fellow-nationals, such privileges as the right of extraterritorial jurisdiction, exemption from taxation if he lives in a concession or an international settlement, lower tariff rates on goods he imports from abroad, and the right of refuge on the gunboats of his country.

In addition to all these, there are certain privileges accorded only to Christian missionaries, but not granted to their fellow-nationals, and are not guaranteed by treaty to the representatives of other religions, such as Buddhism and Mohammedanism. These Christian missionary privileges, enumerates Mr. Hume, "include the right of travel and residence in the interior, away from the so-called open ports, the right to purchase or perpetual lease of property in the interior, the right to protect Christian converts from persecution and the right for Christian converts to be exempt from taxes levied for temple support".

Christianity, in the minds of the Chinese leaders, has thus become a foreign-protected religion. Why shouldn't the missionaries they demand, depend solely on the freedom of conscience guaranteed to citizens under the Chinese Constitution? They insist that spiritual progress should be based upon spiritual, and not on military or naval forces.

V

It is asserted that Christian missionaries are in China primarily to educate Chinese. A high falutin balderdash. Leaving out the Catholic educational institutions, which may not be considered Christian by certain Protestant sects, the Protestant higher educational institutions number 24 and their total enrolment in schools of all grades is just short of 300,000. What have the Chinese nationalists got to say against them?

It is maintained that the Christian school is a denationalizing force, tending to denature the patriotism of the students and making them "imperialistic running dogs", "foreign slaves". It minimizes, if not totally ignores, the importance of Chinese literature and culture, and overemphasizes English language and foreign culture. Again, the contention is made that the Christian school is an agency whose major interest is to proselytize the younger generation. The Christian brand of education is incompatible with aggressive patriotism and nationalism. The self-respecting China must, therefore, protect itself against the insidious influence of the institutions under foreign auspices.

Drastic measures have been taken to bring foreign institutions, in name as well as in fact, under the government control. "These regulations", summarizes a writer in *Asia* magazine, "require that mission schools adopt the government curriculum standards, submit to government inspection, be managed by a board of directors of which the majority shall be Chinese, employ a Chinese president and only such foreign staff as the directors shall request. There is to be no compulsory religious instruction, whether in church or in class room". There is a vast amount of wisdom embodied in these regulations. They were issued by the Nationalist government for all missionary and private schools in Nationalist territory, but they are now substantially identical with those given out by the Peking government. Indeed, as

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as the control of these institutions is concerned, there is no real difference of opinion among the rival governments in China. They have awakened, at long last, to what they feel a missionary menace.

Recent reports from China indicate that while a few missionary colleges put padlock on their doors, most of them have complied with the government terms and are now functioning. That was inevitable. Canton Christian College, now called Lingnan University, Central China University in Wuchang, and the University of Nankin have bowed to the government measures. Indeed, all but five of the seventeen leading Christian Colleges have surrendered to the national pulse of China. The stiff-necked rebellious gentlemen of the cloth quote figures to prove that China is "benefited" by uncontrolled alien institutions. Theirs is an obtuse sense of decency. The "heathen Chinee," however, stands firmly by his guns and let the foreign intruders answer him with statistics. China will not be bluffed or bullied into a resignation of its rights and independence.

India may view the course of events in China with considerable interest and profit. India is swarming over with all those who choose to peddle what they call Christian religion and education. The country is pretty nearly overrun with them. What sort of control has the nation over them? The Indian tax-payers, who are overwhelmingly non-Christian, are required to pay 30 lakhs of rupees a year to support the Ecclesiastical Department, which is Anglican. It is a monstrous injustice, a colossal wrong. If they cannot control this Department at present, they ought to have at least a deciding voice in the running of the foreign missionary institutions on which large sums of public money have been and are now being spent. A sober attempt to Indianise the teaching staff, or to adapt the foreign teaching of the missionary school to Indian national requirements has long been overdue. The educational system of a country should be, by every right and law of commonsense, an integral part of the national life.

VI

America is being watered with missionary tears. The devotees of American Christianity are wrathy because they apprehend that the whole Christian structure is under fire in the Orient, especially in China. It should be recorded that many sane-minded Americans have long since abandoned the vision of a Christian China, "a nation" of yellow-skins with white Christian souls. They perceived that Christianity in their own land is living in an atmosphere of hatred, greed, superstition and defeat.

There are in the United States 186 Christian sects, and only 30 per cent. of the population attend church. Worse that that, the clerical worthies are speaking to smaller congregations, and the pulpit is reaching fewer customers every year. According to the most recent report of interchurch Conference at Philadelphia the churches of this country are losing membership at the rate of 50,000 a year. Christianity is fighting for its life.

Every time science takes a forward step, the creeds of the rev. clergymen lose something. Their God may be in the holy Bible, but seldom he steps out of it. The cloudy mysticism of Christianity is nowhere converted into an actual way of life except by some small groups of persons. "When the test comes", remarks Mr. H. L. Mencken, who is not only the foremost literary critic of the Republic but a shrewd observer of the American scene, "it always turns out that the majority of Christian men actually believe in something far more elemental. The hell they fear goes back to Pleistocene times, and so do the demons. And the God they profess to venerate is hard to distinguish from the Grand Juju worshipped in the swamps of the Congo." Can anyone blame China for revolting against such a deity?

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LIFE AND TIMES OF C. R. DAS*

By "VIKRAMPURI"

WE give below the full title of the book, which has been printed in England, and well-printed but for a few glaring errors in the spelling of personal names, in order that the reader may understand at a glance the claim that is made on its behalf by its able author, who was a class-mate of C. R. Das, and who unfortunately did not live to see the fruit of his labours in the cause of his friend and his country. The personal memoir has been interwoven with the political history, and, except towards the beginning and the end of the book, is not much in evidence. And 'a complete outline of the history of Bengal' resolves itself into a brief resume of the political history of India as a whole. This part of the work has been well done, and gives us a very good, if rapid, summary of the main currents of Indian politics during the period in question. The illustrations, though few, are well-executed and well-chosen and the binding and get-up are good.

The short preface gives in four paragraphs, a brilliant picture of the alleged attainments of modern Bengal in all the spheres of life, and begins thus:

"During the life-time of Deshbandhu Chittaranjan Das, Bengal had covered the track of centuries and casting off the traditions and langour of the feudal and the Middle Ages, pushed herself forward as one of the most advanced and progressive provinces of Asia."

This patriotic eulogy seems to us to be truer in potentiality than in actual achievement, and in the very first chapter of the book, and elsewhere, the author has made no secret of the fact that Bengal has not taken very kindly to social reform, which is long overdue.

We observe with regret that the author has not been able to shake himself free from this journalistic habit of indulging in superlatives. It is always 'all Bengal' that thinks in a particular manner. 'all India' that does this or that, 'the whole of educated India' that is shocked or moved, the entire mass of the country that acts, and so on. One should have expected greater restraint in the use of words in a writer of the author's reputation.

The very first words of the book are:

"Chitta Ranjan Das was perhaps the greatest Bengali in the first quarter of the twentieth century and the founder and builder of the best organised school of political thought in India."

We shall presently have something to say on the latter part of the claim, but as regards the first part, the claim set forth seems to us to be so preposterous as to furnish its own refutation. Something may be excused to a friend writing so soon after the death of his hero, when a proper perspective is in the nature of things impossible to obtain, but the statement cannot be said to make any reasonable approach to the verdict of history. Had it been true, the bankruptcy of Bengal in great men would have been even greater than it is. Fortunately Bengal is not so hopelessly sterile as Mr. Ray's extravagant admiration for his friend would indicate. Even C. R. Das's native land of Vikrampur in the District of Dacca, on which, by the way, our author bestows a well-deserved tribute, has produced one who in real greatness far outshines Chitta Ranjan. We need not add that we are here referring to Sir J. C. Bose. Even among politicians, with whom alone the subject of Mr. Ray's memoir may fitly be compared, Bengal has produced men in many respects his superior, however much he may have surpassed them in other respects. To confine ourselves to Vikrampur, Manomohan Ghose and his more gifted brother Lalmohan Ghose, were political leaders of no mean merit, and in oratory, which plays so large a part in politics, the latter had no superior The contribution of another able son of Vikrampur, Guruprasad Sen, who joined politics late in life, to the history of Hinduism, marks him out as a thinker of outstanding merit. Outside Chitta Ranjan's own native district, Ananda Mohan

* *Life and Times of C. R. Das: The story of Bengal's self-expression. Being a personal memoir of the late Deshbandhu Chitta Ranjan and a complete outline of the History of Bengal for the first quarter of the twentieth century. By. Prithwis Chandra Ray. Price Rs. 6. Oxford University Press, 1928., with seven illustrations and appendices, pp. 313.*

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Bose, Kalicharan Banerjee, Surendranath Banerjee were names to conjure with in their days, and the good which the first and the third did to the cause of Indian political regeneration, cannot be lightly esteemed. As for being the greatest all-round Bengali of the modern age, there can be no question to whom the honour belongs. Rabindranath Tagore is not only one of the foremost poets of the world, but is one of our foremost political thinkers, and many of C. R. Das's ideas on rural reconstruction and on the necessity of cherishing our indigenous culture and the genius of our civilization are derived from Rabindranath, who of all living Bengalis is most deeply steeped in the spirit of that culture of which he has been the most sympathetic, as well as the ablest, exponent in prose and verse that modern India has produced

The greatest disservice that has been done to the younger generation of Bengal by the movement of which C. R. Das was the head is the love of claptrap and cheap notoriety which it has produced and the growth of something like a conviction among them that the track of long years of patient preparation and arduous toil in order to fit oneself for public service in one's chosen walk of life can be covered in a few brief months of intensive political agitation, and that emotional enthusiasm is a substitute for real hard work and strenuous endeavour. Mr. Prithwis Chandra Ray was one of those few Bengalis who did not disdain to live laborious days to prepare himself for political work, and it is all the more deplorable that in appraising the worth of his hero he has permitted himself to indulge in the language of hyperbole which can only mislead the youthful aspirant to political success. Mr. Gokhale took a saner and more serious view of politics, but unfortunately, his Servants of India Society or any other society of devoted public workers has not been able to take root in Bengal.

Long ago, Gladstone, to whom no one will deny the quality of statesmanship, comparing himself with Tennyson, who was the recipient of the same civic honours as himself, said as follows at a public gathering:

Mr. Tennyson's life and labours correspond in point of time as nearly as possible to my own, but Mr. Tennyson's exertions have been on a higher plane of human action than my own. He has worked in a higher field, and his work will be more durable. The public men play a part which places us in view of our countrymen; it is our business to speak, but the words which we speak have wings and fly away and disappear. In distant times some may ask with regard to the Prime Minister, "who was he, and what did he do? We know nothing about him." The work of Mr. Tennyson is of a higher order. The Poet Laureate has written his own songs in the hearts of his countrymen that can never die.

In our patriotic zeal, we must not forget what Emerson said, viz., "that country is the fairest which is inhabited by the noblest minds." Nor should we forget his truly patriotic contempt for the shallow Americanism whose prototype is so common among us in India:

"I hate this shallow Americanism which hopes to get rich by credit, to get knowledge by raps on midnight tables, to learn the economy of the mind by phrenology, or skill without study, or mastery without apprenticeship...We countenance each other in this life of show, puffing, advertisement, and manufacture of public opinion; and excellence is lost sight of in the hunger for sudden performance and praise."

And elsewhere, addressing the American scholar, he says:

"It becomes him to feel all confidence in himself, and to defer never to the popular cry... the world of any moment is the merest appearance. Some great decorum, some fetish of a government, some ephemeral trade, or war, or man, is cried up by half mankind and cried down by the other half, as if all depended on this particular up or down. The odds are that the whole question is not worth the poorest thought which the scholar has lost in listening to the controversy. Let him not quit his belief that a popgun is a popgun, though the ancient and honourable of the earth affirm it to be the crack of doom. In silence, in steadiness, in severe abstraction, let him hold by himself; add observation to observation, patient of neglect, patient of reproach; and bide his own time,—happy enough, if he can satisfy himself alone, that this day he has seen something truly. Success treads on every right step."

This is the kind of success which leads on to greatness, and he alone is entitled to be called great who, not born a genius, has trodden the difficult path to such success. We should learn to appreciate

"Labour, that in lasting fruit outgrows.
Far noisier schemes, accomplished in repose".
(Matthew Arnold).

And above all, we should always remember that in trying to achieve success leading to greatness, "not failure but low aim is crime" (Lowell).

It is well for us to remember these words and not to forget our sense of proportion is estimating the worth of a popular hero of the moment. Whether in the case of the thinker or the man of action, the supreme test of his worth is the enduring results of his work. A man may die young, but his thoughts and activities may influence untold

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generations and inspire them to rise to the height of their manhood and uplift the level of the race to which they belong. The extravagant and bold claim made on behalf of C. R. Das in the opening sentence of the book is not borne out by what the author says in summing up his hero's achievements.

C. R. Das, according to his biographer, "remained a destroyer and could not become a builder, try as he might." "He failed to apply his own splendid gifts to any work of enduring good or benefit to his country...Towards renaissance and spirituality in India he contributed very little to which subsequent generations of Indians may look for inspiration." He was "in his youth a *bon viveur* and lavish with his money, and unscrupulous in his political methods, who had publicly declared that all means, no matter what, would always justify the end..." According to the author his outstanding contribution to the public life of Bengal was the organization of "the most powerful school of political opinion in the country" and lay in the fact that he "left behind him a party which for the first time in the history of India knows its mind and can gather courage enough to follow its convictions."

Had the author lived a little longer he would have found reasons to modify his opinion of the strength and vitality of this party. It was held together by hopes which are fast crumbling away and by methods which were not always above board, and the weakness of a structure welded together, not by any constructive vision, but by self-interest and hatred and zeal for destruction, is becoming more and more manifest. If dyarchy has been scotched in Bengal, it has not been killed, and if, moreover, as the author further says, Chitta Ranjan succeeded in tearing to tatters the prestige and authority of the Anglo-Indian government, the ground was thoroughly prepared by the non-co-operation movement, on the crest of which Mr. Das rode to whatever success he attained.

Mr. Ray considers Lord Ronaldshay's theory of a cultural reaction among educated Hindus as more imaginary than real. We agree in this view.

"Young India," says Mr. Ray, "has drunk so deep of the new and heady wine of modern materialism that the metaphysics of quiescence and the philosophy of fatalism can no longer drug or dope her into a life of somnolence or slumber... The prophets of reaction and revivalism are considered back numbers today among all classes of our people, and their wild denunciations of modernity carry conviction nowhere."

But the career of his hero, who began life as the son of Brahmo parents, and wrote on his return from England poems full of "a passionate delight in beauty, a restless joy of life, an insatiate yearning to probe the pleasures and pains of existence to their deepest depths," and through the mazes of an atheistical philosophy passed on to "the glorification and idealization of the life of the harlot," and later on came under the influence of Vaishnavism, only to emerge during the last days of his life, as a spiritual disciple of the head of the Satsang Asram at Pabna (p. 221), is not calculated to subvert Lord Ronaldshay's pet theory, especially as C. R. Das was certainly not the first, nor, we are afraid, will he be the last, educated Indian to betray such "evolutionary" tendencies.

This, however, is not the whole picture, and it would be just as wrong to close our estimate of C. R. Das on this note as it would be to call him the greatest figure in Bengali life. Undoubtedly, he was the most dynamic personality in modern Bengali politics, and in his power of organization, vigour, pushfulness, and fearless devotion to his purpose, he far surpassed his colleagues and rivals in the field of politics. He had many loveable qualities in spite of his autocratic temper, to which the author alludes at one place, and could win the hearts of his followers by his open-minded generosity and loyalty. Not only did he sacrifice his wealth but he sacrificed his talents, his health, and his very life-blood to the cause which he had made his own. There can be no doubt that during the last few years of his life he bestrode the political arena of Bengal like a Colossus, and won a place in the hearts of his people which was unique and unprecedented. In the beautiful words of Rabindranath:

"The best gift that Chitta Ranjan has left for his countrymen is not any particular political or social programme, but the creative force of a great aspiration that has taken a deathless form in the sacrifice which his life represented."

For the rest, there are many things in the book that will amply repay perusal, and the author's views on social and economic questions, particularly the latter, will provoke thought and sometimes opposition. The author's views on the political situation may be briefly indicated by the following two extracts:

"We have now learnt that most of the sufferings of our life—political, material, and economic—are due to the faults of omission and commission of our rulers, that most of the conditions in which we now live are removeable, and it is only

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foreign bureaucracy that stands between us and our rightful place in the sun."...

"It is on freedom first and freedom last—freedom from foreign rule and yoke—that the young revolutionaries have set their hearts and eyes... Poor revolutionaries! What a pity they do not see that so long as we do not put our own house in order and look facts in the face, realize our own responsibilities for the development of a greater and a more united civic and national consciousness, and practise to a larger extent the virtues of forbearance and self-restraint, short-cuts will be of no use and their heart's desire for freedom will recede further and further, as does a mirage in the desert."

THE CAUSES OF THE SECOND AFGHAN WAR

By Major B. D. Basu, I. M. S. (*Retired*)

II

LORD Northbrook was succeeded in the viceroyalty of India by Lord Lytton. Regarding this appointment a contemptary historian writes:—

"Mr. Disraeli gave the country another little surprise. He appointed Lord Lytton Viceroy of India. Lord Lytton had been previously known chiefly as the writer of pretty and sensuous verse and the author of one or two showy and feeble novels. The world was a good deal astonished at the appointment of such a man to an office which had strained the intellectual energies of men like Dalhousie and Canning and Elgin. But people were in general willing to believe that Mr. Disraeli knew Lord Lytton to be possessed of a gift of administration which the world outside had not any chance of discerning in him. * * There was a feeling all over England which wished well to the appointment and sincerely hoped it might prove a success."

But the people soon came to know the reason of Disraeli's choice of Lord Lytton. "The writer of pretty and sensuous verse" pledged himself to carry out what Lord Northbrook had declined to do. Accordingly on the eve of his departure from England, Lord Lytton was furnished by Lord Salisbury with instructions

"to find an early occasion for sending to Cabul a temporary mission, furnished with such instructions as may perhaps enable it to overcome the Ameer's apparent reluctance to the establishment of permanent British agencies in Afghanistan."

The reasons assigned for coercing the Ameer to receive Christian officers as Residents or Agents are two, viz:—

1. That the Russians were swallowing up all the independent principalities in Central Asia and that they were intriguing in Afghanistan. It was, and even to this day is, alleged that Russia's move in Central Asia means some day the invasion of India by the Slavs.

2. That the Muhammadan Agent at Cabul did not possess a sufficient insight into the policy of Western nations and therefore could not be trusted.

The fear of France or of Russia has always been the cloak used by the British statesmen and Governors-General of India to conceal their political designs for robbing States of India and Asia of their independence. But at the time when the Ameer was being coerced was there any just ground for this exhibition of Russophobia? Speaking in the House of Commons on May 5, 1876, Mr. Disraeli said:—

"Russia knows full well there is no reason why we should view the natural development of her Empire in Asia with jealousy, so long as it is clearly made aware by the government of this country that we are resolved to maintain and strengthen both materially and morally our Indian Empire, and not merely do that but also uphold our legitimate influence in the East. Russia, so far as I have had any influence in the conduct of our affairs, has been made perfectly aware of these views, and not only that, but they have thought them consistent with a good understanding between the two countries. I believe, indeed, that at no time has there been a better understanding between the Courts of St. James and St. Petersburg than at the present moment and there is this good understanding because our policy is a clear and frank policy."

From the first minister of the Crown, then, the public were assured that Russia did not threaten the supremacy of England

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in India. Russia occupied those regions where England had no *locus standi* of any sort. As to the will of Peter the Great which is alleged to enjoin upon Russia the invasion of India, all the intelligent world knows it to be a fact that this document was written to Napoleon's order at the time when he was preparing to invade Russia. *

As to the Muhammadan gentleman who acted as the British Agent at the Court of the Ameer being incompetent or untrustworthy, we have already quoted the opinion of Lord Northbrook and his colleagues composing the Government of India that there was no evidence to show that he did not perform his duties satisfactorily. As will be narrated further on, even Lord Lytton was so pleased with the efficient manner in which Ata Muhammad had performed his duties that he (Lord Lytton) presented him with a watch and chain and 10,000 Rupees, "in acknowledgement of the appreciation of the Government of his past faithful service."

Where was then the necessity of coercing the Ameer to receive a British Resident or Agent in his Court? From the consideration of the case in all its bearings we are led to the conclusion that the object of the Disreali Cabinet was to convert the Ameer's dominions into British territory. This is not improbable, considering the character of the Prime Minister. He looked upon England as an Asiatic power and inaugurated a spirited foreign policy. He resumed the "forward policy" of Palmerston. He tried to efface the humiliation resulting from the military failure of the first Afghan War. The grave loss of prestige of 1840 was to be retrieved by depriving Afghanistan of its independence.

On his assuming the Viceroyalty of India Lord Lytton ascertained through Ata Muhammad, whether the Ameer was willing to receive Sir Lewis Pelly as envoy. The proposal appeared to the Ameer to be something like a bolt from the blue. As was to be expected, he expressed his unwillingness to receive a British officer as an Agent. He assigned three reasons for his refusal, viz:—

First, that the persons of Englishmen could not be safe.

Secondly, that European officers might make demands which would give rise to quarrels; he appealed to the treaty rights, saying that the Cabul Government had always objected to European officers "from farsightedness."

Thirdly, that if the English came, Russians will claim to come too.

However, the Ameer suggested that Ata Muhammad should see the British authorities and explain matters to them. Accordingly, Ata Muhammad came to Simla and conferred with the Viceroy in the month of October, 1876. Ata Muhammad narrated the Ameer's grievances and his (Ameer's) objections to the location of British officers in any part of Afghanistan. Then the Viceroy told Ata Muhammad to convey faithfully to the Ameer his threats. The Viceroy told Ata Muhammad to inform the Ameer that

"Our only interest in maintaining the independence of Afghanistan is to provide for the security of our own frontier. But the moment we cease to regard Afghanistan as a friendly and firmly allied State, what is there to prevent us from providing for the security of our frontier by an understanding with Russia, which might have the effect of wiping Afghanistan out of the map altogether? If the Ameer does not desire to come to a speedy understanding with us, Russia does; and she desires it at his expense * * * His (the Ameer's) position is rather that of an earthen pipkin between two iron pots."

Ata Muhammad was dismissed by the Viceroy with gifts, as mentioned before, "in acknowledgement of the appreciation of the Government of his past faithful service' and was furnished with a document called an *'aide memoire'* in which were mentioned proposals which should form the basis of the treaty which the Viceroy was anxious to conclude with the Ameer. Lord Lytton suggested to the Ameer to send his envoy Noor Mahomed to Peshawar to hold a conference with Sir Lewis Pelly (at that time Commissioner of Peshawar) to open negotiations concerning the proposed treaty. The Ameer was also invited to attend the forthcoming Imperial Assembly at Delhi.

The Vakil Ata Mahammad returned to Kabul and just at the time when he was conveying the threats of the Viceroy of India to the Ameer telling him that his position was that of "an earthen pipkin between two iron pots" the Ameer was not a little alarmed by the hostile attitude of the British Government towards his Indian frontier. He saw that the Indian Government occupied Quetta on the 2nd November, 1876. About the same time bridges were formed over the Indus, and British troops were moved in the direction of Afghanistan. The Ameer looked upon the occupation of Quetta as the first

* See Colonel Sir George Sydenham Clarke's "Russia's Sea-power", published by John Murray, London, 1878, page 175.

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step to the invasion of Candahar, for, such was the procedure adopted in the first Afghan War. In the interview which the Turkish emissary had with the Ameer, the latter said regarding the occupation of Quetta by the British :—

"If an armed man places himself at the back door of your house, what can be his motive unless he wants to find his way in when you are asleep ?"

The Ameer responded to the request of the Viceroy and sent his confidential Minister Noor Muhamad to Peshawar to hold a conference with Sir Lewis Pelly. The first interview between the envoys took place on the 30th January, 1877. Sir Lewis Pelly told Noor Muhamad that

"The acceptance of the principle that British officers may reside in Afghanistan is absolutely necessary as preliminary to the commencement of negotiations. This point being granted, other details can be discussed and settled hereafter,"

Noor Muhamad gave his reasons why English officers should not reside in Afghanistan. He said :—

"In the first place, the people of Afghanistan have a dread of this proposal, and it is firmly fixed in their minds and deeply rooted in their hearts, that if Englishmen or other Europeans once set foot in their country it will sooner or later pass out of their hands."

Sir Lewis Pelly intimated to Noor Muhamad that as the *sine qua non* was declined, the conference could not proceed ; but he agreed to refer the matter to the Viceroy and await his further instructions. The Viceroy's answer was transmitted by Sir Lewis Pelly to Noor Mahomed in the form of a letter on the 15th March, 1877. By that time Noor Mahomed had become dangerously ill and he died on 26th March 1877. There is no necessity for dwelling at length on this letter from Sir Lewis Pelly to Noor Mahomed. It contains threats to, and insinuations against, the Ameer. On 30th March 1877, Lord Lytton telegraphed to Sir Lewis Pelly to close the conference and leave Peshawar. It is only necessary here to observe that at the time when Lord Lytton telegraphed to Sir Lewis Pelly to

"close conference immediately, on ground that basis on which we agreed to negotiate has not been acknowledged by Ameer ; that Mir Akbor not being authorised to negotiate on that basis, nor you on any other, conference is terminated *ipso facto*".

The Viceroy was fully aware of the fact that a fresh envoy was already on the way from Cabul to Peshawar with instructions to accept all the conditions of the British Government. It was unfortunate that Noor Mahomed died before the conference was over. His surviving colleague Mir Akbor had no instructions from the Ameer. Noor Mahomed insisted on being heard and on having his arguments transmitted to Lord Lytton. It is quite possible, nay probable, that he was authorised by the Ameer to admit the 'fatal preliminary condition' as a last resort. On this ground only we are able to account for the hurried despatch of another envoy as soon as the news of the death of Noor Mahomed reached the Ameer. The Viceroy should have awaited the arrival of the new envoy before closing the conference. But he was in an indecent haste. In the secret despatch from the Government of India dated Simla, May 10, 1877 to the Secretary of State for India, Lord Lytton wrote :—

"At the moment when Sir Lewis Pelly was closing the conference his Highness was sending to the Mir Akbor instructions to prolong it by every means in his power, a fresh envoy was already on the way from Cabul to Peshawar, and it was reported that this envoy had authority to accept eventually all the conditions of the British Government. The Viceroy was aware of these facts when he instructed our envoy to close the conference".

In this despatch Lord Lytton and his colleagues composing the Government of India considered it to be a proper diplomatic move to suspect the loyalty of the Mahomedan vakil Ata Muhammad. He is accused of "stupidity" and "disloyalty" and also of insufficiency. For, they wrote :—

"But of all that was passing at Cabul we knew less than ever; for the reports of our own Agent there had become studiously infrequent, vague, and unintelligible".

Lord Lytton's abrupt closure of the Peshawar conference has been justly characterised by Colonel Hannay in his well-known work on the causes of the Second Afgan War, as the "tragic prologue to a still more tragic drama". Not only were the negotiations broken off, but the vakil who had represented British interests in the court of the Ameer, was withdrawn from Cabul, on account, no doubt, of his "stupidity" and "disloyalty"! From all these acts the Ameer was led to infer that the Government of India meant war. The occupation of Quetta, the demand of stationing Christian officers in Afghanistan, the breaking off of negotiations

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when the Ameer was willing to consent to that fatal preliminary, and the withdrawal of the vakil from his court showed the Ameer that the Government of India were determined to carry out the threats they had held out to him, for he had been told by the Viceroy of India that if he refused English residents he would "isolate himself from the alliance and support of the British Government" that "his position was that of an earthen pipkin between two iron pots," and that

"The moment the British Government cease to regard Afghanistan as a friendly and firmly allied state what was there to prevent them from providing for the security of their frontier by an understanding with Russia, which might have the effect of wiping Afghanistan out of the map altogether ?"

The Ameer was justified in his apprehensions, for Lord Salisbury, in his despatch to the Government of India, dated October 4, 1877 sounded a distinct note of war. This noble Marquis wrote:—

"If he (the Ameer) continues to maintain an attitude of isolation and scarcely veiled hostility, the British Government stands unpledged to any obligations and in any contingencies which may arise in Afghanistan will be at liberty to adopt such measures for the protection and permanent tranquility of the North-West frontier of Her Majesty's Indian dominions as the circumstances of the moment may render expedient, without regard to the wishes of the Ameer Sher Ali or the interests of his dynasty".

The imputation of 'scarcely veiled hostility' to the Ameer by the Christian Marquis reminds one of the pretext of the muddied stream made use of by the wolf in his intention of devouring the lamb. Where was the hostile act on the part of the Ameer ?

But it was not long before a "contingency" *did* arise in Afghanistan which served as a handle to the people of England to declare war on the Ameer of Cabul. This 'contingency' arose out of the despatch of a mission to Cabul by Russia. Correspondence used to pass between the Ameer and the Governor of the Russian provinces on his frontier. The Government of India and the Foreign Office in England as well as the British Ministry were fully acquainted with this fact. The Ameer always used to forward to the Government of India the letters he received from the Russian Government. This intercourse between Russia and Cabul had never been looked upon with suspicion till Lord Lytton's time. From the parliamentary papers on Afghanistan and Central Asia, we learn that the Government of India, when the Earl of Mayo was at its helm, apprehended nothing but good from the interchange of friendly communications between the Ameer of Cabul and the Russian Governor of Turkestan. The Ameer saw Russia absorb all the khanates of Central Asia. He naturally dreaded Russia as much as, if not more than, England. It was, therefore, that in the early seventies of the nineteenth century whenever the Ameer received any letters to him address from the Russian Governor of Turkestan, he used to forward the same to the Government of India, requesting the Viceroy for a draft of appropriate and advisable reply. Lord Mayo advised the Ameer to reply to the Russian Governor, whose letters must be "a source of satisfaction and a ground of confidence to His Highness." But Lord Lytton and Disraeli's ministry, when they wanted to justify their unrighteous conduct in forcing a war on the Ameer, discovered that his Highness was intriguing with Russia against England!

The Russian Mission came to Cabul, uninvited by, but with the permission of, the Ameer. The arrival of the Russian Mission in Cabul took place some time towards the end of May or beginning of June, 1878. The events which were occurring in Europe should be borne in mind with reference to this Russian Mission in Afghanistan. In the war between Russia and Turkey, the Turks were completely prostrated. Russia seemed likely to carry all before it as the road to Constantinople was clear. It is now a well-known fact that the Turks would not have gone to war with Russia, had they not been promised help by England. But the Turks never received this help. The continental people of Europe are seldom without a fling at *Perfide Albion* (when they refer to England). The present writer has heard intelligent Turks declare that they were betrayed into war with Russia by England. However, Lord Beaconsfield knew how to create new sensations. He could not or rather did not like to assist Turkey. But when the Parliamentary session opened in 1878, the speech from the throne announced that Her Majesty could not conceal it from herself that, should the hostilities between Russia and Turkey, unfortunately be prolonged, 'some unexpected occurrences may render it incumbent on me to adopt measures of precaution.' One of the 'measures of precaution' adopted against Russia's ambition was the concentrati

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of troops from India at Malta. This was a complete surprise to the stay-at-home natives of England. But this very circumstance made Russia effect a diversion by sending a Mission to Cabul. Russia knew all that had passed between the Government of India and the Ameer of Cabul; how the latter was being coerced to receive British Residents in Afghanistan; how he at first declined, and, at last when he was about to yield, the British Government would have nothing to do with him and threw him overboard, and withdrew their Agent from his Court. Knowing all these facts it is not surprising that the Governor of Russian Turkestan, without the knowledge of the Imperial Government at St. Petersburgh, sent a Mission to Cabul; that the authorities at St. Petersburgh knew nothing about this Mission is clear from the denial made by the Russian Government on July 3, 1873 of ever sending a mission to Cabul. There were other reasons which might be urged in justifying the action of the Russian Governor of Turkestan. At the time when Russia and Turkey were at war, the Sultan of Turkey sent an envoy to the Ameer of Afghanistan. The envoy had passed through India. It was alleged by Russia that the object of the envoy's Mission was to preach a religious crusade amongst the Mussalman population of Central Asia, and, through the Ameer of Afghanistan, to induce the Ameer of Bokhara to excite the populations of Central Assia to revolt against Russia. The Russian Government complained to the British ambassador at St. Petersburgh, who brought the matter to the notice of the Foreign Secretary. The Foreign Secretary, Lord Derby, took no notice of the complaint and evaded the request of Russia, about advising "the Ameer of Afghanistan to abstain from any action which could endanger the peaceful relations of the two states" (that is, Afghanistan and Bokhara), by replying that,

"At the request of the Porte, a Turkish envoy to Afghanistan was allowed to pass through Indian territory, but that Her Majesty's Government have no reason to suppose that the object of his mission was to preach a crusade in Central Asia."

Then, again, two British officers were travelling in Central Asia inciting the Turkoman tribes to hostilities against Russia. The names of these two Christian officers are Captain Butler and Captain Napier. About the success of these officers, the *Times* of January, 1879, quoted the following from the *Bombay Gazette* :—

'It is reported that Major Butler, the Central Asian explorer, who has just returned from Turkestan, has been so successful in his interviews with the Turkoman chiefs that they are willing to co-operate with the British either against the Afghans or the Russians."

Taking all these circumstances into consideration we are of opinion that the Governor-General of Russian Turkestan was fully justified in sending a Mission to Cabul. For, what was the object of the Mission? The Parliamentary Papers on Central Asia have furnished us with an answer. On page 141 of *Central Asia*, No. 1 (1878), it is stated that

"The Turkestan (Russian) Governor-General nourished no ill-feeling against Afghanistan, and meditated despatching an embassy to Sher Ali Khan, by which means our (Russian) relations with the latter would in all probability become defined one way or the other, either in an amicable or hostile sense; everything would depend on the straightforwardness and good sense displayed by the Ameer."

The anxiety displayed by the Governor-General of Russian Turkestan to define the relations of the Ameer of Cabul with Russia "one way or the other, either in an amicable or hostile sense," was due to the fact that he was afraid of the British invasion of the Russian possessions in Central Asia through Afghanistan. The same Prime Minister who had ordered Indian troops to Malta as a threat to Russia, contemplated attacking Russia in Central Asia. *The Pioneer* published the following letter from its Simla Correspondent, dated August 28, 1878 :—

"I believe it is no longer a secret that, had war broken out, we should not have remained on the defensive in India. A force of 30,000 men having purchased its way through Afghanistan, thrown rapidly into Samarkhand and Bokhara, would have had little difficulty in beating the scattered Russian troops back to the Caspian, for, coming thus as deliverers, the whole population would have risen in our favor. In the feasibility of such a programme the Russians fully believed."

(*To be concluded*)

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SOME ANTHROPOLOGICAL PROBLEMS IN INDIA*

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WRITING in the year 1908 Dr. John Beddoe, one of the most eminent English anthropologists of his generation, spoke of "the enormous and almost incalculable mass of anthropological materials that India offered to the student".† During the decade that has followed Dr. Beddoe's writing a considerable mass of valuable information has been gathered both by Government initiative and private enterprise, but the work done has been chiefly of the 'survey' kind. Such a survey is essential as a preliminary step for furnishing the first general outline of the entire field of operation but its value depends not so much for the picture it offers, which by reason of its covering a large ground is apt to be superficial, but for enabling us to realise the gaps in our knowledge and directing our attention to the spots where deeper and more exact enquiries are likely to be most successful. And no properly planned anthropological research can be said to be complete until this work of reconnaissance is followed up by intensive investigations. The great work of the Sarasin brothers on the Veddas may be cited as an examble of what a study of this kind ought to be. In India proper a survey of the physical characters of the population has been undertaken by Risley, Thurston, Waddel; and in a few instances more exact and definite enquiries have also been made, such as those of Ujfalvy, and Stein in North-western, and Lapicque and Schmidt in Southern India. Due, however, to the lack of specially trained men and a want of proper appreciation of the value of such work intensive studies have not yet taken place in India in any systematic manner, with the result that our knowledge of the somatic characters of her people is seriously defective. Fortunately, at present there are signs of a better understanding of the importance of such studies in this country and a more fully equipped agency for the work is also available. In order, therefore, that investigations conducted in future should bear the utmost results it is first of all necessary to know the main desiderata in the existing data and understand the problems that have been brought to the front for solution. Consequently, it will be my endeavour in the present address to set forth the chief gaps in our knowledge and bring to your notice the points which hold the keys, as it were, to the entire question.

The materials at our disposal regarding the physicel characters of the people of India concern almost exclusively the living population Of the races that lived during the long prehistoric period, revealed by extensive finds of artifacts throughout the country, we know practically nothing. In taking stock of our knowledge it will be necessary at the start to confine ourselves to the former and then determine how far its final solution depends on a proper unfolding of the racial history of the past.

The outstanding problems concerning the former are:

(1) *The correct affiliation of the aboriginal population of India.* There seems to be a general agreement regarding the dominant type among these people, which is characterised by a long head, flat broad nose, short stature, wavy to curly hair and very dark complexion. The eye is open and round and the face orthognathic. The researches of the Sarasin brothers in Ceylon, of Rudolf Martin in Malay Peninsula, and of Dr. Fritz Sarasin in Celebes, have shown that it is racially akin to the Veddas, the Sakais and the Toalas of the above-mentioned regions and together with the Australians form a very primitive and extensive racial family which at one time occupied a great part of the Southern World. Judging from its areas of occupation, which are either marginal or inhospitable hills and forests, to which it must have been driven by invading

* Being the Presidential Address of the Anthropology Section of the Fifteenth Annual Meeting of the Indian Science Congress, held in Calcutta in January, 1928.

† Preface to L. K. A. Iyer's *The Cochin Tribes and Castes*, Vol. I, page iv. 1909, Madras.

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races—there is no doubt that the race is very old in India. We have, however, no positive archaeological evidence of its earliest occupation—the only early site which has definitely disclosed this type does not go beyond the stage of iron in Southern India. The point that has to be considered, is, as to whether these people really form a homogeneous race inspite of linguistic and cultural differences or that there are more than one racial type concealed among them? The presence of a Negrito element in the aboriginal population of India has been suspected for a long time, but no definite evidence of its existence has so far been found. Thus, in the opinion of the Sarasin Brothers, "no one has yet succeeded in finding woolly hair in India," (Ergebuirse naturwissenchaftichan Forschungen auf Ceylon Bd. III p. 335) a view which has also received the supports of Turner (trau. Roy. Soc. Edin. Vol. XL, p. 114), Lapicque (Rev. Scientifique VI July 1906), Thurston (Tribes and Castes of S. India, Vol. I, Introduction) and Risley. To quote the last named author's words, "although the terms 'woolly' and 'frizzly' have been loosely applied to the wavy hair, not uncommon among the Dravidians, no good observer has as yet found among any of the Indian races a head of hair that could be correctly described as wooly".* Our evidence, therefore, as to the character of hair among the aboriginal population of India is by no means positive.

While the general type is certainly wavy or curly, instances of woolly or frizzly hair may actually occur (though not found so far) among some of these people or as is likely their reported presence may really be due to superficial observation and the failure to distinguish between extremely curly and genuine woolly or frizzly hair. The question, however, cannot be decided, until samples of these hairs are collected and submitted to microscopic examination by competent persons. Regarding the presence of a negrito element in the Indian Continent, it has been further argued, and with a certain amount of plausibility, that even if the present inhabitants do not show any such trait, its presence in the Anadaman Islands is a strong point in favour of its having been in India at one time. A careful enquiry among the Andamanese tribes, however, does not show any relic of migration from India all the evidences strongly point to their movement from Further India where in the Semangs we have still living a kindred tribe. To settle the question beyond doubt a search for communal cemetaries and other possible ancient sites in India is necessary, to find out if there is any skeletal remain which shows definite Negrito characteristics.

Aside from the question of the existence or otherwise of the Negrito element in the aboriginal population of India so far as the two main linguistic divisions of these tribes are concerned, namely, the Austric and the Dravidian, all the evidence available, in my opinion, go to support Risley's contention of their fundamental Somatic unity. There is no important physical character in which the Austric-speaking tribes of this group differ from that of the Dravidian speaking ones. Consequently, it would considerably clear up the issue if the Somatic and Ethnic characters of these people are not mixed up but are treated independently. It will in that case not only narrow down our field of enquiry and effect a speedier solution of the entire problem of their cultural origins but may possibly also supply us with important materials regarding their migrations and contact with other races.

(2) A more intricate problem, however, is the settlement of the so-called Dravidian question. To put it briefly, are there sufficient materials for us to ascribe a definite physical type to the people that may be supposed to have introduced Dravidian languages in this country? At the present time the Dravidian-speaking peoples are concentrated in Southern and Central India, with the exception of the Brahuis, who are physically akin to the other tribes of Baluchistan. Leaving them aside, therefore, the former present at least three distinct racial elements, namely, a dolicho-platyrhine or Veddah-Australoid type, a dolicho-leptorhine or Mediterranean type and a brachy-leptorhine or Alpine type.

The measurements published by Thurston and others comprise 120 Tulu-speaking people from South Canara, 550 Malayalam-speaking people from Malabar, 571 Tamils from Madras and Tinnevelley, two Canarese groups of 410 and 290 individuals from Mysore and the district of Bellary and Karnool respectively, 358 Telugus from the

* *The People of India* by Sir H. Risley p. 15.

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same districts, 147 men from the Nilghiri Hills and 385 people belonging to the various jungle tribes. Analysis of the above data on regional lines shows that the main concentration of brachycephaly is in the North-Western part of the Madras Presidency, between latitudes 16 and 12 North and up to longitude 78 E; south of latitude 12. on the western Coasts, and the Nilghiri Hills the people appear to be predominantly dolichocephalic; on the East from Madras downwards dolichocephaly is dominant again. In other words, the Deccan proper or the Tableland between the two Ghats seems to be characterised by brachycephaly, whereas in the region south of it, including the two coastal strips, dolichocephaly is supreme. In the Northern brachycephalic region, again, there is either a predominance of or a tendency towards leptorhiny. In the dolichocephalic Western region leptorhiny is dominant but in the South-Western part the tendency is towards platyrhiny—a characteristic marked in the lower classes throughout the Presidency and is most strongly emphasised among the jungle tribes. In short, the dominant type in the North-West appears to be brachyleptorhine, in the South-West dolicholeptorhine, whereas in the South-east it tends to be dolicho-platyrhine.

In discussing racial affinities, language is not regarded as a safe guide, but in the present case a consideration of the physical data in the light of linguistic affiliations of the different groups considered, yields certain interesting results, as it shows that the languages, which indicate the greatest influence of Sanskrit, are spoken by peoples exhibiting marked differences from those whose languages reveal much less evidence of such influence. Thus Tamil, which is certainly least influenced by Sanskrit and is the oldest of the Dravidian tongues, is spoken by the people in the South-eastern part of the Madras Presidency, from Madras to Cape Comorin and extending on the West as far as the Nilghiris, and who are on the whole, among all the groups of whom we possess metric data, the nearest approach to the dolicho-platyrhine type dominant among the jungle folks.

When we come to Telugu, which is the second most important Dravidian language and shows a comparatively larger Sanskritic influence, we find it to be spoken by people between Madras and Ganjam up to latitude 18 North and extending as far as the Bellary and Anantpur districts or longitude 78 on the West, who are much more brachycephalic and leptorhine. A comparison with the Tamil-speaking people shows that the mean cephalic index of 358 Telugus is 77·9 or 2·7 units higher than the mean index of 571 Tamils, which is 75·2 only. If, however, a comparison is made with the Canarese, and the Marathi-speaking peoples of the same districts, whose languages show either a marked influence of or is derived from Sanskrit, a striking contrast is at once noticeable. The mean Cephalic Index of 290 Canarese is one unit and that of 90 Marathis 3·5 units higher than that of the Telugus. On the other hand, the mean Nasal Index of the latter is 8 points and 1·6 units higher than those of the Canarese and the Marathis. Lastly, Malayalam, which shows strong influence of Sanskrit, is spoken by people in the South-western coastal belt of the Peninsula, who are markedly dolicho-leptorhine. Similarly, within each linguistic division, if the Brahmins are compared with other groups, the former are found to be much more leptorhine than others.

Taking the two factors together it shows: (I) an increasing association between brachycephaly and leptorhiny accompanied by a falling tendency in the cephalic index with a rising tendency towards platyrhiny and (II) a close association of Sanskrit influence with leptorhiny.

We have, unfortunately, no metrical data east of Longit de 78 but a consideration of them shows that the Southernmost extension of the brachy-leptorhine type goes as far as latitude 12 or roughly the point where the Ghats merge into the Nilghiri Hills, forming the Southern boundary of the Deccan proper. Whether the movement of this type reaches as far as the Ghats on this side we are not certain. North of latitude 16, along the Western littoral, we find the extension of this type up to Gujarat. Whether there has been a gradual deterioration of this type (as is probable) in this southward movement, our materials are not enough to come to a definite conclusion, but, there appears to be no doubt that in its movement from the West to the East there has been a gradual falling off of this type. In the light of the deductions mentioned above we may reasonably infer that this falling off in the brachy-leptorhine type has been due to the miscegenation with a dolichoplatyrhine element with which it increasingly came in contact.

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We may take it, therefore, that the brachy-leptorhine type is an intrusive racial element from the North-west moving along the margin of the Western Ghats up to latitude 12 and has gradually diminished as it progressed Southwards where the fundamental type presumably has been dolicho.

This would bring the original somatic characters of the Telegu and Tamil people into one group, the former losing its characteristics gradually towards the west as it came into contact with the broad-headed invaders, the latter, except in isolated classes, preserving its almost native purity today. In the course of his investigations Thurston* observed this difference of headform among the inhabitants of Southern India; for writing in 1909 he remarked "whatever may have been the influence which has brought about the existing subbrachy-cephalic or mesticephalic types in Northern areas, this influence has not extended Southward into the Tamil and Malayalam land, where Dravidian man remains dolicho or sub-dolicho." We have seen the light thrown by language on this question which is supported by our regional analysis of the extisting materials, and which, therefore, may be regarded as the probable reason. It cannot, however, be considered as beyond doubt, until the anthropometry of the Telegu country east of longtitude 78 as well as the skeletal materials in the numerous prehistoric sites in the Deccan confirm it. It is fortunate that under the leadership of Mr. Ghalam Yazdani, who is energetically excavating the ancient archæological remains in the Nizam Dominions, we may soon be able to find some human crania which will supply conclusive evidence on the whole problem.

Similarly though the association of Leptorhiny with Sanskrit language is indicated, the presence of the dolicho leptorhine element in Malabar as the result of this influence, cannot be regarded as certain until the excavation of prehistoric sites of this region reveal human crania which support the above hypothesis. The skulls found by Mr. Rea at Adittanallur, in the Tinnevelley district, however, show a distinct tendency towards platyrhiny, as well as a low cranial vault and prominent supra-orbital regions characteristic of the Veddah-Australoid group. Material help can be furnished here by trained philologists, if they have the hardihood to undertake field investigations of the languages of the aboriginal tribes of Southern India who are reported to speak corrupt forms of Dravidian languages in the same way as has been done in the Red Indian languages of North America. For the researches undertaken by the pupils of Pater Schmidt* in the Australian languages just before the war, indicate the possibility of a relationship between the Dravidian, Papuan and Australian languages, though nothing positive can be said till intensive investigations take place in this country. If such a relationship can be shown to exist by future research, the entire Dravidian problem will be solved, as a definite correlation will then be established between it and the Veddah-Australoid race. The evidence of physical anthropology as indicated above tend on the whole to support this view which was first propounded by Risley and Turner. The Mediterranean affinities of the Dravidian culture, disclosed in recent researches in that case can be regarded as due to culture migrations without connoting anything about the race. Whether such a theory is borne out or not, there is no evidence either somatic or archaeological for the view that has lately become fashionable in India and which seeks to make the Dravidian man responsible for the Indus civilisation as well as that of Sumer, for both of whom are, intimately associated with brachycephalic people as the recently discovered skulls in the Pre-Sargonic sites at Kish† and El-abaid and Mohenjo-daro indicate.

(3) The third problem deals with the existence of the 'Arya-Dravidian' race. In describing the population of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh Risley called them 'Arya-Dravidian', i. e., the result of the admixture of the Aryan and Dravidian-speaking races, on the ground that the data published by him, show the preponderance of a type marked by dolichocephaly and increased Nasal Index. In studying the distribution of racial types in North-western part of India, the available metric data indicate that the dominant element in this

* The Tribes and Castes of Southern India, Vol I, Introduction.

* Die Gliederung der Australischen Sprachen Anthropos, p. 251, 1912

†Excavations at Kish by S. Langdon, pp. 115-125, Paris, 1924.

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region is characterised by dolichocephaly and true leptorhiny, which is present throughout Northern Rajputana, the Punjab and Kashmir, also probably including Afghanistan, and extending in varying proportion as far north as Yarkand. The skulls found at Sialkot, and the recently excavated sites of Nal and Mohenjo-daro reveal the same characteristics. So the present racial element may be said, to be the continuation of the type dominant from the earliest known times. As disclosed in Risley's measurements there is a sharp break in the eastward extension of this type which does not go beyond the boundaries of the Punjab in any appreciable extent. The question, therefore, is whether this represents the real state of things, or, the break is to be regarded as unreal, considering the known facts of history? Now, the anthropometrical measurements published in Risley's name were actually taken by Mr. Chandi Singh, a clerk in the office of Mr. J. C. Nesfield, then Inspector of Schools, who supervised him.* In the year 1896, however, Surgeon Captain Drake-Brockman, F. R. C. S., M. D., took a large series of measurements of the various castes in the United Provinces, under the auspices of the local Government. The detail individual measurements are not available but the averages are published by Sir William Crooke. So far as the stature and cephalic index are concerned, there is not much difference between the two series, but when the nasal index is considered a great difference is at once noticed. The mean nasal index for 420 Rajputs and 455 Brahmins as measured by Dr. Brockman are 63.8 and 99.1 respectively, whereas the average nasal index for 100 Rajputs and 100 Brahmins published by Risley are 77.7 and 74.6 respectively. In attempting to determine the comparative reliability of these conflicting sets of measurements, not only the high medical qualification of Dr. Drake-Brockman and the much larger series examined by him have to be taken into consideration but also the fact that neither Mr. Nesfield nor his assistant Chandi Singh can in any way be regarded as having had any training in anthropometry, and it is well-known that the correct measurement of the nasal length requires considerable anatomical training. On the other hand, it may also be possible that the technique employed by Dr. Drake-Brockeman in his measurements was somewhat different. The only skull of known antiquity found at Bayana near Agra tends to support Dr. Brockman's conclusions rather than those of Risley. It is time, therefore, that the importance of this question is realised and an intensive investigation is undertaken into the racial composition of this region, as Risley's current theory as shown above is open to serious doubt. Besides, as definitely determining the limit of the eastward extension of the racial type dominant in the Punjab, such an enquiry will clear up many obscure points in the racial history of the entire Northern India.

(4) The fourth problem is the distribution of the Brachycephalic Alpine type. A survey of the physical characters of the present population of India shows that along the entire Western littoral from Guzarat down to Coorg we find the concentration of the brachycephalic Alpine type. This element is dominant among the Guzrati, Marathi and the people of Coorg. As we have already seen, in the south it does not extend beyond latitude 12, and beyond longitude 78 E in the Deccan, as far as our present knowledge indicates. In Upper India, however, from Benares eastwards up to Behar we find the gradual increase of a broadheaded element whose maximum intensity is seen in the population of Bengal. In Bengal proper this dominance of brachycephaly is associated with leptorhiny specially among the upper classes where the leptorhine element is greater than in any other part of India outside the Punjab, if the data published by Risley are to be trusted. In accounting for this brachycephalic factor in Bengal, Risley supposed the influence of a Mongolian race seen on its outskirts. An examination of the Mongolian tribes along the boundaries of Bengal shows that they are not homogeneous. The brachyplatyrhine element is predominant in the south-eastern part bordering on Burma, whereas in the Brahmaputra valley it strongly inclines towards the dolichoplatyrhine, the brachyleptorhine type being dominant only along the Sikkim and Nepal borders. In Bengal on the other hand, the main concentration of the brachyleptorhine element is in the southern or deltaic region with gradual decrease towards the North and the East. Besides, the Bengal type is differentiated from the Lepcha and kindred tribes, in whom alone of

* Preface to *Tribes and Castes of Bengal Anthropometric* data, Vol 1 1891.

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the Mongolian types a marked presence of leptorhiny is found by having a more prominent nose. In studying the racial anatomy of the nose it is not enough to rely on the relation of the length and the breadth of the nose, the prominence or otherwise of the entire nasal skeleton has to be taken into account. Risley was, therefore, right in making the latter as the deciding factor in comparing the nasal characters of the Mongolian and other races. In his measurement of the Bengali people, however, the test by which the prominence of the nasal skeleton could be judged namely the biorbito-nasal-index was not taken except in the case of a solitary group. In the absence of this test consequently, his conclusion of the Mongolian origin of the Bengali people was not justified on the basis of his own data. Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar has shown, in his interesting account of the cultural affinities of the Nagar Brahmins of Guzarat with the Kayasthas of Bengal the identity of a large number of surnames of these two groups.* A comparison of the Anthropometry of these two, therefore, is instructive. The average stature of the Nagar Brahmins as given by Risley is 1643 mm against 1636 mm. of the Bengali Kayasthas. The average Cephalic and Nasal Indices of the former are 79.7 and 73.1 against 78.2 and 70.3 of the latter. The average biorbito-nasal-index of the Nagar Brahmins is 116.7 but in the case of the Bengali Kayasthas the figure is not available but judging from that of the Chandals of Bengal (one of the lowest classes of the population) which is 114.0, the value of this Index in the case of the Bengali Kayasthas could not be much different. Further, when the data are analysed it is found that 63 p.c. of the Nagar Brahmins are brachy and 53 p.c. are leptorhine against 60 p.c. brachy and 75 p.c. leptorhine in the Bengali Kayasthas. It is, therefore, difficult to understand how the one could have Scythic, and the other Mongolian origin. Besides as Rai Bahadur Ramaprosad Chanda† has pointed out and who incidentally was the first to the show weakness in Risley's theory that typical Mongolian characteristic such as the presence of the epicanthic fold absence of bodily hair are not to be found among the Bengalis. This must not be taken to mean that Mongolian admixture is denied altogether in Bengal—it is simply meant that it is not sufficient to explain the dominant type in Bengal. The only way to account for it is to link it up with that of the Western littoral through Central India, of which as we have already noticed there is some probability judging from the identity of surnames. It is in the central region, therefore, that investigation is necessary to find out how far the continuity of type exists from Bombay to Bengal. The origin of this brachycephalic Alpine type in India was hitherto unexplained. The recent discovery of brachycephalic crania in Sind has lent some probability to the theory of a very early migration of this element in India. But its extension both in the South and in the East will never be fully understood until archaeological excavation of the numerous prehistoric sites yields skeletal materials showing these characteristics. The excavation of the Copper age remains in the Chotonagpur districts discovered by Rai Sarat Chandra Roy Bahadur would be of great significance as they may not improbably throw some light on the racial origins of the people of Bengal.

From a consideration of the foregoing facts it would appear that the greatest necessity in the field of Indian anthropology is the excavation of the archaeological sites in search of remains of its prehistoric inhabitants; for not only the racial history of ancient India cannot be reconstructed without its aid but it also holds as already stated, the secret of the somatic relationships of the present population of India. In the long history of this country whose true antiquity is now being revealed, the only documents that we possess bearing on the physical constitution of its past inhabitants are the two skulls from Bayana and Sialkot, the skulls from an Iron age site at Adittanallur and the recent finds in the Indus Valley. Outside of these we have no materials for guidance. In his account of the first two of the above skulls, which constitutes almost our sole literature on the subject, Sir Arthur Keith has remarked—"There is no anthropological problem more in need of investigation than that of the prehistoric inhabitants of India. We all wish to see applied to India the methods which have brought to light the ancient races of Europe. Nor is there any reason to doubt that there are hidden away in more recent deposits of river valleys and caves, in prehistoric isolated interments and communal cemeteries, records of the ancient races of India. They have not

* *Indian Antiquary*, p.p. 7-37. 1911
† *The Indo-Aryans*, part I, pp. 69-70.

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been seen nor found because they have not been patiently and systematically looked for.* It is true as Sir Arthur Keith has noted that no systematic search has been made for the skeletal remains of the prehistoric races of India, and considering the vast number of ancient sites in this country and their accessibility, the lack of interest in these explorations is certainly deploring, but what is worse and inexcusable is the irresponsible manner in which such materials were treated, when luck put them in the hands of our explorers. A great part of the literature on the pre and early historic sites in India is tragic reading for the discovery of numerous human skeletons are recorded, but not a trace of them could now be found anywhere in this country! In his account of the excavation of the Great Temple Mound at Indrapura in the Gorakhpur district which roughly corresponded to the ancient Kingdom of Kosala and assigned to the 4th Century A. D.† Mr. Carlleyle § late of the Archaeological Survey, writes "I have called this the Skeleton Mound, because I found five human skeletons in it. One of the skulls found had a very projecting jaw exactly like that of a Negro. This belonged to the skeleton of a male nearly 6 feet in length; but close alongside of it I found the skeleton of a female, 5 feet 6 inches in length, the facial part of the skull of which had a straight even profile. Another skeleton was placed across or upon the doorway of one of the temples. Four of the skeletons had their heads placed towards the north but the fifth was placed the reverse way." In another part of the same temple, the writer observes, "A human skeleton lay across the doorway. Two more human skeletons of a male and a female lay nearly side by side, while a fourth skeleton lay just beyond the wall toward the west."

Similarly in his excellent work on the "Indian Prehistoric and Protohistoric Antiquities", Bruce Foote records the discovery of a human skeleton lying in a flexed position in a large stone circle in Central Mysore near Savandurga rock * In describing the cairns numbering over 268 at Jewurgi in the Shorapur district in the Madras Presidency, Meadows Taylor† mentions the discovery in one of numerous human skeletons which are mostly 'of small size as to height but having bones of unusual, thickness and strength'. In a Neolithic tomb in South Mirzapur, Cockburn§ found the 'complete fossilized skeleton of an adult male.'

Not a trace of the skeletons mentioned above, and many more recorded in the accounts of the excavations of the prehistoric sites of India not mentioned here, could be found at present. One naturally would like to know what has become of them—the documents that are of priceless value in the reconstruction of our ancient history? It is unfortunate but nevertheless true, that hitherto archaelogy in India meant only the reading of some Sanskrit inscriptions and the preservation of ancient monuments. While they are undoubtedly necessary they are not its chief functions. Its proper aim should be the reconstruction of the ancient history of a particular land and people. In Europe as well as in Central America not to speak of Egypt, and the Near East, the unrecorded history has been unearthed by its aid, but in order to be able to do so the fundamental unity of archaeology and anthropology has first to be realised. Neither in Europe, nor in Egypt or America such splendid work would have been possible if the help and co-operation of anthropologists were not sought, for the culture or civilsation of a people is a complex whole and its full study involves the researches of different lines of workers. Actually how much can be achieved by the combined efforts of scientists with pure archaeologists is to be seen in Pumpelley's excavation of Anau where the team the work of geologists, anthropologists, zoologists and archaeologists added so much to our knowledge of the ancient civilisation of Southwestern Siberia. In the excavation of our archaeological sites, this aspect of the question has to be more fully recognised than it has hitherto been in this country not only for the complete-

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* The Journal of the Bombay Anthropological Society, p. 663, 1917. Bombay.

† *Catalogue and handbook of the Archaeological Collections in the Indian Museum* by John Anderson, part II. 1883 Cal. pp. 121-122.

§ *Report of Tours in the Central Doab and Gorakhpur in* 1874-75 and 1875-76. pp. 79-80. 1879 Cal.

* p. 180.

† *Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy*, p.p. 339-40, Vol. XXIV. 1873 Dublin.

§ *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. I. p.150.

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ness of the work, but also for the proper handling and preservation of such of its finds —specially the bones—which require special treatment in the hands of experts if they are not to be irreparably damaged. Fortunately the discovery of the Indus Civilisation has aroused keen interest in the importance and urgency of archaeological studies, and in Sir John Marshall we have a man of wide learning and experience who can be depended upon to direct such investigations in true and scientific lines. We may, therefore, confidently hope that the neglect and irresponsibility shown in the past which led to the loss and destruction of much of the discovered skeleton remains of India's prehistoric inhabitants, will not be repeated in future but a more systematic search will be made for them. In that way we will be able gradually to add to our knowledge of the physical characters of the prehistoric inhabitants of India and which alone will enable us to understand her present racial affiliations.

THE GARDEN CREEPER

By SAMYUKTA DEVI

THE house stood on Harrison Road. On the broad parapet of the terrace were arranged flower-pots, containing glorious roses, jasmine and chrysanthemums, also rows of exotic flowers and ferns.

The owner of the house was Shiveswar Ganguli. The name sounds old and orthodox, but the man was young in years and ultra-modern in opinions and theories. Even the present age seemed too backward for him,—he lived in the future. But of that, hereafter. Let us get on with the story.

It was nearing midnight, and the streets were beginning to get deserted. Only some hackney carriages rattled past, now and then, and belated drunkards reeled homewards, shouting and gesticulating. Shiveswar Ganguli was walking about excitedly at this time of night on the terrace. His eyes looked strangers to sleep, and his forehead was covered with beads of perspiration. His curly hair, too, hung damp and unkempt on his brows. Yet, it was not warm, and he carried a rich shawl across his shoulders. One end of the gold embroidered thing trailed behind him on the floor, but he had no eyes for it. He seemed to be listening for some sound. The light from the street lamp near by, shone full on his anxious face.

A large car, with its black hood up, two palanquins and a closed carriage waited in front of the house. There was not much noise, but every room had its lights turned on, and people moved about all over the place. Only they moved on tip toe, so as not to make any noise. A woman, with face hidden behind a veil, came to him and whispered something. "Is she a bit better ?" he asked. The woman nodded and went in.

He had grown tired of walking and went and sat down on a bench by the side of the flower-pots. Just as he did so, he heard the blowing of a conch-shell inside, but the sound subsided almost at once. A commotion was heard in the inner rooms. Shiveswar got up hastily and the veiled woman appeared again, beckoning him in.

The inner apartments were tastefully decorated. Modern paintings and pictures abounded. There were landscapes, old paintings of the Mughal School, and many photographs. But not a single picture of any god or goddess of the Hindu pantheon. The first room was furnished in Mughal style too. It contained a huge picture of the Taj Mahal and, surrounding it, pictures of Akbar Shah, Nurjehan, Jehangir, Shah Jehan, etc. A rich carpet was spread on the floor, and fat bolsters of velveteen and Lucknow print were arranged on it. Flower vases and incense burners and scent bottles of silver and marble were scattered profusely everywhere. Two huge chandeliers lighted the room.

The next room was a medley of Japanese and English furniture. Painted Japa-

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nese mats, hung like curtains in front of the doors, whereas the windows sported curtains of printed muslin. There were a grand piano in one corner of the room and a painted wooden screen. The rest of the furniture were of foreign design and so were the lights and fans.

In a small room, situated in one corner of the verandah, a few pictures of oriental gods and goddesses were scattered here and there carelessly. A glass case, full of earthen dolls and toys, stood in one corner. They too showed signs of neglect.

Another room contained plates and utensils, made in Benares and Kashmir. These were taken care of, properly.

After these rooms, came the inner apartments. In front of a room here, quite a little crowd had collected. These were mostly servants. Inside, there were doctors, midwives, nurses, besides a number of women. Shiveswar pushed his way in and found his mother, Mokshada Devi, rocking a little baby girl in her arms. As he came in, she looked up and said, "So you have come inside the lying-in-room? But why should I take exception to your coming? Nearly all the world had been inside it. And after all this fuss, your wife brings forth a girl!"

She tried to smile scornfully, but her joy at the arrival of this new being, somehow mingled with the scorn.

"Does it matter?" asked Shiveswar. "I cannot see any sense in your antiquated prejudices. Is a girl less valuable than a boy? Is she less important in the scheme of creation? I don't see any difference. But of that, hereafter. What does the doctor say about her?" He looked at his wife as he spoke, and his face became anxious again.

"I don't know, my dear," his mother answered, "they talked in English. You better ask him yourself."

The doctor did not hold out any great hopes. Still, there was hope as long as there was life.

After the doctor had left, Shiveswar returned again to that room. "Why don't you go and lie down?" his mother asked. "You have been on your feet the whole of the time. What did the doctor say?"

"Nothing definite," her son replied. Then after a while, "Mother, we should give a name to the new baby."

The mother did not look over-enthusiastic at this proposal. "You are absurd," she said, "what's the hurry? This is not the proper time."

But the new mother had recovered consciousness by this time. In a weak whisper, she said, "Why not now? I might not be here to hear it, if you wait much longer."

Her husband bent down over her and whispered, "Don't Hem, please don't. You pain me very much. You are going to get well. But we shall give baby her name to-night, all the same. Mother, what name, do you think, would suit her best?"

His mother had gone to the other end of the room, and was talking to a servant. She came back to them and said, "So it must be to-night? But why do you ask me? You won't go by my taste."

"Still, there's no harm in choosing it," her son said; "perhaps, your choice and ours might be alike."

"One of my friends had a grand-daughter named Muktakeshi," his mother said. "I liked the name. Your daughter is born with quite a mop of hair and it will increase with her growth. So this name would suit her quite." Her son pondered for a moment, with his brows puckered. Then, "All right, mother," he said, "let us compromise. We shall give her a name which shall be half of your choosing and half of mine. Let baby be called Mukti. It was fortunate that I asked you, otherwise, this beautiful name would never have struck me."

"Beautiful indeed!" sniffed his mother. "But do as you please. I have many things to attend to now." With that, she went out of the room.

A nurse came in. The baby's mother smiled a pallid smile, on hearing her name, and looked at the small being sleeping by her side. She was too weak to speak and so remained silent. Her husband too went out.

In the house, joy was subdued on account of the illness of baby's mother. At last the tension ended. The young mother departed to the great unknown. Perhaps she remembered her baby there, perhaps she forgot.

Her mother-in-law wailed aloud in her grief. Her son sat like one stunned, with the baby clasped in his arms.

(2)

Shiveswar's name suited him very little. Though he was not possessed of an excessively

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bad temper, still he was very hard to get on with. He was a reformer, an extremely thorough-going reformer. He could not tolerate superstition, in any form or guise. He hated gods and goddesses. Unfortunately, his parents were not of the same ilk; so they named him after one of these objectionable beings and so doomed him to life-long suffering. There was no way of getting out of it now.

When he had first got admitted into a school, this thing did not strike him at all. Even when he was at college and had safely passed through two examinations, he did not trouble himself much about his name. Otherwise, he would have changed it, before it laid for itself a solid foundation in the calendars of the university. But martyrdom was in store for him; so he was too late to effect this reformation.

After he joined the law college, he had devoted himself heart and soul to the carrying of the standard of reform everywhere. One day, he got invited to tea, in the house of Abinash, one of his friends. A hot discussion broke out about social evils. Suddenly, one of his friends, Anadi by name, turned to him and asked, "Well Shiveswar, you have reformed nearly everything you could lay your hands on. Even in this blistering heat, you are sipping hot tea, leaving alone the glass of *sherbet*, because it is orthodox. But why didn't you begin at the beginning? Your name is Shiveswar, is it not? Shiva, the leader of the pantheon with five faces, three eyes, lord of two wives and the smoker of *ganja*! Shiva the greatest idol of all, appears to be your patron saint! Don't you think it a superstition, to answer to this name at all?"

Shiveswar was non-plussed. Why had not he thought of it before? But no use crying over spilt milk now. What is done is done. "What can I do?" he said, "My name was not chosen according to my taste. My parents hardly consulted me, when they perpetrated this atrocity."

"But don't make the same mistake in the case of your children," said Anadi.

"Certainly not," cried Shiveswar, nearly jumping out of his chair, in his excitement. "You won't find anything of the sort near me."

Shiveswar had been married early, and here too, he had not been consulted. So when the bride came to live with her husband, nearly five years after the marriage ceremony, her husband set about reforming her at once.

Her name was Haimabati, which is a very orthodox one. So, "Look here, my dear," her modern husband said, "your name is too old-fashioned. I want to change it, a bit. Have you any objection? Don't you think, the name Hemnalini sounds much better than Haimabati?"

The heavily veiled bride remained silent in amazement, at this proposal of her husband. Perhaps, she took it as a jest. Shiveswar waited in vain for her to look up or speak. He could scarcely change her name for her, without her consent. A reformer could never play the tyrant over a woman. So he had to coax and cajole for a pretty long time. At last his efforts were crowned with success, and, "do as you think best", replied his wife. With that he had to remain content, for the time being.

But this reformation brought him small credit, because few ever heard of it. Nobody called the bride by her name, except her husband. He, too, never did so, in public. In her father's family, they addressed her by her nickname Poonti, and no reformation was possible there. But Shiveswar was very much pleased with himself; so it was all right. Thus the first brunt of reformation was borne by his wife.

Then Shiveswar began with his house and furniture. He was a rich man's son and so could indulge in his whims safely. So, as soon as he became a finished lawyer and began to walk the courts, he felt himself important enough to make his will felt everywhere. His father's old house at Bhowanipur and its accumulations of age-old rubbish, first came under his notice. The new house, on Harrison Road, had already been dealt with.

The only inmates of the house were Hemnalini and himself. She spoke very little, naturally, and moreover she held her husband in such high esteem, that it was simply unthinkable for her to try to prevent him from doing anything he wanted to do. She would not even criticise. The only person who could have stood in Shiveswar's way was his mother Mokshada Devi. But she could not be prevailed upon to leave their country house and settle in Calcutta. So Shiveswar went his way, unhampered. In his wild zeal, he demolished the old places, erected for family worship, banished the gods and goddesses and did away with the beautiful arches, nicely wrought altars, the lamps for holy illumination, the conch-

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shells, with lotuses engraved on their white bodies. The bereft Muse looked with tearful eyes at her desecrated abode, and left in sorrow.

His friend Anadi came to have a look and cried out, "I say, Shiveswar, what's this ? You are behaving like an iconoclast. What are you trying to become ? A Christian or a Muhammadan ?" "I am trying to become nothing," said Shiveswar gravely. "I am not destroying the old images, in order to institute new ones, in their places. I am on the side of destruction, because I believe obedience to any creed is nothing but slavery. So, I am determined to do without any of them."

"You are mad," said his friend. "This fad of reformation is turning you into an absolute lunatic. Are you determined to upset all the laws of creation ? Put an ice-bag on, it might cool your ardour a little. If you don't, I shall enlist your wife's services. Somebody must take proper care of you."

Inspite of all his zeal, Shiveswar had a loving heart. He could tolerate everything from the persons, he loved, or, who loved him. But, nothing could shake his convictions. He engaged a music master, a teacher of drawing and painting for his wife. The music she learned was foreign and the teachers taught her merely to copy western pictures. He thought of engaging a Hindustani music master also, in order to teach her Eastern music. But he demurred, because these fellows insisted on singing songs consecrated to Krishna and Radha, whom he abominated. Hemnalini liked the sitar, much more than she liked the piano. But she left everything to her husband, as she had implicit faith in his judgment.

So she took off her old-fashioned gold bangles and put on foreign made bracelets. She left the store-room and the kitchen and began to pass her days among her musical instruments and her books. She liked them. Her husband spared no pains to make her happy. He ransacked all the shops and bought all the clothing, jewellery, books and every other pretty thing that took his fancy and took them home to her. He could not rest without doing this. The young wife would smile sweetly and say, "Are you determined to buy the whole world for me ? Do I need so many things ? I can do without most of them."

"Perhaps, you could," her husband would say, "but I cannot. Whenever I see anything beautiful, I want you to see it too, otherwise, my seeing is not complete. I don't see any use in having money, if I cannot buy everything for you. Wealth loses its importance, when it ceases to serve you."

Hemnalini understood him of course, but she felt herself too unworthy of such a great love. She would remain silent in embarassment. The belief in her own unworthiness took away even from her joy, in being the possessor of such a love. She would escape from his presence, and think and think on his words, sitting in some quiet corner.

But her days were numbered She left her husband, and all that his love had procured for her. Shiveswar's house lost its only presiding deity. She left behind her a little baby girl, that her husband's great loving heart might have something to cling to.

(*To be continued*)

A MANUMIT STUDENT ON FREEDOM

Isn't it great to be free ?
To say, "come and have fun with me,"
And to shout and to say,
"Oh joy ! oh joy ! I am free !"
Isn't it great to be free ?

To be able to climb every tree
To play with the girls and boys,
And to make all sorts of noise.
Oh, girls ! Oh, boys ! We're free !"

By BERNICE, AGE 9.

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ART IN THE WEST AND THE EAST

I

By NAGENDRANATH GUPTA

In the mythology of ancient Greece the Muses are represented by a sisterhood of nine divinities, whose favourite haunts were Mount Helicon and Mount Parnassus, and who presided over and cherished various arts. Five of them had different forms of poetry in their keeping. Singing and harmony and dancing claimed the ministrations of two others, while history and astronomy were looked after by the remaining two. But such fine arts as painting and sculpture and architecture were left to look after themselves without the inspiring guardianship of any of the Muses. On the other hand, the ancient Aryan mythology of India names a single tutelary goddess, Sarasvati, of the arts. She is pictured as a standing figure with her feet gracefully and lightly poised on a lotus flower, which is symbolical and suggestive of a whole world of art, and holding in her hands the *vina*, the famous stringed instrument emblematic not merely of music but also harmony, which is the essence of all art. Since all art, imaginative, creative and formative, has the same spring and its various expressions proceed from a common source the conception of a single inspiring divinity is an appropriate one. There is such striking similarity between Aryan and Greek mythologies that there can be little doubt that they were the common inheritance of an ancient people which divided east and west on the adventure of life, and while the Aryans in India concentrated on the evolution of the spirit and scaled the heights of the Upanishads, the Aryans in Greece became the greatest artists and warriors in the world and no mean rivals to their distant cousins in literature and philosophy. But in religion they made no advance beyond the faith they had brought with them.

Of the four Vedas the SamaVeda is most highly praised because it consists of chants or songs of praise. In the *Bhagavad Gita* Sri Krishna says, "among the Vedas I am the Sama Veda." Sarasvati is represented as the essence of the Sama Veda. The earliest and the greatest artist is the poet, who, in the ancient times merely chanted his poems. Some of the greatest poems were composed before any script and writing materials were known. Early poetry was mnemonic and the verses flowed out of the lips of the poet as clear water gushes out from a spring. It was a spontaneous outpouring and the listeners committed the verses to memory. This is the fashion in which the Aryan scriptures and poetry were preserved for a long time. Similarly, singing must have been known and practised long before musical instruments came into use. Men and women must have sung even as the birds sing for the pure joy of singing.

Every other form of art must be of later origin. The cave-man had enough to do in satisfying his primitive instincts. He had no house to decorate, no walls on which to hang pictures. Still the instinct of art is as ancient as the primitive man and prehistoric paintings and engravings have been discovered in ancient cave dwellings. Decorative and pictorial art has been traced back to the time of Mena, the first king of Egypt, 5500 B. C. and it must have been in existence even earlier. Even the pigments have not lost their brightness and the beautiful Egyptian blue may be still admired, while the motives of decorations may be easily identified. It is inferred that painting as it is now understood was not known to the Egyptians, but as a matter of fact easel and portable paintings cannot be preserved for very long. The sacred scarabs, the vultures, the human figures, the wall decorations of the tombs, the paintings on the mummy cases indicate a length of life that fills the beholder with amazement, apart altogether from the artistic merits of the decorations. The thrill that was created by the opening of the tomb of king Tutankhamen in the valley of the Tombs of the Kings at Luxor, which occupies the site of the 'hundred-gated' Thebes has not yet altogether subsided.

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The marvellous objects discovered within the royal tomb are substantial additions to the world's knowledge of Egyptian art. The golden chariot, the wonderful vases, the heads of the typhonic animals forming the framework of the Royal couch are finished works of art and were placed in the sepulchre more than three thousand years ago. Paintings found on the funerary equipment in the tomb show remarkable progress in that art while there are spirited pictures of hunting scenes showing the king and the queen. In one picture the young queen has accompanied her husband to a duck shoot and is handing him an arrow and also pointing out a duck with the other hand. In the sterner chase of the lion and other big game the king is represented driving in his chariot drawn by fiery horses, accompanied by his great Slughi hounds and his followers in the distance. The most valuable treasure found inside the coffin itself is a magnificent manuscript, the first Royal Book of the Dead, consisting of a papyrus roll, over 100 feet long, and 'embellished with hundreds of paintings in colour by Egypt's greatest artists in her supreme period of decorative art.' Egypt alone knew the art of preserving the dead and embalming the flesh and the bones that begin to putrefy a few hours after death in such fashion that the mummies may be seen to this day retaining the resemblance to living humanity. It is a lost art well lost, for the heart is filled with a great pity when one thinks of this manner of disposing of the dead. Here was a great people now extinct possessed of an ancient civilisation, much wealth and many arts. Yet the Egyptians knew nothing about the higher phases of religion and did not realise that the human body is like a cage in which the soul tarries and when the spirit is fled this tenement of flesh is like an empty cage from which the bird has escaped. The poor ignorant Egyptians provided for the dead as for the living, with meat and wine, chariot, chair and couch their thoughts being unable to travel beyond this world. And then one thinks of another ancient people who thought deeper and whose faith was truer and higher, who believed that the flesh is composed of the five elements and should mingle with them after death, who consigned the dead to the flames and scattered the ashes to the winds of heaven. The embalming and preservation of dead human bodies appear all the more inexplicable in view of the tradition about the phoenix, the fabulous Egyptian bird reputed to visit the temple dedicated to it at Heliopolis every 500 years, and which rose every time as a new phoenix from its own ashes.

The history of Chaldean and Assyrian art is written in the fragments that have been recovered by arthaeologists by excavating the ruined cities of Babylon and Nineveh, opposite the modern Mosul, while part of the political history of Assyria has been traced by deciphering the cuneiform inscriptions on tombs, monuments and other remnants of monumental architecture. Assyrian painting and decoration have been found on glazed bricks and stucco and sculptured slabs. There is evidence that Nineveh imitated and adopted the art of Babylonia, though the Assyrians were superior to the Chaldeans in sculpture. The winged bulls of Nineveh, the great alabaster figures, half man and half bull or lion, that formed the portals of palaces, the beautiful positive and negative colours on the walls of Ninevite palaces are triumphs of high art. The sculptures and bas-reliefs are rich in figures and fantastic creations. The Greek historian Philostratus has given a vivid description of the palaces of the Kings of Babylon covered with burnished bronze that glittered at a distance and the opulence of silver and beaten and even massive gold that decorated the chambers and porticoes. It was in one of these palaces that Belshazzar, the last of the Kings of Babylon, made a great feast and commanded that 'the golden and silver vessels from the temple in Jerusalem, taken out by his father Nebuchadnezzar, should be brought forth so that the king, and his princes, his wives, and his concubines, might drink wine therein. And as they drank they praised their gods made of precious and base metals, wood and stone. In that same fateful hour, we read in the Book of Daniel, came forth fingers of a man's hand and wrote over against the candle-stick upon the plaister of the wall of the king's palace: and the king saw the part of the hand that wrote.' Neither the revellers, nor the astrologers, the Chaldeans and the soothsayers could explain the meaning of the words written on the wall, and hence Daniel was called to interpret them, and he interpreted them as the divine judgment pronounced upon Belshazzar, the king, since he had

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been weighed in the balance and found wanting. That same night the king was slain and Darius, the Median took the kingdom. The writing is ever the same on the palace walls of kingdoms and empires, but there are no eyes to see and no Daniel to interpret it. As it was in the past so it is in the present and so will it be in the future. The decree never varies : God numbers every kingdom, and finishes it when it is weighed and found wanting ; and it is divided and given to others. As it was with Babylon so was it with the Aryan kingdoms and Buddhist Empire in India, Egypt, Assyria Persia, Greece and Rome and the Moghal Empire ; and so it has been now with China, Russia, Germany and Austria. And as to the future it is not given to us to lift the veil. The moving finger writes, and having writ, moves on to other palace walls.

Unlike the vanished kingdoms of ancient Mesopotamia Persia has had a more or less continuous history of art, of which the individuality has been maintained though the country itself has been invaded and conquered by other nations. It has influenced several industrial arts of Europe and the East. "The Lion's Frieze" found in the ruins of the ancient Persian palace at Susa is a piece of the finest sculpture. Under such kings as Cambyses, Cyrus, Darius and Xerxes ancient Persia attained a magnificence which has probably never been rivalled. The palaces at Persepolis, Susa and Ecbatana eclipsed everything known before and were vast treasure houses of art. Ancient Greek writers not unnaturally wrote lightly of Persian conquests and riches, but archaeological researches have proved that the Greek accounts underestimated the extent of Persian achievement. In the Book of Esther there is an accurate account of the royal feast given by the king Ahasuerus, the Xerxes of history, "unto all the people that were present at Shushan the palace, in the court of the garden where were white, green and blue hangings, fastened with cords of fine linen and purple to silver rings and pillars of marble: the beds were of gold and silver, upon a pavement of red, and blue, and white and black marble. And they gave them drink in vessels of gold, (the vessels being diverse one from another,) and royal wine in abundance according to the state of the King.* Great and small were alike bidden to this feast which lasted for seven days. If this was the court of the garden what must have been the interior of the palace like ?

It has been observed that of all the nations of the world, living or dead, the ancient Greeks and the Japanese, both ancient and modern, can alone be regarded as nations of artists. The Greeks cultivated physical beauty as a thing of art and they were the finest looking race that the world has seen. Up to this day a man with a fine head and handsome regular features is compared to a Greek or the statue of a Greek god. Pictures of beautiful gods and goddesses were suspended in bed-rooms so that men and women might behold them the last things at night and their eyes might rest on them the first thing on awakening in the morning. Women wore gold chains round their knees so that they might walk with measured and graceful steps. And this national love of the artistic and the beautiful translated itself in their unsurpassable creations of art. It may be doubted how long the Japanese will be able to retain their claim as a nation of artists since they have been drawn into the maelstrom of western materialism. Surface painting being the most quickly perishable form of art no remains of Greek painting are to be found, but there is historical record that the Greeks painted on walls, panels and canvases, and the names of certain schools of painting, such as the Ionic and the Sicyonian, are still known. We know that Apelles, the court painter of Alexander the Great and called the Prince of Painters was a great artist. The name of his most celebrated painting is known, but the picture itself is not in existence. There are Greek books giving accounts of large paintings on the walls of public buildings and other moveable pictures. What significance would the name of Homer have conveyed to the world today if the Iliad and the Odyssey had perished ? And in his own time the greatest epic poet of Europe, reputed to have been a wandering minstrel, was a man of so little consequence that partically nothing is known about him, his birthplace is unknown and his date is put anywhere between 1100 and 700 B. C. And yet Homer was the greatest of all the artists of Greece. To read the

* History and Methods of Ancient and Modern Painting. James Ward. Some statements of facts are also taken from this book.

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names and descriptions of pictures that are extinct is like finding a commentary on some famous book of which the text is lost. Even so late as the last century Ruskin wrote that he never intended to republish "the Seven Lamps of Architecture" because the book had become useless on account of the buildings described in it having been either knocked down 'or scraped and patched up into smugness and smoothness more tragic than uttermost ruin'. And in this century German cannons have irretrievably ruined the famous Cathedral of Rheims.

In architecture, sculpture, designing and painting Greece reached the summit of excellence in the Classic period. The aim, whether in statuary or other forms of figure representation, was the perfection of human beauty in both sexes, and the figures of the gods and goddesses were the highest expression of such beauty. The figure of the Greek god Apollo was the ideal embodiment of the most perfect and the most glorious manhood. The most celebrated works of Phidias, who is designated the greatest sculptor of Greece, and therefore of the world, were the colossal statues of Athene and the Olympian Zeus, the latter being considered his masterpiece. The human ideal was never transcended and the inspiration of the Greek artists was the conception of the physical ideal of manhood and womanhood. The figure of the Sphinx in Egypt is a much older monument and it may not possess the embelishments of the highest Greek art, but it fills a larger place in the imagination of the world than any statue of Greece and Rome. The strange fable associated with the name, the famous riddle which Oedipus solved and the mystery of the Sphinx have all been worked into the immense, rock-cut figure that dominates landscape in the vicinity of the Pyramids. The figure partially resembles the fabled monster, the body and paws are those are of a lion, the face and breast those of a woman but the beholder perceives nothing grotesque at all so impressive is the face in its calm dignity, so overpowering is the whole figure in its sovereign power. It still stands as the riddle of the ages, mystic, inscrutable, tranquil, powerful.

From the remains that are still left of the achievements of the art of Greece some idea may be formed of what Hellas must have been in the height of her glory. The traveller, the artist and the archaeologist may still gaze on what is left of the Acropolis, the Temple of Victory and the Parthenon. The Theseum, the ancient temple of Theseus, with some modern renovations, is still entire. Hellenic art has exercised a potent influence just as Greek literature and Greek philosophy have permeated Europe.

Though independent of origin early Roman art inevitably came under the influence of Hellenistic art, which left its firm impress on the Augustan peroid. The Emperor Augustus was the patron of all art and the most striking monument intended to glorify him was the *Ara Pacis Augusti*—the Altar of Peace of Augustus. The reliefs of the *Ara* are historical portraits of great importance. The occasion seclected was when the Imperial House and the highest aristocracy of Rome accompanied the Emperor when he made the first sacrifice at the altar. 'Priests and officials, proud youth, beautiful women and well-bred children', servants, sacrificial animals, fruits, garlands are all represented with great skill and dignity of treatment. A German writer holds the view that the 'world-propelling genius of Augustan' art was not asculptor but the poet Virgil.*

At a later period Latin art freed itself as an original national art. Under the Emperors Titus and Trajan Roman art established its individuality. The Coliseum and the Arch of Titus, the historical sculptures of the time of Trajan, the fully developed arch of Roman architecture, the cupola of the Pantheon built under Hadrian surpassed the products of previous arts. Latin art was particularly strong in portraiture and the beautiful and varied Roman busts have never been rivalled. And like Greece Rome has given to the world a literature which will endure when her triumphs in stone and marble will have disappeared. By a strange irony the volcanic eruption which destroyed all life in the cities of Pompeii and Herculaneum left the art treasures of those cities in a state of perfect preservation and the removal of the incrustation of lava has enabled the world to realise that 'the decorative art on the wall spaces at Pompeii, the work of Greek artists, has never been equalled or excelled.'*

As the mind's eye roams over the past the solemn question comes unbidden : Where are the palaces of the Pharaohs of Egypt,

* Franz Wickhoft, Roman Art.

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the gilded chambers of Cleopatra, the dazzling edifices of Babylon and Nineveh, the vast mansions of unparalleled magnificance in Percepolis and Susa, the proud structures of granite and marble, bronze, gold and silver that lifted up their heads as a challenge to eternity ? Time, the great obliterator, has passed his sponge over them and, lo : they have vanished even like the palace raised in a night by the genii of Aladin's lamp. And Earth, the great Mother and the final resting-place of all, has hidden the ruins away out of sight in her own wide and deep bosom. The dead are sometimes better housed than the living : the Pyramids, the most massive structures of antiquity, and the Taj Mahal, the most exquisite creation of medieval art, are houses of the dead. Tutankhamen's grave has been found ; who can point out the ruins of the palace in which he lived ?

The transition from pagan Rome to Christian Italy corresponded with the decline and fall of Rome and the disappearance of ancient Roman art. In early Christian art, in which the strong influence of the form and technique of Roman art is obvious figure decoration was avoided on account of the antipathy to heathenism and pagan gods. The fierce denunciations of some of the Hebrew prophets against Babylonian and other gods fill part of the Old Testament. As, however, the prohibition against the making of images is not confined to the Bible the aspects of prohibition in art among different peoples may be considered together. In the Aryan scriptures there is nothing mentioned, but no Indo-Aryan artist ever thought of making an image of the Brahman, the God of the Upanishad. Even the Puranic divinities were not represented by figures for a considerable time. Buddhist sculptors and images in the time of Asoka illustrated in reliefs and paintings the many incarnations of the Buddha as told in the Avadanas and the Jataka tales but not one of them ventured to make a figure of the Blessed One. Probably the first images of the Buddha were made under the Kushan Kings in the north-western part of India and King Kanishka was a great patron of art. Of the two divisions of Buddhism, Mahayana and Hinyana, the Hinayna sect has been always opposed to any visible likeness of the Tathagata. In the old Testament there is an emphatic prohibitory mandate in the second commandment. There were to be no other gods before God, and all images and likenesses, graven or otherwise, for worship were forbidden. Before the Exodus Moses had seen the gods of Egypt. The obedience to the commandment was not always absolute, for there was a bronze figure of the serpent in the Temple of Jerusalem itself, but when Israel was at the height of its power and the supremacy of the Synagogue was undisputed for nearly a thousand years all relics and traces of the ancient formative art were destroyed. The iconoclastic zeal appeared among some of the converted Romans also. In the eighth century Leo the Isaurian, known as the "Iconoclast," was Emperor of the Eastern Empire and he issued an edict against the supposed worship of images and this edict was confirmed by a council of bishops. The production of sacred sculpture, certain forms of mosaics and monumental paintings was prohibited and many valuable works of art were destroyed, Leo burned the library at Constantinople containing above 30,000 volumes and a quantity of medals. The Prophet of Arabia was born among a race of idol-worshippers and his hatred of idols and images may be easily understood. On his return to Mecca after the Hejira at Medina all the idols in the Caaba were destroyed. In the Koran the commandment is, "Verily, God will not forgive the union of other gods with himself!"* The interpretation was that not only should the followers of Islam have nothing to do with images but these should be destroyed wherever found. This is the explanation of the irrational and furious iconoclasm which destroyed or disfigured most of the sculptures in India and burned many thousands of pictures and palm-leaf manuscripts. The effect on several branches of art so far as the Saracenic world is concerned has been complete sterility. It reminds one of a single potent German word displayed on the highways and byways of Germany when the junkers swaggered along the streets and before the Kaiser and his entourage had bolted like rabbits to their new-found warren in Holland. *Verboten* not allowed : It is not permissible for a Mussalman ruler to stamp his effigy upon his coins. No artist in the ranks of Faith-

* James Ward. History of Painting.

* The Koran Sura IV,

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ful may become a sculptor. Saracenic architecture rigidly eschews all figures, even of birds and animals. Persia had a tradition of art before it was converted to Islam and consequently all secular art could not be summarily abolished from that country. Besides, the Sufis regard Mansoor, who proclaimed *Un-al-Huq* (I am God) and was condemned to death, as one of their most spiritual leaders who had attained the fourth or highest stage of Sufi-ism. This doctrine of the identity of the soul with God, became a recognised factor in Persian thought and Persian poetry. One hardly knows whether Moghul painting in India was introduced surreptitiously or openly, but the Emperors under whom it most flourished, Akbar, Jehangir and Shah Jehan, had not the zeal of Leo or Kala Pahar. But the ban under which figure representation is placed does not apply to the inscription on the Dewan-i-Am of the palace in Delhi in which it is emphatically repeated three times that the Hall of Audience is Elysium on earth.

The apprehension that the use of figures in Christian art would tend to encourage idolatrous worship was not of long duration. It was found that pictorial representations of scriptural subjects and personages would help the spread of Christianity and the ban on the portrayal of figures was removed. For some time, the classic ideals filled the imagination of the artists. Sometimes Christ was represented by the figure of Orpheus with his lyre and surrounded by animals. The early Christian churches were filled with mosaic decorations of a high order. In the earlier mosaics there was no nimbus round the head of the Christ. Even so late as the sixteenth century the mosaic decorations of a church in Rome, designed by Raphael, were curiously mixed. Numerous Greek deities are represented with a figure of the Creator surrounded by angels. Christian iconography had an early beginning, and the icon is an established fetish among the followers of the Greek Church. The mosaicists were succeeded by the frescanti of Italy. Wall painting in fresco was used in Greek and Roman art. Even in Italy the colours have disappeared from many fresco paintings and only the outlines are left.

Illuminated manuscripts and the painting of miniatures is also an ancient art. The oldest illuminated manuscript in existence is probably the Egyptian *Book of the Dead*, written and decorated on papyri leaves, and made for Ani about 1500 B. C., but this view will have to be altered after the discovery of the Royal Book of the Dead in the coffin of Tutankhemen. There are fragments of the *Iliad* with miniatures painted on vellum. The famous Paris Psalter, the Irish Celtic *Books of the Gospels and Psalters* and the famous *Book of Kells* in Trinity College, Dublin, are all works of a delicate and beautiful art.

So bewildering is the conflict of opinion about the great complex movement of the Renaissance, specially in Italy, that it seems difficult to decide whether the world has gained or lost by this remarkable awakening and whether the evil of it preponderates over the good. And yet there is no dubiousness about it at all. The revival of the influence of classic art could not eliminate the new force that had appeared in all thought, all literature, all art. Pre-Renaissance and mid-Renaissance art is informed with the image and Passion of the Christ, of infinite sorrow and infinite grace, the marvel of the Nativity, the suffering at Calvary and the glory of the Ascension. The Renaissance was ushered in by Dante and Petrarch and it was borne past on the river of Time to the accompaniment of the swan-song of Tasso. What glorious chapters of art are associated with the names of Titian, Michaelangelo and Raphael: So irresistable was the haunting fascination of Leonardo's Mona Lisa that it resulted in the picture being stolen. Ruskin rightly called Michaelangelo the Homer of painting. With equal truth he has been called 'the prophet of classical revivalism'. One of the greatest of the great Florentines, warrior-sculptor, the greatest frescoist of all time, Michaelangelo alone would have shed an undying lustre on the Renaissance in Italy and the highest traditions of art. And Michaelangelo wrote sonnets. But he was one, even if the greatest one, out of many dazzling luminaries in the firmanent of art. What other name can be associated with Raphael as an equal? In his short life of thirty-seven years he gave to the world all that is noblest and sublimest in Christian art with its perfect treatment of colours. The laurels on the brow of Titian will never pass to another, and his idylls, landscapes and figures still represent the supreme attainment of art. If the fame of these artists had not overshadowed that of others there would have

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been more general recognition of the place of Italy in the Renaissance. Masters like Fra Angelico, Botticelli, Leonardo La Vinci Perugino and Tintoretto, if they had been born in other countries, would have won great fame for the lands of their birth. From the meridian reached by Raphael and Michalangelo the passage of Italian art to the western horizon was swift. It was like a fall from a dizzy summit to the depths below. The process of erosion had been going on in the social influences, in the pride, luxury and hypocrisy of high life. Pontiffs like Sixtus IV and Alexander Borgia had fouled the very fountainhead of the Christian Church. No pagan or heathen of legend or myth, no ruffian in the history of criminology, has rivalled the horrors attributed to the Borgias. Vice flaunted itself openly and unashamed; corrupt patrons corrupted literature and art. The art that had reached a standard of excellence which could not be maintained soon died out. Criticism outside Italy has noted the fact that Rome, the home of classic greatness has twice been the tomb of art. The birthplace is the deathplace of most things but Italy has achieved what no other country in the world has done, for she has produced two literatures and two arts which rank among the highest in the world. Pagan Rome still dominates Europe with her culture, literature and ambition. Christianity has produced no lawmaker to supersede the laws of Rome and the Roman law is still the ideal in England. After the fall of ancient Rome a mixed race appeared in Italy and the Roman disappeared in the Italian, who has also made his mark both as a poet and a painter. Nor is the book of Italian achievement yet closed, for the present holds the promise of another great future.

Painting has been named the Sister of Poetry. If so, the classic and Renaissance periods represent the epic age in art. The Renaissance in France and Flanders and the rise of the Dutch School have an important bearing upon art in North Europe. The Flemish artists Hubert and Jan Van Eyck are reputed to be the inventors of the oil medium in painting but the use of drying oils was known before them. In England such great portraitists as Lely, Reynolds and Gainsborough appeared in the eighteenth century. Hogarth occupies a place by himself as one of the greatest satirists of the vices and weakness of the world. The English school of the nineteenth century produced several artists of genius. To Turner, the landscape painter, belongs the distinction of being the central figure of the five volumes written by Ruskin on "Modern Painters". Indignant at the ignorant criticism by which the great painter was assailed Ruskin, who was then a mere boy, wrote a vigorous reply which was the beginning of his great book.

While the classic art of Europe may be designated epic, historical pictures in marble and on canvas may be rightly called the dramatic phase of art, while dainty miniatures are really lyrics in colours. The evolution of art has been from idealism to realism. The classic art of Greece was nourished on Homer and Hesiod. Greek children were taught by heart passages from these poets and the boys also learned choral odes, popular songs and hymns. Memory-training was cultivated by the Greek Aryans as carefully as by the Indo-Aryans. The Greek artist aimed at reproducing the type and not the individual. The gods and goddesses were not painted or sculptured from living models but from the artists' ideal conception of beauty and manliness. Similarly in Christian art the Virgin, the Christ and scriptural traditions were subjective creations of the genius of the artist. No likeness of Jesus Christ was ever taken in his lifetime and it would have been sacrilegious to draw his image from any living man. All artists endeavoured to idealise the Jewish type of features and countenance. Guido Reni's "Ecce Homo" with the crown of thorns and the agony in the upturned eyes, is one of the most popular figures of the Christ, sublime in its suffering. Raphael and Michaelangelo did portraits but their greatest works were not made from life. Michaelangelo's paintings on the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel in the Vatican representing scenes from the Old Testament, are unapproachable in their grandeur but not a single figure is a portrait. Modern painting is mostly portraiture, while the ateliers in Paris and the studios in other capitals are haunted by artists' models. The modern tendency is towards profane or secular art and inspiration is not often sought from the poets or sacred litereture. A writer* to whom reference has been made says 'formative art often limps but slowly after the swift imagination of the poet.' And the poet still draws

* Franz Wickhoff.

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wonderful pictures in a few lines as vividly and unerringly as the painter on canvas or paper. Take the following example from Tennyson's "The Passing of Arthur" where the funeral barge comes to take away the dying King :—

"Then saw they how there hove a dusky barge,
Dark as a funeral scarf from stem to stern,
Beneath them ; and descending they were ware
That all the decks were dense with stately forms,
Black—stoled, black-hooded like a dream—by these
Three Queens with crowns of gold ; and from them rose
A cry that shiver'd to the tingling stars,
And, as it were one voice, an agony
Of lamentation, like a wind that shrills
All night in a waste land, where no one comes,
Or hath come, since the making of the world."

Ghostly, weird and haunting, yet noble in its setting of grief, this is a picture as clear to the vision of the mind as it would be to the eye if dimned by a great painter.

BANK FAILURES IN INDIA

THEIR CAUSES AND CURE

By TARAPADA DAS GUPTA, M. A.

IDLE money, said Sir Basil Blacket in a speech, is idle manhood ; and transferring the rhetoric to the domain of credit, we may more appropriately say that spoilt credit is spoilt manhood. Credit cannot be reckoned as money, though it can for internal purposes, be looked upon as artificial money. It is rather the elixir which intensifies and stimulates the effectiveness and importance of money in the economy of production. Whereas the development of credit in advanced countries has been attended with phenomenal growth of commerce and industry, the stumbling down of growing credit in a country, may and does bring about slump and depression in business and industry, more disastrous and extensive in inflicting injury to society than the average layman can gauge.

India is the land where credit has tended to grow but has been stiffled in its infancy from time to time. The industrial and broadly speaking, the general poverty of our country is in a sense reflected by the position that India holds in the world's record of credit and banking.

The following figures speak for themselves*

	Average deposit per head of the population.	Banking capital & Reserve.	Deposits.
	£	£ 1,000,000	£ 1,000,000
U. S. A—	73	1052	7754
U. Kingdom	57	180	2682
Australia	63½	59	350
Canada	44½	25	379
India	¾	19	235

*Figures taken from Mr. Thakur's *Organisation of Indian Banking.*

The figures for India represent the resources of the Imperial Bank of India ; Exchange Banks and J. S. Banks. Now, if we consider the figures of the J. S. Banks only, then the deplorable state of things in Indian banking becomes still more horribly manifest.

The frequency of Bank failures and the inadequacy of banking facilities show that credit institutions do not move in smooth waters in our country. Banks have miserably failed. People have seemed to take lessons from those failures. But the effect of such crises has been temporary. As a matter of fact, banks still fail from causes which are not above diagnosis, and it seems they will fail in future unless we seriously try to eradicate the causes.

We are a careless people. We speak of the need of sound banking and good banks but we have never seriously cared to make possible the circumstances, which favour the growth of sound banking. Every time that an Indian bank fails the case for the stability and reliability of Exchange and Chartered Banks is strengthend. Our banks do not think of being safe and prudent custodians of other people's money and people in their turn do not lend them that amount of support and patronage which can help to keep a substiantial number of Indian banks in an efficient condition. As a matter of fact, nine persons out of ten prefer a European bank to an Indian Joint Stock Bank. It is, in many cases, the alluring terms which the Indian J. S. banks offer and in a few cases, pure and unmixed patriotic

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motive which induce the few people who can patronise J. S. banks to open an account with them.

The following figures show the insignificance of Indian J. S. banks in the Indian money market :—

	Number	Capital & Reserve.	Deposits.
	.....	.....	.....
Imperial Bank	1.	10.55	83,29
Exchange Banks	18	1,3,8,3,1, (?)	70,54.
J. S. Banks	74.	11,78	57,90.

(?)-Cap. plus Reserve are in England or other countries where these banks were registered.

The above figures show that J. S. Banks are prominent by their numerical strength only, though in respect of their volume of activities and quantity of capital and reserve, they pale when compared with the Imperial or Exchange banks.

Of the 74 J. S. Banks only four can be called banks, in the proper sense of the word. These are :—(1) The Central Bank of India, (2) The Bank of India, (3) The Punjab National Bank, and (4) The Allahabad Bank. They together command capital and reserve of about Rs.5 crores, and deposits of about Rs. 40 crores. Roughly speaking, they represent more than 50 p.c. of the strength and resources of J. S. Banks in India.

It will not be out place to point out that in countries of the West banks have failed, and in many cases, many of them have failed at a time, affecting the entire business and trade of those countries. Inefficient organisation and dishonest practices might have brought about the fall of solitary banking houses in those countries. But widespread bank failures in those countries are generally held to be due to what are known as trade cycles. Of the numerous noteworthy banks crises in Europe and America, India has no parallel.

It is only the crises of 1913 and 1924 which can, in a way, be said to resemble general bank crises of the West. Though the causes which bring about general crises here and in the West are broadly speaking the same, viz., sudden growth of one or more forms of industries, sudden briskness in speculative and credit business—all these galloping towards the inevitable sequel, viz., financial panic ;—yet they differ in details as between the West and India. The banks in the West have behind them a long tradition of modern banking habit and resources of Central banks to help them during crises. Modern credit institutions under Indian control and management, are comparatively speaking of recent growth. And as such, Indians have not been able to prove themselves as efficient, reliable and even honest as the Westerners.

Before telling anything about the causes of and probable remedies against the deplorable state of our banking system, three facts deserve to be mentioned. These are :—

1. The East India Company was generous and sympathetic towards the Early European Banks in India, whereas the Government of India has done very little towards helping Indian Banks ; and the little they have done in the direction has been done towards the growth and consolidation of the Presidency Banks. The fact that the East India Company sometimes helped the Early European Banks in their hour of crisis, even in contravention of the express directions of the Board of Directors in England * only brings into relief the apathetic and unsympathetic policy which the Government of India has persisted in, for a period of about 60 years.

2. Up to the time of the Mutiny, the internal political condition had much influence on the prosperity or otherwise of Banks in India, but since the consolidation of British power in India, it is the internal trade condition as well as the world politics and world condition of trade and commerce which have directly affected the Banks.

3. We often hear and realise that Indian Bank managers and directors are partly responsible for a majority of Bank failures, and that inefficient management, malpractices and fraud by managers and directors bring about the fall of Banking houses. But Indians cannot be said to be original in whatever blunder and fraud they commit. As a matter of truth, misappropriation of and fraud in respect of other people's money by bankers is a legacy which the European Bankers of the forties and fifties of the last century handed down to their lineal successors, the Indian Joint Stock Banks. The failure of the Union Bank in 1848 and of the Benares Bank in 1849 revealed the extent to which European Bank managers and directors can disregard honest

* *Early European Banking in India*, by Dr. H. Sinha Ph. D.

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banking principles and carry on dishonest practices. As a matter of fact, contemporary newspaper columns, and reports of liquidators are replete with the condemnation of cheating and fraud and other dishonest practices. "The letters of the Chief Director, Colonel Pew" says Prof. Findlay Shirras (referring to the letters which the Chief Director wrote to his dupes just prior to the failure of the Benares Bank) "read, as if they had been written in the years preceding the Punjab and Bombay Bank failures in 1913 to 1917, and not in 1840 *... The whole history of the Bank reads like a bucket-shop circular. The Directors held out promises that could not be realised, and the delusion was maintained only by prevarication". The latest instance of European fraud in Banking is afforded by the failure of the Bank of Burma in 1910, a bank which so styled itself with the set purpose of giving to the ignorant public the idea that the Bank belonged to the Presidency Bank category. The most recent instance of how a European-managed Bank can fail owing to disregard of sound banking principles, is afforded by the failure of the Alliance Bank of Simla.

Banks have failed here, but there is hardly any periodicity in bank failures, the periods of Indian Bank failures being 1829-32, 1857, 1863-66, 1913-17 and 1922-24. (Of these, the failures of 1913-17 were of a serious nature).

Moreover, world crises of the last century had left Indian Banks almost unaffected. Even the crisis of 1907-8, which originated in the United States of America, and at once affected the monetary mechanism of the European countries, was not in any way severely felt by Indian banks, though our Currency Authorities had to pass over a temporary crisis. The magnitude of Indian Bank failures too is not so great. It is only the failures of 1913-17, to which I have already referred, which resemble Bank crises of the West. The fact that within a period of some five years only, more than Rs. 178 lakhs of paid-up capital were involved in the failures, shows that it was a gigantic crisis in the banking history of the land. Figures relating to the deposits of these banks are not to my hand. But assuming that deposits of these banks were in ratio of 5 : 1, to their paid up capital, it may be said that about— Rs 7, crores of deposits were also involved in the failures. But this loss is insignificant when compared with the tremendous mischief which they created by causing dislocation of and in many cases ruin to our growing industries, and by giving a rude shock to the nation's banking habit and faith in Indian Banks.

Prof. Keynes' reading of the Indian Banking situation just prior to the 1913 failures seems to be more accurate than the palm-reading of the best palmists of our country. "It is hard to doubt" said this great Economist, reviewing the condition of Indian J. S. Banks, "that in the next bad times they will go down like ninepins. If such a catastrophe occurs, the damage inflicted on India will be far greater than the direct loss falling on the depositors" * Referring to the needs of making good banking laws, the great *English* decrier of *Laissez Faire* said: "While I am inclined to think that it would be more convenient to deal with this matter in a separate Bill, *the important point is that decided action of some kind should be taken with the least possible delay*". † But neither the Government, nor our Banks themselves did pay any heed to Prof. Keynes' timely warning, and the inevitable catastrophe happened only a few months after this note of warning had been published.

The average total capital of our Joint Stock Banks during the last 15 years has been Rs. 4 crores, and during the same period a total capital of Rs. 7 crores has been lost in Bank failures. This is horrible and the system must be mended, if we aspire to the status of a modern nation. The following figures show the magnitude of recent Bank failures :—

Period	*No. of Banks*	In lakhs of Rs. *Paid up Capital.*
1913-17	49	178·0
1918	7	1·4
1919	4	4·0
1920	3	7·0
1921	7	1·25
1922	15	3·29
1923	20	466.
1924	18	11·0
1925	17	18·
Total	140	689 94

The causes which are responsible for the slow growth of banking insitutions and for frequent failures of Indian Joint-Stock Banks, are well-known, and have been pointed

* Indian Finance and Banking, pp. 354.

* Indian Currency and Finance.
† Ibid.

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out by abler hands than mine. So, whatever I shall say will hardly be new or original. Writers on Indian Banking, from Prof. Keynes to Dr. Sinha and Mr. Thakur (the last two gentlemen being the latest contributors to Indian Banking literature) have repeatedly emphasised upon the need of good bankers and sound banking laws. What I propose to do is to re-tell in a short space, some of the principal deficiencies in our banking system.

The first and perhaps the most powerful hindrance to the growth of sound credit institutions in our country is the persistence of our Government in a *Laissez Faire* policy. Our banks and banking system have been modelld after the British system, in which *Laissez Faire* or Free Trade principles dominate. We have no separate banking laws, but banks are established here under the Indian Companies Act. The need of good banking laws has long been felt and the Government have from time to time been represented to and called upon to make such laws. Its attitude towards banks, however, still remains the same, viz.,—'stepmotherly' to borrow a word from Mr. Thakur. But one fact which makes all the difference between banks in England and those in India is that during general crises and financial panics, the Bank of England throws its doors open to the panicky banks and the *Free Trader* British Government resorts to its only and most effective weapon for staving off crises, namely, that certain provisions of the Bank Act of 1844 are suspended for a time and the Bank of England is allowed to issue notes without limit. The fact that the Bank of England stregthened by the temporary suspension of the Act of 1844, offers help to every bank which deserves-it, calms down all panic and anxiety of depositors with magical rapidity. But in India the Government of India cannot and does not help Indian Banks unless through the medium of Presidency Banks or the Imperial Bank of India. As a matter of truth, the Government of India were ready to help the up-country Banks during 1913-17 crisis through the medium of Presidency Banks, which the latter refused to do as the distributor. In this case, the Presidency Banks badly failed in their duty as national Banks.

The want of a geunine Central Bank and an elastic paper currency is another great disadvantage with our banks. The Presidency Banks could hardly be called Banker's banks in that they competed with J. S. Banks in not a few cases, and, as I have pointed out, they refused to help these banks when they were in a position to do so. As regards the Imperial Bank the best thing that can be said about it is that it offered timely help to Indian J. S. Banks when the latter were faced with a financial panic in 1922, just after the fall of the Alliance Bank of Simla Ld. But it is time only which can show how often and how faithfully the Imperial Bank can play the role of a Bankers' Bank, though the fact remains that the Imperial Bank of India cannot be expected to play that part in the Indian money-market and banking system, which the Bank of England plays in England's money economy, unless credit be linked to currency. The Emergency Clause in the Paper Currency Amendment Act of 1923 has, however, given some opportunity to the Imperial Bank for easing the stress in the Indian money market.*

There is no law which can compel Indian Banks to publish weekly statements, and with the exception of one or two banks, the Joint-Stock Banks do not, as a rule, publish any kind of weekly statement, with the result that the public are kept absolutely ignorant of their financial position. It is, however, true that many of these banks which conduct their business safely and soundly, do not think it fit to publish any statement, perhaps because they apprehend, as it seems to me, that by so doing they will expose the smallness of their paid-up capital and volume of their business. This is an erroneous idea. The best way of hiding the smallness of a bank is to be always able to show that the bank has sufficient cash balances and sufficient reserve and that a substantial amount of debts due by the bank's customers is secured and can be liquidated at short notice. It is, however, important that before calling upon our small banks to publish their weekly statements in an intelligible manner, extensive efforts should be made to educate the public, so as to enable them to look at the figures in the statement analytically and not synthetically. They should be made to understand that a

* The Indian Currency Authorities can now issue Emergency Notes to the value of Rs. 12 crores, and lend the same to the Imperial Bank of India against internal bills.

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big authorised capital is a misnomer, or that the unpaid portion of the subscribed capital is an element of strength to the Bank. I think the Bengal National Bank would not have failed so miserably, as it has, if its financial position were known to the depositors at least for the last few years. It may be that in that case, it might have closed its doors earlier, but the depositors would then get something more than what they are likely to get.

It will be a revelation to many that the position of the bank had remained unsafe for the last seven years. The following figures taken from the Government Blue Book clears the point :—

BENGAL NATIONAL BANK

Year	Paid-up capital	Reserve & rest	Total	Deposits					
				Fixed	Savings Bank	Current	Other	Total	Cash balance
	Rs.(000)	Rs.(000)	Rs.(000)	Rs.(000)	Rs.(000)	Rs.(000)	Rs.(000)	Rs.(000)	Rs.(000)
1921	8,05	7,47	15,52	33,37	1,16	24,75		59,28	2,90
1922	8,05	80	8,85	47,14	1,47	36,80		85,41	3,84
1923	8,05	1,35	9,40	40,62	74	24,48		65,84	42
1924	8,05	2,10	10,15	41,18	72	28,15		70,05	4,98
1925	8,05	2,67	10,72	...	...	...		81,05	3,85

Only the first two columns from the right-hand side disclose how horrible had been the state of things of the bank for a number of years prior to the failure. At one point, the cash balances of the bank came as low as only 2/3 per cent of the deposit liability, and at no time it exceeded even 8 per cent. of the total liability. Classified figures of deposits for 1925 are not given and there is a foot-note which explains that figures are not available. Moreover, the statistics itself is insufficient for giving the public any light on the iternal condition of the Bank, as classified figures of assets are not given. It is essential that the statistics department should be empowered by law, to elicit all informations from banks relating to the nature of both liabilities and assets.

But the banks themselves are not in a small degree, responsible for the credit backwardness of the country. Instances of inefficient management, mismanagement, unsound business, disregard of sound banking principles, dishonest practices such as window-dressing falsification of accounts &c., &c. are too numerous to be mentioned here. Some of the noteworthy causes of mismanagement in Banks are, however, given below :—

1. Want of efficient and trustworthy Indian bank managers is a standing evil to which our banks are subject. Oftentimes most unworthy people become bank directors and managers, who are innocent of banking experience and knowledge of principles and practice of banking.

2. Our Bank managers often forget that a bank legally closes down its business whenever it fails to pay on demand, and not infrequently do they fail to realise the necessity of maintaining suitable cash balances, reserves, and other marketable assets ; and cannot see what world of distinction is there between secured and unsecured assets or that a commercial bank should not lock up its money in securities which cannot be easily liquidated into money or which may depreciate in value, or in industry, or business, which is likely to be in depression. In many cases they allow overdrafts and advances on pro-note right and left to any and everybody who enjoys influence with the manager or directors, and as such, a good deal of such advances become bad debts.

3. In many cases, our banks spend extravagantly on buildings, furniture and establishment, so as to give themselves imposing appearances. It ought to be remembered that only blank and expensive show is the last thing that counts or adds strength in the long run, to banks, unless they have substantial resources. It was rightly pointed out by Dr. Sinha that Joint-Stock Banks should not and need not imitate Exchange Banks in the matter of gorgeous buildings and expensive establishment. It would, perhaps, sound strange to many that Lloyd's bank is as big as three Imperial Banks of India taken together. But the Calcutta premises of this bank is comparatively less gorgeous and less expensive than the premises of the Central Bank. The thing is the Exchange Banks maintain big houses and costly furniture because they

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can well offord them. Indian J. S. Banks need not blindly follow them.

The four sovereign remedies which have, from time to time, been prescribed are (1) good bankers, (2) banking laws, (3) publicity, and 4) a Banker's bank. But even today our banks require these essential safeguards as badly as ever. Suggestions have been made for the foundation of an Institute of Bankers in India and for offering proper training facilities to Indian youths in Presidency and Imperial Banks. The latter suggestion has partially been accepted by the Imperial Bank, though much remains to be desired in that direction. The genuine efforts made by the Tata Industrial Bank for imparting training to suitable Indians deserve mention.

The establishment of a Central National Bank in India with the exclusive right to note-issue and the enactment of suitable banking laws are overdue. The dropping of the Reserve Bank Bill is, therefore, to be regretted by every well-wisher of Indian Banks. And as regards banking laws, it may be pointed out that the Government of India is not likely to take the lead in the matter, unless our legislators persistently press the Government. It seems the diversity and multiplicity of our national problems are not allowing us to direct that amount of attention and energy to the banking problems which the seriousness of the situation demands.

The most pressing need of the Indian Banking system, I believe, is a Bank Act, containing among others, the following provisions:—

(1) Banks should be compelled to maintain sufficient Reserve and Cash balances.

(2) They should be allowed to grant unsecured credit to the extent of not more than a fifth of their deposit liability.

(3). The reserves of the banks should be made to bear a certain ratio to the deposit liabilities of the banks * and banks should not declare a higher divident than 4 per cent. unless the reserves bear the required ratio to their deposit liability.

(4) Banks should under compulsion publish weekly statements in a manner intelligible to literate laymen.

(5). The Statistics Department should be empowered to demand all informations which public interest demands.

(6) Bank managers and directors should be severely dealt with, for neglect of duty, wilful or otherwise, and for all kinds of dishonesty and favouritism in their business.

There are those who will point out that under such rigorous restrictions the growth of banks and credit will be arrested rather than helped. But the most effective answer to them is to be found in the example which the Presidency Banks afford, namely, that banks may steadily yet considerably grow under healthy and rigorous legal restrictions. Credit grows best when that growth is well-protected and regulated.

* This is the case in many American Banks.

THE GOSPEL FOR ASIA*

(A Review)

By MAHES CHANDRA GHOSH

IN 1922 Dr. Saunders wrote a biography of Gotama Buddha and the concluding remarks of the book were "Gotama is himself a morning star of good will heralding the Sun of Love." In the book under review he takes a comparative view of the Gita, the Lotus (*Saddharma Pundarika*) and the Fourth Gospel, and concludes that Jesus Christ is the Saviour of the world and that the Fourth Gospel should be accepted as the future Gospel for Asia.

The author frankly admits that it is a "missionary book". In another place he remarks that when a scholar 'has a theory to prove,' he will find ways to prove that theory (pp.178-179). So books written for propaganda work should be read with caution. The author has to some extent tried to do justice to the two non-Christian books but he 'has a theory to prove;' so he

* *The Gospel for Asia* by Kennith Saunders. Published by the Macmillan Company, New York. Pp. XVII+245. Price 2.50 dollars.

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has not been able to do full justice. The book has excellent materials but his missionary zeal has blinded him to the real merits of the Lotus and the Gita and to the defects of the F. G.

In this review we shall confine ourselves to the study of the Gita and the F. G. At the beginning we shall point out some of the inaccuracies and misinterpretations.

The F. G. begins with the theory of the Logos, which has been translated by the word '*Word*' with a view to forcing a parallel with the Logos of Cleanthes. The author has translated "*Logos Koinos*" of the stoic philosopher by "*Word Universal*" without any comment and made it unintelligible. The true translation is "*Reason Universal.*"

Commenting on the saying of the Gita that "God is the Father of the World," the author remarks :—

"This phrase is used in a very technical sense and is just one of those verses which are constantly being quoted out of their context to give a wrong impression of the essence of the Gita. What the Gita means is "I am Procreator of the world" (pp. 80-81)."

These remarks are misleading. The Sanskrit text is :—

पिताहमस्य जगतो
माता, धाता, पितामहः । IX, 17 ।

The literal translation of the passage is :—

I am the father (*pitā*) of the universe, the mother (*mātā*), the grandsire (*pitāmahah*).

The word pitā is used along with *mother* and *grandsire*. These words denote personal relationship. So the word *pitā* must mean '*father*'. Moreover, in the next verse God is called *Suhrit*. The word '*Suhrit*' literally means 'one having good heart'. The corresponding English word is 'sweet heart', Lover. Again in verse XI, 44 we find the following idea :—

"As father with the son, as friend with friend, as lover with beloved, O God, bear with me." In all these cases, the relation between God and man is personal. So the word *pitā* really means 'father'. The word 'procreator' which our author uses for pitā is a synonym for the word *Janaka* and not for *pitā*.

The author has translated the word *māyā* of the verse IV. 6 by '*delusive power*'. The true meaning here is '*wonderful power*' He thinks that the Gita supports the theory of illusion and that 'the human life is regarded' by it 'as an illusion' (p.124). It is a mistake. No-where does the Gita support the theory of Illusion (māyāvāda). Its māyā is nothing but *Prikriti* which has real existence. The Illusion theory of later Vedantists is an altogether different thing. What the Gita says is that all the sensuous worlds from this earth to the heavenly worlds are ephemeral and cannot therefore be our permanent abode. Our true home is, says the Gita, the super-sensuous world which is free from all imperfections. No Christian critic can find fault with it. Everywhere in the New Testament this world is condemned and the upper world glorified.

The author has misunderstood and adversely criticised the Hindu doctrine of *Karma* (pp. 157—158, etc). It is, according to him, 'a dark pall': it 'benumbs the nerve of moral aspiration'. In its extreme form, the *Karma* theory may not [be] acceptable; but its basic principle is perfectly logical and psychological. *Karma* is nothing but the outer manifestation of the inner life; it is character externalised. The theory of *Karma* says that the past life of a man cannot be annulled. The present is but the continuation of the past. If the past were made absolutely blank, what would remain of the present ? The past can never be expunged but the present can be modified through God's grace. It is the only reasonable theory that can make man a responsible being.

Regarding the historical value of the Gospels our author says—"The Fourth Gospel is in some ways nearer to the historical facts than are the synoptics" (p. 45). The subject cannot be discussed here in detail. But this we can say that Biblical scholars have almost unanimously rejected the F. G. as a historical document. Harnack says:—

"The F. G. which does not emanate or profess to emanate from the Apostle John cannot be taken as a historical authority in the ordinary meaning of the word" (*What is Christianity ?* p. 20).

Bacon says—"The whole structure of the work reveals a non-historical theoretic purpose (*The F. G. in research and debate.* p. 438).

Pfleiderer writes :—"The Gospel does not belong to the historical books of primitive Christianity." The historical background of the Gospel is constructed not so much from reminiscences of the life of Jesus as from the experiences in the life of the church of the second century" (*Primitive Christianity*, IV 2 and 21).

This is the verdict of modern scholarship.

The author says—"It is easy to trace the work of many hands in the Lotus and not difficult to find it in the Gita; but with the exception of a few brief passages, such as the concluding chapter, the Fourth Gospel is an organic unity" (p. 100).

What he says about the Lotus and the Gita is quite true. But his assertion about the organic unity of the F. G. is not correct. Even Bishop Lightfoot and other orthodox theologians admit that there are, in this Gospel, 'parenthetic additions' and 'after-thoughts', The verdict of scholars may be summarised thus in the language of Bacon :—"Besides its 'parenthetic addition' and [passages] relegated to the 'after-thought,' the Fourth Gospel is [so] notoriously full of the gaps and seams, the logical discrepancies and inconsistencies which if not due to an extraordinary degree of carelessness on the part of the evangelist, can only be explained as we explain them in other writings of the kind. It must be due to later intervention whether in combination with parallel documents or by editorial revision, supplementation or re-adjustment" (*The Fourth Gospel in Research and Debate*, p. 473).

We note below some of the passages which have considered as interpolations—(1) i. 5-8 ; [ii.] (verses referring to John the Baptist's testimony).

2. ii. 1—12 by one hand and 13-25 by another hand.
3. iii. 1-21 (about Nicodemus)
4. v. 3-4 (Angel at the pool)
5. v. 28-29 ; vi. 39*b* ; vi. 40*b* , xii. 48*b* (about the Last Day)
6. vii. 53 and viii. 1-11 (12 verses relating to the woman taken in adultery)
7. x. 22-23 (Jesus in the temple.)
8. xii. 33 ; 36-43 (fulfilment of prophecy)
9. xiii. 17-19 (about Judas)

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10. Chapters xv and xvi (interpolation ; but according to Moffat. displacement : Vide his N. T.)
11. xviii. 14-18 (Peter in the house of Caiaphes).
12. xviii. 22-27 (Jesus ill-treated ; Peter's denial).
13. xviii. 32 (fulfilment of a prophecy)
14. xix. 34-35 ; 37 (Jesus pierced)
15. Chapter xxi.

Thus we see that "the once almost uncondradicted doctrine of the structural unity of the Fourth Gospel, no longer stands unchallenged" (Bacon, *Ibid.* p. 526).

Stanton says—"The result of the inquiry seems to be that the structure of the Fourth G. is somewhat loser than was commonly supposed before the analytic critics urged their views, that in a few instances editorial remarks have been introduced and sayings added in a manner that was inappropriate to the context". ("*The Gospels as Historical Documents.* Part iii. p. 73). So the theory of the organic Unity of the F. G. is no longer tenable.

For fuller information the readers are referred to Moffatt's *Introduction to the N. T.* (pp. 552-562) and to Bacon's *Fourth Gospel in research and debate* (pp.472-527).

The Logos

Jesus Christ is considered to be the incarnation of the Logos. So it is necessary to know the nature of that Logos. The God of the O. T. is transcendent ; so is the God of Philo ; so also, of the Gnostics. God is unknown and unapproachable. The effort to conceive God as absolutely transcendent has resulted in separating Him entirely from the world. But there must be some connecting link between them. In Philo the mediation is effected partly by the half-personified Divine powers, partly by the Logos which means Reason of God. "The Gnostics had, from the first, interposed between God and the world a number of semi-divine intermediate beings or world-ruling spiritual powers" called 'aeons.' In their system the Logos is one of these 'oeons and not even the highest of them. "This is the point at which John intervened with his Logos-doctrine. He was in agreement with all the Gnostic systems of his time, Christian and Jewish, heretical and orthodox, in holding that between God and the world, there was some kind of mediation by a supramundane divine intermediate being, but he recognised the grave danger that ont of the plurality of intermediate beings of the Gnostics, there would arise a theogonic and polytheistic system of thought. Therefore he reduced the plurality of the Gnostic 'aeons' to a single mediator of the whole of the revelation of God." (Pfleiderer *Primitive Christianity*, IV. Pp. 180-183.)

God And The Logos

The Prologue of the F. G. describes the relation between God and the Logos. The first verse which may be divided into three parts says :—

"(i) In the beginning was the word. (ii) and the word was with God ; and the word was God (*theon*).

Here is postulated the existence of two beings, viz., God and the Logos (word) when it is said that the Logos was with God, it means that the Logos is different from God. In the third part the Logos is called God (*theos* without the article *ho.*)

There is a difference of opinion as to the meaning of *theos.* According to Moffat and Goodspeed it means *divine* (*vide*) their translation of the N. T. This is also the view of Dummelow. But Godet and Alford say that had it meant *divine* the word used would have been *theios* (divine) and not *theos* (God.) Meyers and many other scholars side with them. Plummer paraphrases the verse thus :—

"The Logos existed from all eternity, distinct from the Father and equal to the Father" (St. John, p. 64.)

Wordsworth interprets thus : "Being *with the Father* , the word was a different *Person* from the Father ; and being *God*, he is *co-equal* with the Father" (Greek N. T. vol. I, p. 270.)

This is now the orthodox view.

Jesus has been called God (*theos*) also in the following places :—

(I) Jn. XX. 28 ; (ii) I Jn. V. 20 ; (iii) Rom. IX. 5 ; (IV) Tit. ii. 13 ; (V) act. XX, 28 : (Vi) Heb. i. 8 (Vii) 2 pet. i. 1 (The verse 1 Jn. V. 20 has an alternative meaning, but our author does not accept that.) But in many places of the F. G. Jesus declared himself to be inferior to God. For example in Jn. xiv. 28, he said—"My Father is greater than I." Here co-equality does not hold. But the *'non-equality* passages are ignored by orthodox Christians.

In the Prologue, the Logos is further described in the following verses :—

"All things were made by him and without him was not anything made that hath been made (i.3), In him was life and the life was the light of men (i.4). The word became flesh and dwelt among us" (i. 14.)

Thus we find that the Logos is co-equal (?) and co-eternal with God. The Logos is the creator of the Universe. He became incarnate in Jesus. It should be mentioned here that Jesus never called himself the Logos.

Christ and Krishna

Dr. Saunders has drawn a parallel between Christ and Krishna ; and has found many points of similarity. For example, both are God and are the creator, preserver and saviour of the world. Both are eternal and became incarnate. But there are fundamental differences also which our author has forgotten to note. We may point out some of them :

(i) In the F. G. there are two co-equal and co-eternal Gods while in the Gita there is only one supreme God.

(ii) In some places of the F. G. Jesus declares himself to be inferior to God the Father but in the Gita, Krishna is inferior to no one.

(iii) In the F. G. the object of worship is not the Logos but the incarnation of the Logos, while in the Gita, the Highest God who sometimes became incarnate is the object of worship, though the worship of inferior beings is to be tolerated.

(iv) In the F. G. God and the Logos are outside the human soul. But in the Gita God is all pervasive and is in the soul of every man.

(v) In the F. G. a man is simply to accept Jesus as the Christ and he will then obtain

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salvation. But according to the Gita the mind of the worshipper must be well-disciplined well-balanced, and free from all kinds of depravities and attachment.

(vi) In the F. G. the disciples are asked to love one another ; but in the Gita we are asked to be loving and compassionate to all.

(vii) In the F. G. all the prophets of by-gone times are declared to be 'theives and robbers'; but the Gita is prevaded by the spirit of unbounded toleration.

(viii) According to the F. G. there are many souls but according to the Gita the soul is one, the diffierent embodied souls being the manifestation of that one soul.

(ix) According to the F. G. the soul of a man, when dead, remains incarcerated in the grave till the day of judgment when it will be raised and judged, will either see eternal life or be destroyed. But in the Gita the soul of the unenlightened takes, after death, a new body again and again and when finally liberated, becomes unified with the Supreme Being.

(x) The God of the F. G. can never be known or seen by any one except the Logos. But according to the Gita God-vision is the privilege of every man. Worthy dovotees see God in the outer world as well in their own souls. This vision is, of course, spiritual.

(xi) The principal theme of the F. G. is to prove that Jesus is the Logos incarnate and that he is to be accepted as the Messiah. But the incarnation-theory plays a very subordinate part in the Gita. The speaker in the Gita is certainly Krishna and in some places he is the *Avatara* Krishna. But when he assumes the roll of the instructor, he places himself in the place of the Supreme Self and says what that Highest Self can say. Foreigners find it very difficult to understand it, but in India it is a common-place idea. Every one understands that it is God's truths that are coming to us through a human speaker whoever that speaker may be. The speaker is to be taken to be *Bhagavana* himself and not human Krishna or incarnate Krishna.

To illustrate this, we shall quote texts from the Gita.

In Chapter X, Krishna describes his *Vibhutis* (glory). In one place he says "of the Vrishnis I am Vasudeva (=Krishna). Of the Pandavas I am Dhananjaya" (X.37). This passage has no meaning unless God be considered as the speaker. Krishna like Arjuna is one of the *Vibhutis* of God.

In another place Krishna says that the true devotee sees Him everywhere and sees every-thing in Him and worships Him as abiding in all beings (VI. 30,31). The same idea occurs in IV. 35.

It cannot refer to Krishna the Avatara. An *Avatara* cannot metaphysically abide in all things. It can refer only to the all-pervading Self.

In another place he says :—

"By Me, the Formless, all this world is perva-ded" IX. 4.

The *Avatara* Krishna is embodied ; he cannot be formless and all-pervasive.

The same idea occurs in the following verse—"By Thee, O Boundless of form, the universe is filled" XI. 38.

It is addressed to Krishna by Arjuna.

Arjuna saw the whole universe in the body of Krishna (Chap. XI). Here Krishna cannot mean the embodied Krishna. It is the Supreme Self in whom Arjuna saw the whole universe with spiritual eyes.

Krishna says :—"The whole universe is strung upon me as rows of gems upon a string" Vii. 7.

In this verse Krishna cannot mean the embodied Krishna. Here the Universal Self is called the thread.

Krishna says :—"I am the taste in water, the radiance in the moon and the sun. I am the pure fragrance of the earth and the brilliance in fire, the life in all beings...." VII. 8 ff.

There are many similar passages. Here the reference is to the all-pervading Self and not to the *Avatara* Krishna.

In another place he says:—"Having thus known me in essence, he immediately enters unto me" XVIII. 55.

The same idea occurs in XI. 54.

The Being into whom human beings enter cannot be the embodied Krishna.

It is useless multiplying examples. Enough has been quoted to prove that in the Gita Krishna speaks as the all-pervading Universal Self.

External Evidence

There are external evidences also to prove that what is embodied in the Gita was expounded by Krishna while he was immersed in Yoga. In the Asvamedhika Parva of the Mahabharata, we find that Arjuna requested Krishna to repeat to him the lessons of the Gita. In reply to this Krishna said :—

"I cannot recollect it now. I cannot fully explain that to you. I had (on that occasion) explained to you about "*Para Brahman*" while (I was) immersed in *Yoga* (*Yoga-Yuktena*) XVI. 10-13.

This shows that Krishna while immersed in *Yoga*, personated God and the words spoken by him were intended to be the words of God.

The Future Gospel

Now the question is—can the Fourth Gospel be the Future Gospel of the world as our author asserts ? Our answer is—"No." The following are some of our reasons.

(i) It is Di-theistic ; it postulates the existence of the Eternal Logos along with God. Over and above, there is the Devil who is implicitly assumed to be uncreated.

(ii) Its idea of God (the father) is very low. He is perfectly anthropomorphic having a body and voice (V. 37) ; as well as a local habitation (i.e. in heaven). He is wrathful (III. 36) ; and blinds the eyes of some of his children and hardens their heart (XII 40).

(iii) The Logos-doctrine is unphilosophal and unacceptable. To non-Christians it is an absurd theory. Even many Christians consider it to be 'alien to the world of today.' Jesus himself never claimed to be the Logos. What he said about his 'preexistence' (VIII. 58) is a pure fabrication of the author of the F. G. He replaced the popular notion of the Apotheosis of Jesus by his new theory of the Incarnation of the Logos in Jesus. Again if the Logos could become flesh

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why not God? He too is active. He raises up the dead and quickens them (Jn. V. 21); he draws some men to Jesus (VI. 44): gives to Jesus some men out of the world (XVII. 6) and blinds the eyes and hardens the heart of some men (XII. 40). If then God is active, he can as well be the Creator and Saviour of the world. Then the theory of the incarnation of the Logos becomes useless. It may be noted here that the Jesus of the F. G. is the only incarnation throughout Eternity. What an absurd idea!

(IV) The picture of Jesus as painted in the F. G. falls far short of our ideal of a saint Jesus lied and misled his brothers (VII. 8-10); called his opponent sons of the Devil (VIII. 44); declared all other prophets as 'theives and robbers' (X. 8); could not overcome fear (VII. 1; VII. 10; VIII. 59; X 39; XII. 36), sorrow and doubt (XII. 27; XIII. 21); and would not pray for non-believers (XVII, 9). Some of these, not being recorded in the Synoptics, may not be true; but they are recorded in the F. G.

(V) With reference to Johannine theology, Pfleiderer writes:—"The starting point is the antithesis of God and the word, which forms the presupposition of the Christian doctrine of salvation" (Ibid IV. 163). In one place Jesus says—"He that hateth his life in this world, shall keep it unto life enternal" XII. 25. St. John says—"The whole world (*kosoms holos* lieth in wickedness" (Jn. V. 19). This idea is morbid and is to be rejected. This world is God's world and we know Him and find Him in this world and through this world. This world is the Temple of God.

(Vi) a. The Gospel idea of salvation is obsolete. It is primarily a negative idea, the meaning being 'deliverance from 'Perdition, condemnation, Judgment' or 'Escape from Destruction'. Its secondary meaning which is positive is 'to have eternal life in heaven'. Neither on the negative side nor on the positive does it imply development of the soul either here or hereafter.

(b) The Gospel plan of salvation is unreasonable. No intelligent non-Christian can believe that his salvation depends on his accepting, as his Saviour, an unknown person born in an unknown corner of the universe. Trillions and quadrillions of men were born before Jesus, what about their salvation? And what about the salvation of those millions and trillions who were born after him but could not hear of him or having heard, rejected him? Will they be destroyed or thrown into everlasting Hell, as Jesus threatened? The very idea is revolting.

(c) Vicarious punishment is a fundamental principle of Christianity. It asserts that Jesus dies for the salvation of the whole world. But it is a relic of old sacrificial religions. The world disobeys its Lord, the Lord becomes angry; he is to be propitiated; to appease him sacrifice must be offered. But a plan is hit upon to avert the punishment of the whole world. A male Ephigeneia (=Jesus) is chosen as the substitute and is offered as sacrific. The Lord accepts the compromise and is appeased; and the world is thus saved. This is the idea that is at the bottom of vicarious punishment. It may *now* be spiritually explained but it is, in fact, a childish make believe and unethical withal.

Good Precepts

Though there are fundamental defects in the F. G. it contains some good precepts. The following are the best:—Jesus asked his disciples to love one another (XIII. 34; XV. 12). Addressing Peter he said—'Feed my sheep' (XXI. 17; interpolation); He said that his meat was to do the will of God (IV. 34). God is to be worshipped in spirit and truth (IV. 24). Except a man be born again, he cannot see the kingdom of God. (iii. 3). 'The truth shall make you free' (VIII, 32).

The outlook in some of the precepts is narrow; but it may be widened and all these precepts may be made universal.

Gita's Contibutions

The Gita has made a real contribution to the religious world. It has tried to harmonise the ways of *Jnana* (knowledge and intuition(, *Bhakti* (loving devotion) and *Karma* (action). The very idea is grand and the author of the Gita is the first man in the history of the world to try to solve this problem. Even Dr. Saunders says, "Certainly the ways of action, intuition and dovotion are reasonably reconciled" (p. 104). There are also other points of importance.

Equanimity even in the midst of dangers (chap. Vi); to rise above passion, fear, anger and dilusion (ii. 52, 56; iv, 10); to be pure in mind (iv, 10; xii. 16); to strive for the welfare of all beings (including men and other creatures) (v. 35; Xii. 4:) Universal love and compassion (Xii, 13); to regard friends and foes alike (VI. 9: XII. 18); to follow the Golden mean (VI. 16, 17); to perform one's duties without desire for fruits (ii. 47); to incite one another with religious discourses (X. 9) to see God in everything and everything in God (Vi. 29—31); to be firmly established in God (IV. 10; V. 17; VI. 15); unswerving devotion to God (Xiii. 11; XVI. 26); to do works for God (XI. 15); to dedicate all works to God (IX. 27)—these are some of the precepts of the Gita. These precepts are excellent and unsurpassed. Still the Gita cannot be the sole Gospel of the world. The following are some of its defects according to our standard.

(i) Its metaphysics is dualistic. Gita's God and Prakriti are both eternal.

(ii) Though according to the Gita the phenomenal aspect of God is real and not illusory, yet this aspect is considered to be less real than the noumenal. But the modern philosophy of religion sees—noumena in phenomena and phenomena in noumena and regards both the aspects of God as equally real but attaches more value to the dynamical than to the statical aspect.

(iii) Gita's theory of incarnation is an useless assumption. When it admits that God is immanent in the world, is ever guiding the human souls and is already here, his coming here again in a particular human form is meaningless. Again as according to the Gita, all human selves are essentially the Divine Self, all men may be said to be the Divine incarnation.

(iv) Gita's contribution to the philosophy of *Karma* (duties) is original. The ideal of *Nishkama karma* (performance of duties without any desire for fruit or reward) is unique in the religious history of the world. Still it is defective inasmuch as liberated souls are considered to have entered into the transcendental realm of Non-action. But fortunately such souls are non-

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existent and are an ideal creation of the author of the Gita according to his conception of the noumenal world.

(v) The *Summum bonum* of the Gita has been variously described. It is (1) going to God or God's essence, (2) entering into Him or His essence, (3) Winning Him, (4) abiding in Him, (5) *Brahmo-Nirvanam* (Bliss of Brahma or extinction in Brahma). All these may be explained either dualistically or monistically. The dualists say that the soul becomes united with God but retains his personality. According to the monists the personality is destroyed. If the monistic interpretation be considered to be the true meaning then many will reject this ideal of the Gita.

FUTURE GOSPEL

No Scripture can then be the sole Gospel of the world. We want a new New Gospel which will assimilate all the good points of all the scriptures. Its God must not only be transcendent but immanent also. He is not only the creator, preserver and destroyer of the Universe but is also our father, mother, friend, companion and lover; and the soul of our soul.

The Universe is organic to God and is not alien body.

To know God, to see him with spiritual ey to commune with Him, to feel him as the of our self; To love God, to love God's creatu as God himself does and to be devoted to th welfare like God himself—these are the fun mental principles of the Religion of the Future.

We have rejected the conclusions of the auth But the book is worth-reading. It contains va able materials and it shows how the Christ propagandists are trying to abandon the old meth of vilifying other religions. The best method arriving at a truth is the comparative study of the scriptures from the standpoint, not o propagandist, but of a historian and scholar. T author's study is also comparative but he is propagandist. Not that he does not praise oth religions. He does praise; but it is the sub method of damning with faint praise.

There is a valuable appendix containing illustr tive readings from various sources, principa non-Christian.

THE HIGHEST MOUNTAIN IN THE WORLD

BY SATYA BHUSAN SEN

FOR more than half a century Mount Everest has been enjoying the enviable reputation of being the highest mountain in the world. Everest is situated in one of the innermost recesses of the Himalayas and consequently it is very difficult to get a proper sight of it from India. Mount Everest is popularly seen from the top of Tiger Hill (8516 ft) which is situated at a distance of about six miles from Darjeeling; but then one must have a clear cloudless sky under the first rays of the morning sun and even then only the topmost pinnacle of it can be seen. Those who desire a closer and fairer view of it must go further afield to Sandakphu and Faloot which are situated on the shoulders of the long and elevated range of mountains just facing the city of Darjeeling and situated to its west. It is reported that every year batches of European tourists and American Globe-trotters flock to these places to have a look at the highest mountain of the world. But from the few points in India whence a sight of Mount Everest is at all available its enormous height is not apparent—at least not so appare as to give one the impression of its bei the highest mountain in the world. T very fact of Everest being the highest mou tain in the world first came to light as result of a series of scientific measurement

Sometime about the middle of the 19 Century the Trignometrical Survey of Ind extended their base of observation to the fo of the Himalayas and from this new attained base some day between Novembe 1849 and January 1850 they observed mountain peak at 27°59′ 3″ N.L. and 86° 7″ E., which on measurement was found be the highest mountain in the world for, rose to an altitude of 29002 ft. Owing to ig ignorance no name was current for th mountain peak. At a meeting of the Roya Geographical Society of London held on Ma 11, 1857 after much discussion the peak wa named after Col. Everest the late Survey General of India who organised the Trigonom trical Survey of India on a scientif basis.

By whatever name be it called up-

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date Mount Everest is known and accepted as the highest mountain of the world. The recent exertions for the Everest Expeditions may also be noted; that so much of energy is being directed to one single peak is due to its being known as the highest mountain in the world. Yet there are indications pointing to the fact that among these very Himalayas within the boundary of Tibet there are one or two mountain peaks which are higher than Everest; but this fact is generally not known to the public as yet.

Dr. Graham is a Himalayan explorer of some repute. In 1883. he ascended to the top of Kabru, a peak of the Kanchenjungha group but from his report many are inclined to believe that it is not Kabru that he ascended to but a lower peak—Kangtsen. Whichever it may be from this mountain peak on the midday of October 8, 1883 Graham was pointing to his friend and companion Boss—Everest, the highest mountain in the world, standing towards the north-west within 70 miles. To Boss this was the first sight of Everest; he observed that this could never be for those two peaks yonder are higher still—pointing to two mountain peaks standing over the remoter ranges of mountains to the North of Everest. Graham was naturally surprised at this but on observation all agreed that these two peaks really looked higher than Everest. Of course they depended on eye estimation alone but eye estimation was not likely to be misleading here for, from such a height all peaks are likely to be seen in their correct proportions. It is in Graham's account that from their point of observation all mountain peaks of known heights appeared in their correct proportions inspite of closest scrutiny—not even one showed any aberration. But they could not get any clue as to the identity of these two peaks hitherto unknown; of these one showed a composition of rock, the other was a snow peak.

Major L. A. Waddel was a Professor in the Calcutta Medical College. He used to employ his leisure time in excursions in the Himalayas. Once when he reached Faloot, a place on the range of the mountains facing the city of Darjeeling, a Tibetan pointed out to him the peak of Mount Everest. This man was a native of the province of Khumbu in the north-east of Nepal lying to the South of Everest; so some reliance may be placed on him as a local man. This man introduced the Everest group by the name of Lap-chi-kang and called the main peak by the name of Jomo-kang-kar. He further expressed that this group before them was in fact the Lower Lap-chi-kang and the one that he named Upper Lap-chi-kang was just to the north of Everest—in Tibet. So this latter was of course higher than Everest but a sight of it is not available from Khumbu or any place in Nepal.

This man's statement has some confirmation in collateral evidence also. Waddel has stated in his book that he had seen mentioned in Tibetan books that Upper Lap-chi-kang is a very high mountain and that Lower Lap-chi-kang is situated in the Nepal frontier. There are some topographical accounts of these places in the Tibetan language which were partly translated by the famous Bengali explorer the Late Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Das; therein Jomo-kang-kar (which is the Tibetan name for Everest) is found to have the second place in the list of the highest mountain peaks.

So that the existence of mountain peaks higher than Everest is known among the inhabitants near about Everest and is also mentioned in Tibetan literature. It is not known with certainty whether or not the Tibetans have ascertained the heights of these mountain peaks by eye estimation alone. Among the European explorers probably it is in the account of Graham alone that a direct evidence of it and a positive sight of the peaks is found and mentioned. Tibet is to all intents and purposes a forbidden tract, even Nepal is not perhaps wholly accessible to foreigners; so mountains higher and remoter than Everest are out of question, even Mount Everest has been approached by only a limited number of Europeans. Lately there has been some attempts to climb to the top of Mount Everest and perhaps some day in the near future the topmost pinnacle of it will be trodden by man; but even in their account no mention is found of any mountain higher than Everest.

Among the few Bengali enthusiasts there is only one instance namely the late Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Das who made any real approach towards Everest. But from the account left by him many of the noted European explorers are inclined to believe that Sarat Chandra Das mistook another mountain peak for Everest and has left an account of that peak. When there is so much of doubt about his account of Everest there seems little chance that he even found any indica-

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tion of any peak higher than Everest. Any indication from any other Indian on the point remains yet to be discovered.

With a view to get further information on the point I made a reference to Dr. Sven Hedin of Sweden ; he informed me in reply "There are certainly no mountains higher than Mt. Everest". Dr. Hedin is of course a famous explorer and the explorations he made on the Himalayas are also extensive. But then even his view cannot be accepted as final so long as evidences of direct indication pointing to the subject cannot be repudiated. To get a still further and an authoritative information about it I made a reference to the Royal Geographical Society of London and the Geographical Society of America. From America they gave me the reply that to know anything with authority one must refer to the Royal Geographical Society of London who have made a special study of the Himalaya mountains. In reply to my reference to the Royal Geographical Society of London they gave me difinitely to know that they have no reason at all to believe that there is any mountain in the world higher than Mount Everest. But it will be seen that even this authoritative declaration of the Royal Geographical Society of London does not repudiate the indications in the account of Graham or the evidences in the Topographical accounts of the Tibetans.

This is a matter which is primarily related to India ; but unfortunately, for us we are helpess in such affairs. In India there is no Geographical Society or any other Academy who have any responsibility to send an expedition for investigation on the point. Of course there are instances in other countries where expeditions of like nature were undertaken by individuals—instances may be enumerated from Columbus to Dr. Hedin who is a living example ; such endeavours have the credit of attracting considerable help and advancement from the country and the Government. In our country leaving aside the question of expenses long there was hardly the possibility finding anybody who could undertake su programmes. But times have now chang and we now and then hear of enthusia undertaking various sorts of schemes. now the problem that is essential is probab money—if funds be found out there may be wanting men who could be entrus with a scheme.

But who is to organise such a programm In Bengal there is the Bangiya Sahit Parishad (the Bengal Literary Academ and the Asiatic Society of Bengal. I ha no knowledge of the activities of the Asia Society of Bengal ; but the honour of havi once proposed to the Bangiya Sahit Parishad to form a Geographical Soci of their own rests with my humble se The Parishad acknowledged the importan of the subject and promised to take u the matter for their consideration but ul mately nothing practically materialise Therefore, there is little hope that the Bangi Shahitya Parishad would render any sub tantial help to advance the idea. Nex remains the question of individual exertio But the nature of the affair is of such stupendous scale that hardly any one pers would be found capable of undertaking su a gigantic programme. Though speaking Bengal in particular, there is little to ho that any other province has any more offer either in individual prowess or Academical strength.

Explorations in the Himalayas, discover of the Mount Everest, investigation of t source of the Indus, the Brahmaputra etc.—these as well as the recent Everest expe tions have all been undertaken by t Europeans. If after all this the atte to investigate and find out the highe mountain in the world is not made by in right earnest now, then without doub the glory of this also will be reserved f foreigners.

VICTORY

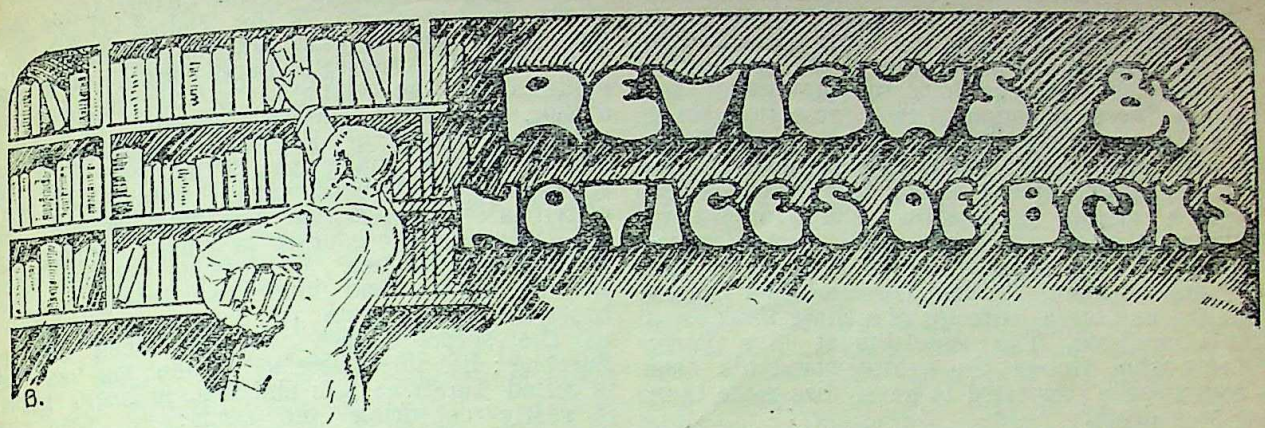
A million crosses stood on a hill,
A deadly wood against the sky ;
An open grave a wound to kill,
A million lads that would be still—
A million lovely lads that lie
Where they can never die.

And who are you,
And who am I—
That we should walk about at will.
And a million other lads should lie
Under a hill beneath the sky ?

By Kathleen Millay

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ENGLISH

How the Soviets Work : *By H. N. Brailsford. Vanguard Press, New York. 169 pp. Price 60 cents postage paid.*

This is another volume of the Vanguard Press series on Soviet Russia. It is a study of the Soviets at work, written in that light, charming style in which Brailsford excells. He has simplified the subject for his readers by taking first a single Soviet in a Moscow factory, and then a single Soviet in a Russian village, to show just how the Soviets work and what their duties and activities are. He has woven in his statistics very naturally and easily and he has shown what a great advance the Soviet system is upon the older system of administration that formerly existed. His study of the various nationalities and religious groupings within the Union is also excellent, and he has a chapter on the Communist Party, another on the Dictatorship, and a conclusion on "Perspectives."

The study of nationalities within the Union would especially interest Indian readers, for here we see how the Soviet system is such a natural expression of peoples, and that its application to Russian peasants is no more remarkable than its application in the Moslem Tartar districts or in the Mongolian districts of the east. Vast areas of Russia are inhabited by such peoples who are supposed to have nothing in common—not race, religion or culture. Still, we see these varied peoples welded together by the unbreakable bond of common economic interests with full opportunity for cultural development and advancement. We see the cement of this vast Soviet system—the Communist Party, with a rigid discipline and unwavering principles. The class basis of this party has abolished the political meaning of nationality or religion, while preserving the intimate associations that belong to language and culture. We see men and women who ten years ago were barbarous tribesmen now studying for entrance to the Universities or Workers' Faculties, after which they will shoulder the duties of managing the Soviet Union. In ten years these tribes have leaped over a hundred years of culture, giving the lie to those who hold that the suppressed must have decades or centuries of training under the guidance of the upper classes before they are fit to manage their own affairs. Brailsford writes in this manner :

"But through what mental adventures must they be passing ! Conceive the bewilderment of these girls in their early twenties, if anyone had told them, ten years ago, that their destiny is not the veil and subjection in a Tartar laborer's hut but a share in the learned work of the new rulers of Russia. That dark-skinned, comely girl with the great shock of black hair grew up in a nomad's tent, the inheritor of a mental world which had neither changed nor expanded for ten centuries. To-day she sits gazing at charts and pictures which illustrate the Darwinian theory, and dreams of her coming work as a doctor. The lad beside her, who may have hoped to herd horses on the steppe, may take his degree in economics. and live to admidister the industries of the Republic...Russia is stinting herself : she lives dangerously and she lives poorly, but it is the ambition for a splendid future which gives her the courage to endure. Within a generation she will have brought, not the picked few, but the broad masses of these neglected Eastern races within the circle of civilization...My ears are still haunted by the Tartar folk-songs which the pupils of the School of Music sang for me, and I left Kazan regretting that I had just missed the performance of the first Tartar opera."

Brailsford describes the Communist Party in a manner that is half-praise, half criticism. He says that there has been no such school for character since religious persecution ceased. The idle, the comfortable, the complacent, the sensual these do not or did not join the Communist

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Party. The Communist councils are not haunted by the careerists who see their opportunity even in the labor organizations of the West. The leaders of the Communist Party of Russia are graduates from the prisons of Czardom, and they carry that spirit of selfless devotion to the cause they serve that is above all individual or family obligations. The maximum salary that any member of the Party may draw—this is actual fact today—is 225 roubles a month in Moscow, 189 roubles in Vladimir. Almost all heads of all State departments are Party members, and they draw this salary and no more, A "Red Director" of a factory draws it, as does a director of a State Bank, or a State Commissar. The punishment for Party members who violate the ethical standards that a Communist is expected to have, has more than once been death.

This book by Brailsford has its good points, and it describes with clarity the ramifications of the Soviet system. But throughout one has a feeling that the author is not sincere. He has that superior air of an Englishman looking at and criticising the world. He excuses the system of elections and administration in Russia by remarking in a very lofty manner that the Russians, unlike Englishmen, have never known what free democratic institutions are; and so their methods must of necessity be different. Mr. Brailsford thereby exposes the fact that he comes from the well-fed classes of England. The "democracy" of which he speaks is only for his class, and when extended to the "lower" classes, it has been extended only because the ruling classes knew they could at all times poison the minds of the English workers through the schools, newspapers, and churches which they, the ruling class, control. Despite the "democracy" of England, the vast toiling masses live in a poverty as deep as most of the Russians. There are sections of London where the inhabitants are half-human; they are debased, ignorant, and poverty-stricken, and they do not even know how to play. The conditions in Russia were never worse than are conditions in some of the mining districts of the British Isles. Democracy is and always has been a reality only for the ruling classes.

In reading this book on the Soviets one is constantly irritated by the superior air, the feeling of insincerity and even of hypocrisy, and the lightness. It is the way a person writes when he lightly studies a thing that other people have died a thousand deaths to achieve. Facts and figures and a description of the administration of a system do not cover up this underlying note of unreality and superficiality. Yet, despite this, is a book that one may read with profit—provided one holds in mental reserve its short-comings.

THE GREAT AMERICAN BAND-WAGON: *A study of Exaggerations. By Charles Merz. The John Day Company, Publishers, New York City; pp. 263. $3.00.*

When the circus comes to town in America, it announces its arrival by a parade, headed by the very high, gaudy wagon, on top of which sits a band blaring away as only a circus band can blare. In America also there is a folk saying that runs: "Don't climb on the band-wagon if you can't toot a horn," meaning "don't make a big noise unless you can live up to it."

Now, considering all of this, Charles Merz, one of the best essayists of the United States, has written a book of exaggerations which he calls "The Great American Band-Wagon." And one smiles from the beginning to the end. For this author, a trained classical essayist, such as a restricted group of Englishmen and Americans belong to, has made one of the most thorough studies of the band-wagon temperament and activities of America that one could dream of. He has undressed the country in a most elegant and gentlemanly manner. We see big business using bathing beauties and instituting beauty shows to boost their tooth paste or underwear; he shows us the secret lodges with all their infantile humbug; he introduces us to the tom-tom that is called American jazz and that, in Negro hands, is really capturing the earth; he has, with devastating matter-of-factness, exposed the vacuum in American middle and upper-class brains that has to be filled up by a radio running at full blast all hours of the day and night and in every room in the house; he has shown us how Americans booze over the soda-fountain counters. And, he has a chapter on "Bigger and Better Murders." Sport is covered, and his chapter on "Roll your own Diploma" (taken from the cigarette-tobacco advertisement "roll your own") educates us in the secrecies of the correspondent schools who confer degrees by the ton on those who pay so much per—; "Think twice before you scoff at the next Ford touring car adorned from stem to stern with sixteen college pennants," he warns. We meet the American traveller who goes abroad to do missionary work for American breakfast foods and American bath-tubs, and finds all other countries barbarous. Then there is the moving pictures, the standardized thinking societies, the drives with the boosting "weeks" such as Go to Church Week, Smile Week, Clean up the Yard Week, Take-a-Bath Week, Fire Prevention Week, and Brush Your Teeth Week, There is a description of prize fighting, of national heroes, and God knows what. For America is one vast band-wagon.

It is almost impossible to believe that a nation like America could descend to such infantile tomfoolery that it does at times. Take its secret lodges, with all their unspeakable nonsense, here described. Everybody knows the Ku Klux Klan behind which lurks the most murderous reaction; but less dangerous and more funny in infantilism are Lodges called by grand names like "Supreme Tribe of Ben-Hur," "Order of Magian Masters," "Royal Order of Buffalos," "Mystic Order of Granada," the "Ancient Arabic Order of Nobles of the Mystic Shrine," "Mystic Order of Veiled Prophets of the Enchanted Realm," "Illustrious and Exalted Order of Crusaders," and the "Illustrious Order of the Mystic and Exalted Cross." Then there is the "Order of Owls," "Order of Ancient Oaks," "Order of the Knights of Malta," and the "Odd Fellows," etc. Macabees, and the "Daughters of Rebekah," etc. etc. The author says:

"All over America, six nights a week, from one to five million men and women are dressing themselves as Brahmins, Pharaohs, Vikings, Princes, furies, hermits, druids, Galahads, sorcerers Maltese and Tibetans."

"To what purpose?

"If I can," swears the Woodman, 'may I be

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dashed to pieces as I now dash this fragile vessel into fragments !'

"If I tell, swears the Maccabee, 'may my left arm be cut off above the elbow !'

"If I tell, swears the Shriner, 'may my eyeballs be pierced to the center with a three-edged blade, my feet be flayed, and I be forced to walk the hot sands upon the sterile shores of the Red Sea until the flaming sun shall strike me with living plague, and may Allah, the god of Arab, Moslem and Mohammedan, the god of my fathers, support me to the entire fulfilment of the same, Amen, Amen Amen."

Now these be oaths. And what are the "secrets" these millions of Americans are supposed to keep in such a dramatic manner ? well, you would have to join one of those lodges or orders to satisfy your curiosity. And the sort of people who will put up with such abject idiocy as these are not the sort of people one would want to spend an evening with learning "secretes."

Perhaps Americans do this sort of thing, not only because they are a young people with more energy and money than they know what to do with ; not only because they have such vast vacuums in the cavity that passes for their brain ; but because their lives are dreary and uninteresting. Yes, strange it is, dreary. American life and thought is standardized as American economic life is standardized. The most powerful of capitalisms in the world forces the American population into one mould until their dress, their joys and dreams, as well as their intelligence are so standardized that they all seem to have been cut out with the same cookie cutter. If you are going to produce billions in wealth for a ruling class, you have to crush the vast masses into one manner of life and thought in order to do it. You can't have "idealists" running around talking about personality and originality when big business men know such things only lead to sedition ! And this is the reason simple John Smith of Chicago, who sits in an office over a clerk's desk for eight or ten hours a day, doing the most deadly monotonous work, goes out in the evening, puts on the dress of an Arab and for half the night lives in a fairy land in which deadly oaths are taken, deadly secrets told, and deadly pass-words given.

Yet the author of this book is optimistic. This band-wagon temperament of America, he says is because Americans are young, restless, adventurous, with a vast store of curiosity, an immense reserve of energy, and a tremendous will to go somewhere. They don't know where they are going, it is true, but just show them something new, they will be off after it. As the American saying is, "Well, I'm willin' to try anything once." And the things they try ! This book tells all about them. Still when Americans begin to analyze their own absurdities—that is a good sign for any people.

AGNES SMEDLEY

HISTORY OF BURMA, FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO 10 MARCH 1824. THE BEGINNING OF THE ENGLISH CONQUEST : *By G. E. Harvey. Indian Civil Service with a preface by Sir Richard Carnac Temple Bt ; Longmans, Green and Co., 39, Paternoster Row, London C.C. 4. 1925. Pp. i-xxii, 1-415.*

Mr. Harvey's book is decidely the best work on the Ancient and Mediaedval history of Burma that has appeared in print. Though Mr. Harvey belongs to the heaven-born service he still appears to retain the sholarship of a Fleet and the industry of a Smith, qualifications extremely rare among the members of that service at the present day. What is more, Mr. Harvey was sufficiently liberal-minded to accept and acknowledge the help of a foreigner in his work. M. Chas. Duroiselle is by far the most accurate and reliable authority on the history and the literature of the Burmese peoples at the present day. Mr. Harvey wrote this book according to the suggestions of M. Duroiselle and has followed his notes—"The accumulated notes of a life time"—and he acknowledges that the first half of his book is really M. Duroiselle's. Mr. Harvey worked with the help of a number of other scholars whose names he mentions in his introduction. It is extremely gratifying to find that he has not omitted to mention natives of Burma like Maung San Shwe Bu, Maung Mya, Maung Po Kye and natives of India like Mr. C.K. De in the the same breath with natives of Great Britain of the type of Messrs. Furnivall, Searle, Stewart and Grant Brown of the Indian Civil Service. The book contains seven illustrations and five coloured maps.

The book is extremely interesting reading and the author has spared no pains to make it as attractive as possible. More valuable than the text of the work are the notes (pp. 307-63) and the genealogical tables (pp.364-72) and the Bibliography (pp.373-90). The work begins really in 1044 A.D. Before that date Burmese native authorities do not go. It has been proved beyond doubt by M. Duroiselle and corroborated by local histories that Burma received its present form of Buddhism from Ceylon in the 11th century. Before that date the inhabitants of Burma were the adherents of some form of Mahayana Buddhism, more probably the Tantric form prevalent in Bengal and Bihar. M. Duroiselle's description of the Ari as the Tantric Buddhists of Burma are called in local histories, leaves no doubt about the fact that they were followers of the Mantrayana formerly prevalent in Gujarat and in Bengal. The Burmese chronicle, the *Hmannan*, thus describes the Buddhist and Vaisnava practice of the first fruits :—"Moreover kings and ministers, great and small, rich men and common people, whenever they celebrated the marriage of their children, had to send them to these teachers at nightfall, sending, as it was called, the flower of their virginity. Nor could they be married till they were set free early in the morning."-p. 18.

Tantric Buddhism was expelled from Burma by king Anawhahta by brute force. The most interesting part of the history of Burma, therefore, still remains to be written. Mr. Harvey's book contains only the later mediaeval portion of it consisting of the struggle between the Burmese and the Arakanese and ends with the final triumph of the Burmese with the foundation of the Alaungpaya dynasty in 1752. In one particular point Mr. Harvey's book is inaccurate and biassed. Most Englishmen cease to be critical scholars when it comes describing the enemies of Great Britain. The most level-headed Briti-

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sher suddenly ceases to be a sober historian and chronicler and starts speaking of the 'enemy' as if he were writing an official report of events preceding an Assaye and Argaon or a Chillianwala and Gujrat. That part of Mr. Harvey's book which treats of the history of British traders and missions is as inaccurate and unscholarly, as Curzon's account of the "Black Hole."

THE ANNALS OF THE EARLY ENGLISH SETTLEMENT IN BIHAR: *By N.N. Raye, M.A., formerly Principal T.N. Jubille College, Bhagalpore. Principal, Ripon College, Calcutta; Kamala Book Depot, Ltd., 15 College Square, Calcutta, pp 1-320, i-vi.*

This volume is a new venture on the part of Prof. N.N. Raye, who is better known in this part of the country as a professor of English literature. In fact by producing this book Prof. Raye has taken the public agreeably by surprise like Prof. Jadu Nath Sarkar when he started writing on Mughal history more than twenty years ago. Prof. Raye's book does not break virgin soil and portions of it have been dealt with by many of the earlier writers on the subject. The early history of the English settlement in Bihar is a very interesting study and Prof. Raye has certainly done well by bringing all known materials together in this volume. The first five chapters are general in nature and lead to the first English settlement in Bihar. Prof. Raye begins his subject in the sixth chapter entitled "The city of Patna and its governors." It is here that we notice the first defect of the book in the spelling of Musalman names. Shayista Khan I, son of Asaf Khan II, Shahjahani' is spelt not even Shaista but Saista. Similarly Sipihr Shukoh is spelt Sipar Sheko but Mahabat Khan and Rustam Khan are spelt correctly. It is difficult to recognise *Kholis-i-Mukhlis* Mukhlis Khan in "Muchlis." The 7th, 8th, and 9th chapters deal with the subject proper but in the 10th Prof. Raye returns to Bengal. The 11th chapter deals with the factory at Patna but the 12th and 13th are devoted to the general question of the restoration of the English East India Company in its trading stations after their foolish war with Aurangzeb and the formation of the new Company. In the 14th chapter the English East India Company are introduced in the role of Zamindars or revenue-farmers of the Mughal empire. The 15th, 16th and 17th chanters deal with the history of the Patna factory. From the 18th chapter onwards the material could have been very much improved if the author had incorporated the materials collected by the Keeper of the Imperial Records in India and incorporated in the Calendars of Persian Correspondence, four volumes of which have been published.

It is not possible to do much original research in the period and the subject which Mr. Raye has selected. On the whole Mr. Raye has collected together almost every fragment of material and reproduced it in a very nice manner. This style is lucid and his manner of presentation vigorous. The printing of the book is vile and does little credit to the publisher.

HARSHA, (*Calcutta University Readership Lectures, 1925.*): *By Radhakumud Mookerjee, M.A., Ph. D., Itihasa-Siromani, Professor and head of Department of Indian History, Lucknow University, His Highness Sir Sayaji Rao Gaekwad Medalist, Prizeman and Lecturer 1925-30; Oxford University Press, London, 1926; pp 1-203. Price Rs 3-6-.*

This is the latest book of the Rulers of India Series and is written in the charming style for which Prof. Radhakumud Mookherji is noted. The book is divided into seven chapters and provided with a nice index. The principal defects of the book are due to the author's inability to deal directly with the original materials of Indian History and his consequent immense veneration for European writers. In following the absurd and obsolete theories of the late Dr. A.F.R. Hoernle the author has made himself extremely ridiculous in the eyes of scholars. I cannot resist the temptation of quoting some of them:

1. "Prabhakaravardhana (Maharajadhiraja) m. Yasomati (daughter of Emperor Yasodharman Vikramaditya of Malava)".-p. 10. Is there any proof in support of this statement that Yasomati was the daughter of Yasodharman and that the latter ever had the title of Vikramaditya, except the inaccurate statement of the Rajatarangini and the theories based on it by Hoernle?

2. "That the Maukharis were not rulers of Kanauj is also supposed from the fact that their inscriptions were all found far away from Kanauj, Magadha (Bihar Province)".-p. 16, note 2.

What about the Harsha inscription of the Maukhari Isanavarman and the Jounpur Jumma Masjid inscription of Isvaravarman, even if we do not count the Asirgadh seal of Sarvavarman?

3. "According to an Arabic chronicle, in the 36th year of Khosru II of Persia, i.e., about A.D. 625, letters and presents were exchanged between him and the Indian Monarch; while a painting in one of the caves at Ajanta probably points to this fact in showing the presentation of a letter from a Persian to an Indian king."-P. 35. Prof. Mookerji is not yet aware of the fact that all *scenes* at Ajanta have been proved by M. Foucher to be Jataka scenes.

4. "The expansion of the Gurjaras southwards was, however, checked by Pulakesin II, whose suzerainty they accepted by about A.D. 634, as will appear from the Aihole inscriptions cited above."-P. 41.

Can prof. Mookerji prove that the statement in the Aihole inscription is sufficient to prove this subjugation of the Gurjaras of Broach to the Chalukyas of Badami?

5. "But as has already been stated, the Hindu political system did not favour much centralized control, but believed more in decentralization and local autonomy." P. 43

This is one of the favourite conundrums of writer of the class of Prof. Radhakumud Mookerji. Can he prove that in all centuries of Hindu history from 1500 B.C., to 1672 A.D., decentralization was favoured by Hindu kings? Such inaccurate statements may please the masses in India but they serve more to increase the ignorance of our students.

6. "Malwa, however, avenged this insult by the victory achieved by her next king, Mahasenagupta, over the Maukhari king Susthitavarman, and the fame of the victory was sung as far as the banks of the Lohitya."-P. 55.

As I had to write a separate paper to prove that

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Mahasenagupta cannot be a king of Malava or Susthitavarman a Maukhari king in the Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society for July 1923. I would request the readers of Prof. Mookerji's book to refer to it on this point.

I am obliged to quote some of Prof. Mookerji's more glaring inaccuracies :—

1. "Regarding now the Maukharis, if we may take the localities of their inscriptions as indications of the extent of their power it was the largest under Sarvavarman, who is called in No. 1 as simple the *Maukhari* as the most distinguished scion of his house, and in Nos. 4 and 5 is described to have held sway from Arrah to Burhanpur, where the two inscriptions were found." Pp. 56-57. No. 4 of Prof. Mookherjee is the Deo-Banarak inscription of Jivitagupta II (No. 46 of Fleet's Gupta Inscriptions) and No. 5 is the Asirgadh copper seal of Sarvavarman. In none of these we can find the statement that Sarvavaraman ruled from Arrah to Burhanpur. Seals of Harshavardhana and Bhaskaravarman were found in the same stratum at Nalanda. Will this prove that Bhaskaravarman of Assam was in possession of Nalanda at any time?

2. In the genealogical table on page 52 Prof. Mookerji makes Susthiravarman, the son of Sarvavarman, and the father of Avantivarman. Can he prove this from any reliable contemporary record?

3. "Nos. 6. described as king of Malwa by Bana,"—p. 63. No. 6 is Mahasenagupta according to the genealogical table on page 65. But Dr. Mookherjee will be surprised to hear that a king named Mahasenagupta is not mentioned in the Harshacharita of Bana.

4. On p. 64 Prof. Mukherji makes Budhagupta, the son of Kumaragupta II and Bhanugupta, the son of the latter. From the way he indicates the relationship between Rajyabardhana II and Harshavardhana it seems that he implies succession and not descent, but is this the correct way of indicating succession?

The worst chapters of the book are those on administration (chapter 4) and religion and learning. The property of Dr. Mukherji's equipments in these respects will make him the butt of ridicule of all scholars. The chapter on administration begins with Harsha's camping arrangements and contains such statements as "Thus the sovereign himself was one of the best travelled men in his empire."—p. 88. It contains a description of the Royal Palace and its zoological collection, the establishment etc. In the middle of the chapter Prof. Mukherji is compelled to admit that "*We do not have much information regarding the actual system of administration.*"—p. 94.

The most atrocious part of chapter 4 is the description of the royal officers. It shows that Prof. Mookherji has failed to understand the Gupta Bureaucratic system utterly. He says that "The provincial Governor appointed his subordinate officials, described as being *Tan-niyukatakas*. He appointed his Visayapati (or the Divisional Commissioner) to whom the Damodarpur inscription apply the titles of *Kumaramatya* (lit. the counsellor for a prince appointed as Governor as distinguished from the Rajamatya)."—P. 106. A footnote on the same page intensifies the decree of Prof. Mookherji's non-acquaintance of the subject. "In the inscription on the Basarh seal appears the full title of the office, viz., *Yuvurajapadiyakumaramatyadhikarana.*" It never occurred to the learned professor that the term *Adhikarana* means an office and the Basarh seals show that there were at least four classes of ranks of *Kumaramatyas*:—

1. *Kumaramatyas* equal in rank to the emperor himself *Paramabhattaraka-padiya-Kumaramatya.*
2. Those equal in rank to heir-apparent-*Yuvarajabhattaraka-padiya-Kumaramatya.*
3. Those equal in rank to younger princes of the royal family-*Yuvaraja padiya-Kumaramatya.*
4. Ordinary *Kumramatyas* of the lowest rank—*Annual Report of the Archaeolegical Survey of India. 1903-4 pp. 107-8.*

In the next page we are told by Prof. Mookherji that the Drangikas were "city magistrates." Fleet's Gupta inscriptions were published in 1883 but if Prof. Mookherji had taken the trouble of reading the English translation of the Rajatarangini published since then, he would have understood that in the Sanskrit language *dranga* means a boundary and in modern Sindhi, Lahnda and certain dialects of Kashmiri *dang* still means a boundary.

I shall confine myself only to that part of chapter V which deals with "The art of the Gupta age" pp. 159-64. I cannot understand what business Prof. Mookherji had to introduce this topic in a book on Harsha. In the first place he does not possess the necessary equipment to deal with the chronology of Gupta art and in the second place he is not even an art connoisseur of the type of Kramrisch or O. C. Gangoly. Consequently he has merely reproduced the common parrot-talk about Gupta art without understanding in the least any thing about the subject he deals with. He speaks of the Gupta period as the golden age "Not merely of Indian literature but also of Indian art," p. 159, but is not able to illustrate it. He includes Aihole and Badami in the Bijapur district of the Bombay Presidency within the sphere of influence of Gupta art! He is not ashamed to speak of Ellora as "another noted centre of Gupta Brahminical art," p. 161. Prof. Mookherji obligingly informs students of Indian Iconography that "In the Gupta period were also developed what are called the Mudras which play such a prominent part in later Buddhist Iconography, p. 162. Prof. Mookherji is evidently not aware of the fact that Mudras, all six Bhumisparasa, Jnana, Dhyana, Dharmachakra, Abhaya and Varada are to be found in the earliest Gandhara sculptures. Up-to-date knowledge on the subject was evidently not considered necessary by the learned author of this book and therefore he does not know much of the recently discovered Gupta art of Nalanda and the North-Eastern Provinces. He is also not aware of the fact that Chalukyan art is quite distinct from the Gupta art and that Ajanta has no connection with it. If Prof. Radhakumud Mookherji had confined himself to writing a book on Harsa with materials with which he was familiar in his usual charming style and attractive mode of presentation instead of venturing into speculation in epigraphy and art then he would have done credit to his selection by the Oxford University Press.

R. D. Banerji.

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SOME ASPECTS OF THE INDIAN CURRENCY PROBLEM: *H. L. Chablani. Published by the Oxford Book and Stationery Co., Kashmere Gate, Delhi. Re. 1. Pp. 57.*

Sir Basil Blackett on Currency and Finance. Full Text of His Evidence before the Royal Commission. Pamphlet No. 17. Published by the Indian Currency League. Bombay. Pp. 193.

Mr. Chablani's brochure consists of :—I.—The Indian Currency Problem, II.—The Report of the Indian Currency Commission, III.—The Gold Bullion Standard and our Pre-war Currency System, IV.—Contraction of Currency under the Gold Bullion Standard. V.—The Question of a Gold Currency. VI.—Some Aspects of the Ratio Controversy. Almost all of these are reprints from contribution to the press. Though the author's book, an outcome of and a contribution to the currency controversy, deals with issues which arose out of the recommendations of the Royal Commission on Currency and have no immediate practical interest just now, it is still very interesting and instructive as an academic study of the currency question specially because it exposes some of the popular fallacies on the subject.

Sir Basil Blackett's evidence before the Hilton-young Commission was published by the indefatigable currency League of Bombay in order to expose the discrepancy of the views he expressed therein and those which he afterwards preached, when as Finance Member of the Government of India, he sponsored the currency bill embodying the recommendation of the Commissioners. The object of this publication was to help members of the legislative bodies and the public at large to fight this proposed legislation which is dubbed 'suicidal' by Mr. Jamnadas Dwarkadas who contributes the Foreword.

H. SANYAL

—

BENGALI

EUROPIYA SABHYATAR ITIHAS: *Translated by Prof. Rabindranarian Ghose; M. A. Published by the Bangiya Sahitya, Pairshat, 243-1 Upper Circular Road, Calcutta.*

The celebrated work of the French savant Guizot on the subject of the history of European civilization is rendered into Bengali in an abridged form. The reading public is indebted to Prof. Benoykumar Sarkar who provided a fund of Rs. 2,000 for the translation and publication of this mounmental work. Prof. Ghosh has presented the work in a lucid style and it is calculated to be an important addition to the historical literature in Bengali.

JAIN-PADMAPURANA (abridged): *By Mr. Chintaharan Chakravarty, Kavyatirtha, M. A. Published by the Vanga-vihara Ahinsa Pairshat, Calcutta.*

Perhaps the fact is not widely known that the Jain version of the Ramayana-legend differs from the traditional version of the Hindus as embodied in the epic of Valmiki in many respects. The study of the Ramayana cannot be deemed complete without reference to and comparison with the Buddhist and Jain versions. The author has laid the Bengali-speaking public under a great debt by publishing the story of Ram who is called *Pauma* or *Padma* by the Jains, in this little work with notes and references to the Hindu epic.

RAMES BASU

—

SURADHUNI; *A collection of Bengali songs By Sudhirchandra Kar. Published by Asc Chatterji from the Prabasi Office, 91, Circular Ro Cal. Price As. 12.*

In these days of artificiality and me jugglery in words, lyrics like these are li welcome raindrops in an arid desert. The auth has not the slightest intention of taking t literary world by surprise, but has merely attemp ed to express in chaste and elegant vers thoughts which have flitted off and on across h mental horizon. All these songs have a ring sincerity which cannot but appeal to anyone w may go through them. Considering this to be h first attempt at metrical expression, I am confide that the author's future publications will attain excellence, a glimpse of which is already manife in this volume. I am sure this book of vers will gain the appreciation that it deserves

DINENDRANATH TAGORE

—

HINDI

NAVIN VIN YA NADIME DIN: *By Lala Bhagwan Din. Hindi-pustak-bhandar, Laheria Serai.*

Lalaji is a well-known poet of the old schoo Forty-two of his poems, some being illustrate are collected in this book. Most of these are o Puranic themes. There is a national anthem The poem called *motor-panchak* is a curiosity, and th on the Taj Mahal is rather flat and shows th poverty of Hindi literature even when the subject matter is prospective. This will be clear if w compare this poem with those on the same thes in Bengali.

UPAYOGITAVADA: *By Mr. Umrao Singh Karnik, B. A. Jnanprakas Mandir, Meerut.*

Translation of J. S. Mill's *Utiliterianism*

GARHASTYA-SASTRA: *By Lakshmidhas Bajpai. The Tarun-Bharata-Granthavali Office, Daraganj, Allahabad.*

A work on domestic economy.

GRAHA KA PHER: *By Mr. Shyamsundar Dvivedi Suhrid. The Chand Office, Allahabad.*

Translation of a Bengali novel by Mr. Yogendranath Chaudhuri, M. A.

ENGLAND KA SANGATHANIK QANUN: *By Suparsvadas Gupta, B. A. (Hons). A. Kumar Sons. Arrah.*

This book gives the summary of Dicey's *Law of the Constitution.*

ASTIKYAVADA: *By Pandit Gangaprasad Upadhyaya, M. A. The Kala Karyyalaya, Allahabad.*

All the aspects of theism are ably discussed in this work in the light of modern speculation on the subject. The opinions of western thinkers are quoted and discussed. This book will be useful to those who are philosophically disposed with a religious aim.

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BHRAMARA-GITA-SARA: *Edited by Pandit Ramchandra Sukla. The Sahitya-seva-sadan, Bulanala, Benares.*

The celebrated work of Suradasa called the *Sura-sagara* contains the songs given in this book. These 401 songs, called *bhramara-gita*, are gems of old Hindi poetry. The editor adds an introduction and gives the meanings of difficult words.

ANTARNADA: *By Viyogi Hari. The Gandhi Hindi-Pustak-Bhandar, Allahabad.*

The well got-up volume contains a number of prose-poems in Hindi. The pieces are charming and lyrical in spirit, while the style is simple and dignified.

BHARATIYA SASANA: *By Mr. Bhagawandas Kela. The Bharatiya Granthamala. Brindaban.*

This fifth edition of this text-book of Indian Administration shows its popularity. There is a glossary of the technical terms.

RAMES BOSU

—

SANSKRIT—BENGALI

KALITANTRAM: *Edited by Pt. Satischandra Siddhantabhushan, Published by the Sanskrit Sahitya Parishat, Calcutta.*

Of the works dealing with the worship of the goddess Kali the present text is an important one and is cited in many second-hand collections of Tantra. The editor is to be congratulated for this useful edition of the text with notes and Bengali translation for the the first time. Variants of the readings from the different MSS. collected are also given. There is a figure of the *Kaliyantram.*

DURGAPUJA-VIVEM, etc: *By Sulapani and others.*

DURGAPUJA-TATTVAKA: *By Raghunandan Bhattacharyya.*

In a sense the worship of Durga is a national festival of the Hindus all over India. But unlike other provinces Bengal has developed some new features which are restricted to Eastern India only. This festival is rightly called the *asvamedha of the Kali age.* We have in these two volumes the most important works about this festival in Bengal. The former contains the treatises of Sulapani, Jimutavahana, Vachaspati Misra and Srinathacharyyachudamani. The latter is the well-known work of Raghunandan. The learned editor discusses many points in connection with the MSS. and the festival and gives the variant readings. These will surely be of use to the orthodox community as well as to the scholars interested in the subject.

RAMES BASU

—

MARATHI.

SRI RAMAYANA SAMALOCHANA—*or a study of the Ramayana); By 'a Maharashtriya.' Publishers Messrs G. V. Chiplunkar & Co., Poona. Price not mentioned.*

This bulky volume of about 900 pages is divided into two parts. The first part consisting of seven chapters deals with several important questions regarding the Ramayana, such as the excellence of the epic, the ideal character of Rama, the social, political and industrial condition of India in those times, the nature and degree of civilisation of the Rakshasas and the Vanaras, the interpolations in the poem, etc. The fifth chapter in particular is very interesting, as the author has therein successfully exploded the several absurd traditions that have been handed down from generation to generation concerning Valmiki being a way-layer of the Koli caste, his being the originator of the metric composition, Ahalya being turned into a slab of stone by her husband's curse, etc. The second part, consisting of eleven chapters contains learned discussions about the chronolcgy of the Ramanaya, determination of the geographical places mentioned in the poem, analysis of the important characters, and a critical review of some other versions of Rama's story such as those given in the several Puranas, in Anand Ramayana, Adhatma Ramayana, Tulsidas Ramayana, etc. In one of the Appendices the author has given a list of 90 Sanskrit Ramanayas! This very fact, coupled with the eagerness shown by Buddhist and Jain writers to give their own versions of Rama's story, is a clear proof of the Ramayana being a singularly popular and revered poem among Indian people. The deep and critical study of the poem and the fair attitude of mind with which the author has approached and handled questions, which have hitherto appeared like so many riddles to many great scholars, reflects no small credit upon the author. One may not agree with all his conclusions based on texts of doubtful authenticity, but the open mind with which the author has approached several questions and the phalanx of arguments arrayed in support of his contention cannot but arrest the reader's attention. The Foreward to the volume by Mr. J. S. Karandikar, co-editor of the *Kesari*, is readable and gives in a nutshell the important features and conclusions of the questions discussed in the volume. It is a pity that the usefulness of such an excellent and laborious work should be marred by the lack of an exhaustive index. The publishers, Messrs. G. V. Chiplunkar & Co., have already to their credit several important publications. The present publication will surely add lustre to the praiss-worthy attempts hitherto done by them in bringing the ancient rich lore of the Indian Rishis to the door of the Marathi readers.

HINDUPAD—PADSHAHI—*a Marathi translation of Barrister Savarkar's English book of that name. Published by the Vijaya Press, Poona. Pages 240 price Rs. two.*

The original English book aims at giving its readers a fair and clear idea of the gigantic attempt made by the Mahrattas to establish their Empire over the whole of India, the high and noble spirit of patriotism running in their veins which inspired it and of the secret of their wonderful achievements in an incredibly short space of time. Sentiment. rather than reason, looks to be predominant in the treatment of the subject. The lanauage is high-flown and stirirring. The book is such as cannot fail to appeal strongly

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to the patriotic hearts of the Mahrattas. The Marathi rendering is faultless.

A TREATISE ON BIO CHEMIC REMEDIES:—*By Dr. G. S. Palsule L. M. and S (National), L. H M. S. Published by the Shrikrishna Homeo Pharmacy, Poona. Pages 500. Price Rs. Two.*

There are over half a dozen books on the subject in Marathi. But the one under review surpasses them all, in several respects. In the first place, the principle underlying this system of medicine is very clearly stated and explained. Secondly, the bio-chemic system is compared with other prevalent systems of medicine; technicalities have been avoided, so far as possible, so that even a layman can make himself acquainted with the principles underlying the system; under the description of each medicine there are given instructions as to when higher or lower potencies of the medicine are to be used. Since this system has chiefly to deal with symptoms, and exhaustive and detailed repertory of symptoms is appended, and this is the most important and useful feature of the book. With the help of this book a man with a little intelligence can easily become one's own physician and also be useful to others, *in cases of common complaints.*

V. G. APTE.

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GUJARATI

PREMA SWARUP SHRI KRISHNA PART I; *By Mohanlal V. Gandhi, printed at the Aditya Printing Press, Ahmedabad, cloth bound, pp. 252 price Rs. 2-0-0 (1927).*

"Shri Krishna, the Lord of Love," written by Baba Premanand Bharti has attained great fame as a book explaining why Shrikrishna is held in such veneration by us, and the deeper truths underlying his worship. This book is a translation of the first part of that treatise and the Notes given at the end add to its usefulness. It is sure to interest all those who have a religious turn of mind.

THE HISTORY OF GONDAL AND LIFE OF MAHARAJA SHRI BHAGVAT SINHJEE: *By Rajvaidya Jivram Kalidas Shastri, Printed at the Rasa Shala Printing Press, Gondal, with a photo of His Highness. Cloth bound. Pp. 1055. Price Rs. 15. (1927).*

Gondal is one of the premier native states of Kathiawad and is ruled by an enlightened Ruler who during his sojourn in England and Scotland, unlike other Princes, utilised his time, instead of frittering it away, in studying medicine and obtaining the degrees of M. D., M. R.C.P.I. F.R.C.P.E., H. H. Sree Bhagavat Sinhjee has made Gondal an ideol State, and so far as administration is concerned he does not spare himself. The history of his State and his dynasty as set out in this bulky tome is complete in every detail from the times of Shri Krishna up-to-date. The incidents of his reign are also very fully described and they furnish eloquent proof of the different stages through which H. H. has developed the resources of his State so as to make it a model one. The author is a medical man by profession, still he has turned out a book which does him 'credit' in every way. Altogether the book fulfils a want so far as the State was concerned. It must find a permanent place amongst its valuable archives.

K. M. J.

THE GREEN-CLAD LADY OF THE MUTINY

(Translated from Khoja Hasan Nizami's Tear-drops)

BY SYED ISMAIL B. A.

THE following account has been gathered from the lips of two old men who were in the prime of their youth during the great Indian Mutiny of 1857.

At the time when the English forces had captured the Ridge and were bombarding Delhi from the direction of Kashmiri Gate, a Muslim woman clad in green used to walk daily along the bazadrs of the city crying aloud in a thundering voice "COME, FOLLOW ME, GOD HAS CALLED YOU TO PARADISE." Hearing this call the citizens gathered round her in huge crowds, and she would lead them for an attack on the Kashmiri Gate, and make this citizen army fight from morn till eve with extraordinary enthusiasm.

Eyewitnesses of this fighting have stated that this woman possessed wonderful courage; she had no fear of death, and in the thickest of the fight where bullets and cannon balls were actually raining, she would rush like a warrior of undaunted courage. Sometimes she was seen on foot, and sometimes she would lead her men seated on horseback. She carried in her hands a banner, a sword and a rifle. She used to fire her gun with great precision; and one man who had

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accompanied her in her wild charge up the Ridge ramparts stated that she was also well-versed in the art of swordsmanship; and often would she rush forward and fiercely wield her sword in a hand to hand fight.

The heroism and fearlessness of this lady fired the enthusiasm of the populace who pressed forward with great courage. But on account of their ignorance of war, generally at the end they took to their heels. At such moment she endeavoured to prevent them from flying, but when invariably they ran away at last, she would return home for the day. But nobody knew where she retired, and whence she emerged again the next day.

At length one day at the head of her citizen army, fighting tooth and nail with sword and rifle, she reached the English ramparts, but just then she fell wounded from her horse and was captured by the enemy. Thereafter, no one knew what fate overtook her and where she was gone at last.

In the collection of letters written by English officers during the sige of Delhi, and recently published by the authorities of Delhi province, there is one interesting letter of Lt. W. S. R. Hudson dated 29th July 1857, Camp Delhi, and despatched to J. Gliss Forsyth, Deputy Commissioner, Ambala. This letter throws some light on the appearance of this wonderful old woman. It runs as follows :—

"My dear Forsyth, I am sending to you an old Mohammadan woman. She is a strange woman. Her business was to dress in green and to persuade the populace of the city to rebel, and herself, clad in arms and commanding the rebels, used to attack our defences daily.

"The sepoys who have had to deal with her, say that she repeatedly led stubborn and valiant attacks, and fought with great firmness, and that she possesses also the strength of five men.

"On the day she was captured, she was on horseback leading the rebels of the city in battle order. She carried a gun which she fired several times. The sepoys say that she herself, wielding her sword and rifle killed several of our men. But just as we hoped, her followers fled and she was caught, after being wounded.

"When she was taken before the General, she was ordered to be released on the score of being a woman. But I prevented him, and told him that if she was released, she would go back to the city and claim supernatural powers with whose aid she had escaped, and credulous men would believe it to be true; and it is quite probable that she might become a source of trouble to us like the famous Maid of Orleans of whom mention is made in the History of France.

"The General agreed with me, and decided upon imprisoning her. Therefore, I have sent her to you, and I hope you will make the neecessary arrangements for her safe custody, for this witch is a dangerous woman —Hudson,"

After hearing anecdotes from several sources in Delhi, and finding corroboration in this officer's letter, I tried hard to ascertain facts regarding this woman. But no reliable information could be gathered. Those who have known her can only give this much information that they had seen her inciting the populace, collecting them, and leading them to fight. More than that they do not know; who she was and whence she came, they cannot tell.

However, I have heard a story which seems to have some connection with this incident. It is quite probable that it is the same woman.

A resident of the Native State of Tonk told me that his father had been a disciple of Hazrat Haji Lal Mohammed, Chishti Nizami, who was the nominated successor of Hazrat Moulana Fakhruddin, Chishti Nizami, the famous saint of Delhi, whose tomb is situated in a marble enclosure just as we enter the eastern gate of the Mousoleum of Khaja Nizamuddin Awlia, at Delhi. It was at Ajmere that his father was initiated by Haji Lal mohammed, and at that time, a crazy-looking woman was seated in the presence of the saint. She repeatedly requested him to pray to God that she might die a martyr. Her speech was all right, but her movements betrayed mental aberration.

For a long while, the saint did not reply but at length he exclaimed with the great fervour. "Fight a holy war with your *self*; there is no greater war than this."

The woman then inquired, "What, will *self* kill me? When I become a martyr, I shall kill the *self*, and get killed by the slaves of the *self*."

Then the saint smiled, and after sitting silent for some time rejoined, "The leaves of *hena* are green, but they keep red colour

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hidden in them. Go, *be green and become red.*"

This figure of speech the audience could not understand, but the woman fell at the feet of the saint, and after kissing his feet she disappeared. It could be seen from her looks that she had understood the meaning of the master, and had found what she was in quest of.

Sometime later, my friend's father met the same woman at Delhi at the mosouleum of Khaja Nizamuddin Awlia. She was dressed in green and was seated near the tomb of Fakhruddin Awlia in deep meditations. After she finished her prayers, he went forward and asked her whether he had not seen her at Ajmere. She replied, "Yes, brother, I am the self same, and your sister of the same order."

The gentleman said, "Oh, I see, have you also become disciple of Haji Lal Mohammad ?"

She said, "Yes, I am also one of his servants."

The gentleman then asked her, "Where do you reside, and how long is it since you entered orders, and became a *fakir.*"

Then she narrated her life history in the following manner : "My grand-father was a commander in the army of Ahmed Shah Abdali. He was present in the battle of Panipat fought against the Maharattas, and he was killed in the same action. My father also was in the service of Ahmed Shah Abdali, but he was then very young, and he stayed with his widowed mother for some time at Lahore. Then he migrated to Bhawalpore Stete where he made his living on a petty appointment. There he married. Two sons were born, but they did not survive. I was the third. My infancy was spent at Bhawalpur, but later moved on to Jaipur where my father secured a job. But he too died, and I married a Chopder in the service of the Maharajah.

"My husband fell ill, and I lost all hopes of his life. I sat at his bedside near his head praying to God to spare his life, when without any forethought the name of Khaja Moinuddin of Ajmir, the patron saint of India, came to my lips ; and I prayed, O God, save my husband at least for *his* sake." Thus praying I fell asleep, and I dreamt a dream in which I saw a huge conflagration which a big crowd of people was trying to quench. But the water which they brought, strange to say, began to burn, flames issuing from the pots. I was terrified at this horrible sight, when presently I saw a holy man standing before me, and saying to me, "O woman, sacrifice your life and then will this fire be quenched."

I said, "How shall I sacrifice my life ?"

"What, don't you know how to die a martyr's death ?" replied the holy man, and then gave me a green mantle commanding me to cover myself with it.

"As soon as I donned it on, I began to fly in the air, and as I flew higher and higher, I heard voices shouting, 'This is a martyr, this is a martyr' !"

"Here I opened my eyes, and I saw my husband in the throes of death and soon after he gave up his ghost. It was a great shock to me, and for a time I lost my senses. I moved on to Ajmir and it is there that I had the good fortune to meet Haji Lal Mohammad, and to become his disciple.

I was alone, my parents having died already. But from that moment the idea has taken pessession of my mind that the Patron Saint of India, Khaja Moinuddin of Ajmir has commanded me to die a martyr and that it is he whom I saw in my dream. Now I have come on a pilgrimage to visit the tombs of the Saints of Delhi. At the tomb of Dada Fakhruddin Awlia, I spend a greater portion of my time, and day before yesterday I saw him in a vision, and he said to me, 'You are the green-clad Martyr'."

The gentleman from Tonk returned home much amazed at the story of the woman, and just a few days latter the Mutiny broke out at Delhi !

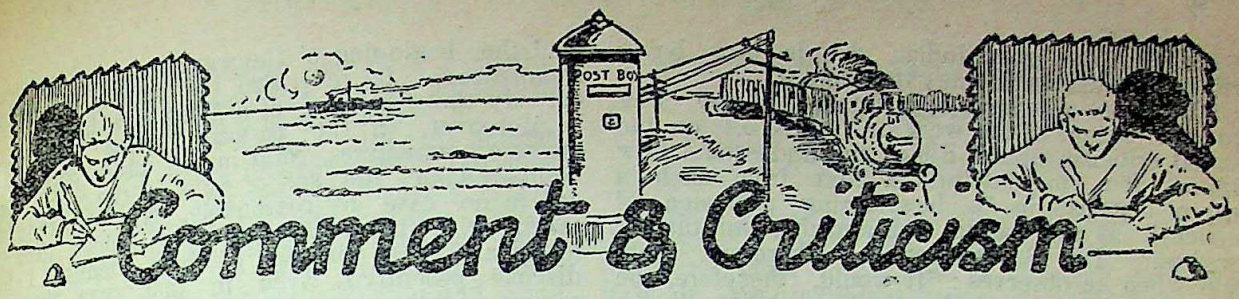
This account leads a man to think that it must be the same woman that led the rebels of Delhi, and that her illusions gave her the extraordinary powers to do it. If in fact, it is so then this incident should take its place as one of the narvels of History.

I wish that, if any one of my countrymen knows anything more of this Green-clad lady of the Mutiny he may apprise me of the same, so that I may make use of it in writing the History of the Mutiny which I (Khaja Hasan Nizami) have undertaken.

Every Indian I think, would surely like to keep green in his memory the spirit and heroism of this Green-clad Lady who commanded in person her citizen army in the field, and to gather some more facts about her, so that India might pride herself (of course, within proper limits) on the doings of her children.

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[This section is intended for the correction of inaccuracies, errors of fact, clearly erroneous views, misrepresentations, etc., in the original contributions, and editorials published in this Review or in other papers criticizing it. As various opinions may reasonably be held on the same subject, this section is not meant for the airing of such differences of opinion. As, owing to the kindness of our numerous contributors, we are always hard pressed for space, critics are requested to be good enough always to be brief and to see that whatever they write is strictly to the point. Generally, no criticism of reviews and notices of books is published. Writers are requested not to exceed the limit of five hundred words.—Editor, The Modern Review.]

International relations in contemporary Europe

Apropos of the following sentence occurring in Prof. S.N. Dhar's article, "International Relations in Contemporary Europe" (published in "The Modern Review" for July, 1928), permit me to say a few words :—

"She (Bolshevik Russia) has not given up any of the lines of aggressive foreign policy pursued by the Czars, viz.···peaceful penetration of Mongolia, a cautious policy in Manchuria···"

Now, "peaceful penetration" is a phrase often used in International Law and politics, but of which one might be excused for saying that "nobody knows anything and everybody knows next to nothing." Its use "far excellence" lies in the sphere of counter-imperialistic propaganda and like all other propaganda-terms, it is immeasurably vague. What, however, is the historical fact about Bolshevik policy towards Mongolia? It is that Bolshevik Russia has, from the time of its inception up-to-date, scrupulously adhered to the terms of the Kiakhta Agreement of 1916 (between Russia and China) whereby Russia had promised to forego territorial ambition in and round about Mongolia

As to Manchuria, it might be safely asserted that that country had definitely scrapped its feather to Russia and is now following timidly in the wake of Japan. Chang-Tso-Lin, who dominated the three provinces of Kirin, Feng-Tien and Heilung-Kiring, was, so it is asserted, but the pay-servant of Japan.

Prof. Dhar's reflections on the extreme vigilance of Bolshevik Russia on Constantinople and the Straits are thoroughly sound and he might have mentioned the Kars Convention of 1922 in support of them.

Nirmal Chandra Moitra

THE MAHABHARATA*

(A Review.)

There are several editions of the *Mahābhārata* in the country, but none of them is critical. In order to remove this want which has strongly been felt for years, attempts were first made in Europe to bring out a new edition. But that scheme did not advance much and the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute came forward and undertook the work in right earnest. Since then it has been progressing steadily and quite satisfactorily; a fact evinced by the publication of a tentative edition of the *Virāṭaparvan* under the able editorship of Mr. N. B. Utgikar with whom the present reviewer had the pleasure in discussing readings and other details with regard to the edition, sitting for days together with Dr. M. Winternitz who was then in the Visvabharati as the Visting Professor and teaching the students how to prepare a critical edition of a text from a number of Mss. taking for that purpose those of the *Mahābhārata* itself. We are now really very glad to receive the first instalment of the great work in the form of the first fascicule containing first two adhyāyas of the Ādiparvan as edited by Dr. Sukthankar with the co-operation of his colleagues. Our thanks are due to them all and through them to the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute. Indeed, it is extremely gratifying

* The Mahābhārata for the first time critically edited by Vishnu S. Sukthankar, Ph. D. Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, 1927.

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to see that the great Indian epic is now being critically edited by Indians themselves.

Only those who have acquaintance in any way with the nature of the work or the books on the textual criticism of the Bible can understand how difficult it is to constitute a text from such a heap of materials in "a bewildering profusion of versions" as well as in "an amazing mixture of versions." Dr. Sukthankar is, therefore, quite right when he observes: "It would, therefore, be well not to ignore entirely the possibility that a wholly satisfactory restoration of the text to its pristine form—even the late so-called Satasāhasrī Saṁhitā form—may be a task now beyond the powers of criticism." We may, however, say with him that "Even though the problem be insoluble in the ideal plane, yet a practical solution of it is by no means impracticable and may with considerable gain be attempted." And it can be said that the first fascicule demonstrates that "a considerable portion of the inherited text can be incontestably proved to be authentic and unimpeachable, and that on the other hand, certain portions of the "vulgate" can equally indisputably be shewn to be spurious." For instance, the episode of Brahman and Ganeśa in the first adhyaya of the Ādiparvan may be referred to here. It is spurious as it is not to be found in two independent versions, Bengali and Kashmirian (or North-Western).

The following points may, however, be noted on which I could not agree with Dr. Sukthankar.

Just after the salutatory śloka at the beginning, *Nārayaṇaṁ namaskṛtya etc.* we read the following in the constituted text (1.1.1-2):

लोमहर्षण पुत्र उग्रश्रवाः सूतः पौराणिको नमिषारण्ये ।
शौनकस्य कुलपतेर्दादशवार्षिके सत्रे ॥ १ ॥

समासीनानभ्यगच्छद् ब्रह्मर्षीन्संशितव्रतान् ।
विनयावनतो भूत्वा कदाचित्सूतनन्दनः ॥ २ ॥

Here the question arises: Do the first two lines form the original text of the Mahabharata? They are found in all the different versions of which Mss. are collated for the present edition, though with some variant readings. But can we be satisfied only with this ground as to their being genuine? It is to be noted that these two lines are in *prose* forming an incomplete sentence and are to be construed with the following verse which is complete in itself. No doubt, the prose lines add something very suitable to the following śloka. But is it so important that without it that śloka can in no way be introduced as the first śloka of the work? It may be said that without these two lines the begininng of the work with the sloka would have been rather abrupt. It may be so to some degree. Yet, this ground does not seem to me to be strong enough when considered with the reasons advanced below. It does not necessarily establish that these two lines were put in writing. It may be that what we know from them was well-known to the rhapsodist and his audience alike. Sūta's (or Sauti's) appearance at the *satra* of Saunaka in the forest Naimiṣa and his recounting stories among the sages assembled there was a fact so well-known in those times (See *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* I.1. 4) that it might not have needed special mention. And the beginning of the work was with the śloka, *Samāsīnaete* It may also be that the prose lines embody the substance of a śloka now lost.

Moreover, in the passage quoted above there are two nominatives, *Sūta* in the prose portion and *Sūtanandana* 'the son of Sūta' in the śloka. This can in no case be reasonable. Nor can they be taken with the verb *agacchad* unless they are identical. (The question of their identity I shall discuss pesently.) Even in that case their use cannot rightly be defended. And one of them would have been sufficient.

The peculiar construction itself of the passage, partly in prose and partly in verse, suitable to drama, is quite out of keeping with what we should expect in a work of the time of the *Mahābhārata*. Therefore, it appears to me that the first two lines in prose are not originally of the *Mahābharata* but added subsequently. This addition must have been very old.

That they are really interpolated was known even to the Comentator, Nīlakaṇṭha as is perfectly clear from the following sentence in his commentary:

ततो विघ्नविनायकान्नमस्कृत्य सुखासीनान् (for समासीनान् in our text) इति भारतारम्भश्लोकेऽपेक्षितं पूरयति गवेर लोमहर्षणपुत्र इति ।

The second question here is with regard to the reading *Sūta* and *Sūtanandana* (or *Sauti*) in the above and similar passages in the work. Which of them is genuine? The Mss. read them both. In the present edition, too, so far as the first fascicule is concerned, both of them are adopted, reading sometimes *Sūta* (1.1. 20.159 etc.) and sometimes *Sauti* (1.1.7;" Cf. 101). Obviously *Sūta* cannot be called *Sauti* and *Sauti Sūta*. One must be either *Sūta* or *Sauti* and not both. It is therefore resonable that one of them is to be used throughout for the same person. But in the present edition this has not been done. Now, which of them is to be prefered? If we depend only on the evidence of the Mss. as Dr. Sukthankar seems to have done, the decision goes in favour of *Sūta* at least in one case, I.1.159, where all the collated Mss. of all the versions give the same reading. In all other cases, both are found. Here another question presents itself: How far can we rely on Mss. when they are confronted by strong internal evidences? I think, in such cases Mss. have little value. Following this principle we should read *Sauti* and not *Sūta*. But what are the internal evidences here? In I.1.2*d*, 2.1*b*, and 13*d* all the Mss. of all the versions without a single exception read *Sūta-nandana* and as regards the sense it is the same as *Sūtaputra* (1.2.70*c*) which is also the one reading found in all the Mss. And it goes without saying that these three words, *Sūtanandana*, *Sūtaputra*, *and Sauti* give the same meaning, 'the son of Sūta.' It cannot therefore, be reasonable to adopt *Sūta* in these cases as the actual reading.

It is, however to be noted that there is evidence for holding that the celebrated rhapsodist was *Sūta*, the son of *Roma*-or *Roma-harṣaṇa*. For in the beginning prose line in our text, for instance, see the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, I.1.5,7,12,13

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But so far as the *Mahābhārata* itself is concerned and the Mss. utilized for the edition shown, he cannot be other than *Sauti* as said above.

The same question arises also in another place. In 1. 1.101 of the present edition the word *Sauti* is used with reference to Sañjaya. (Only four Mss. of the Gantha version has the reading *Suta*). But in 159*c* we have *Sūta* for the same person. Sañjaya, all the Mss. giving the same reading. But how can one be both *Sūta* and *Sauti* as we have in the present edition ?

The word *Lomaharṣaṇi* (—*Lomaharṣaṇoputra* 'Son of Lomaharṣaṇa' 1.1.1.1) is found in the first fascicule at least twice (1. 6*d*, 2.70*d*). But is there any strong ground for not reading *Laumaharṣaṇi* for *Lomā* with a large number of Mss. of the Northern Recension in which, as says Dr. Sukthankar, the archetype is included ? "Solecism," he observes in the preface, p. vi, "when shewn to be orginal by a clear agreement on this point between (what appeared to be) independent versions have been allowed to stand uncorrected (cf. I. 1. 5 *d*. 190*d*)." Though this may be said with regard to the first case, it cannot be so with reference to the second (1. 2. 70 *d*) for clearly there is no agreement of independent versions on reading *Lomā*. Accordingly I inclene to read *Lauma* also in the first case.

The constituted text reads (1. 1. 186 *c-d*):

दैवं प्रज्ञाविशेषेण को निवर्तितुमर्हति ॥

Here in *d* I should like to read *ativartitum* for *nivartitum* agreeing specially with Ko which, as the editor says, represents with K^1 "archetype K in a *comparatively* pure form."

We read in the Parvasamgrahaparvan (I. 2. 19):

अक्षौहिण्याः प्रसंख्यानं रथानां द्विजसत्तमाः ।
संख्या गणिततत्त्वज्ञैः सहस्राण्येकविंशतिः ॥

Here *prasaṁkhyanām* in *a* is indicated by the editor as "less than certain." That originally the word must have been in its past participle form in the feminine gender *prasaṁkhyātā*, can easily be known from the fact that the nominative is put in the instrumental case (*saṁkhyāganita-taltvaiñaih*). This is indicated also by some of the preceding verses. The variants, too, give us support. Otherwise the sentence remains incomplete the finite verb not having been used.

I should, therefore, like to read with K^6 *-saṁkhyātā* having slightly modified the reading *saṁkhyātaḥ* found in a good many Mss. I am also inclined to read with K^4 and G^6 *akṣauhiṇyām* for *akṣauhiṇyāḥ*, I think this modification is necessary. It clearly suggests how other readings have arisen here.

On p. iii the number of the Visvabharati Library Ms. marked B^4 is 413 and not 415 as printed.

This edition of the *Mahābhārata* is illustrated by the Chief of Aundh, Shrimant Balasaheb Pant Pratinidhi. B. A. The first fascicule contains an illustration depecting Sauti or (Suta) relating the story to the Ṛsis. The present reviewer is neither an artist nor an art-critic, yet he may be allowed to suggest that the editors could have availed themselves of a more artistic representation of the subject.

VIDHUSHEKHARA BHATTACHARYA

THE THEATRE IN REVOLUTIONARY RUSSIA

A Conversation with Madame Lunatscharsky

BY AGNES SMEDLEY

MR. Bertrand Russell has said that Russia like China, is an artist nation. "When I speak of art as one of the things that have value on their own account," he adds, "I do not mean only the deliberate production of trained artists, though of course these, at their best, deserve the highest place. I mean also the almost unconscious effort after beauty which one finds among Russian peasants and Chinese coolies, the sort of impulse that creates folk-songs, that existed among ourselves before the time of Puritanism."

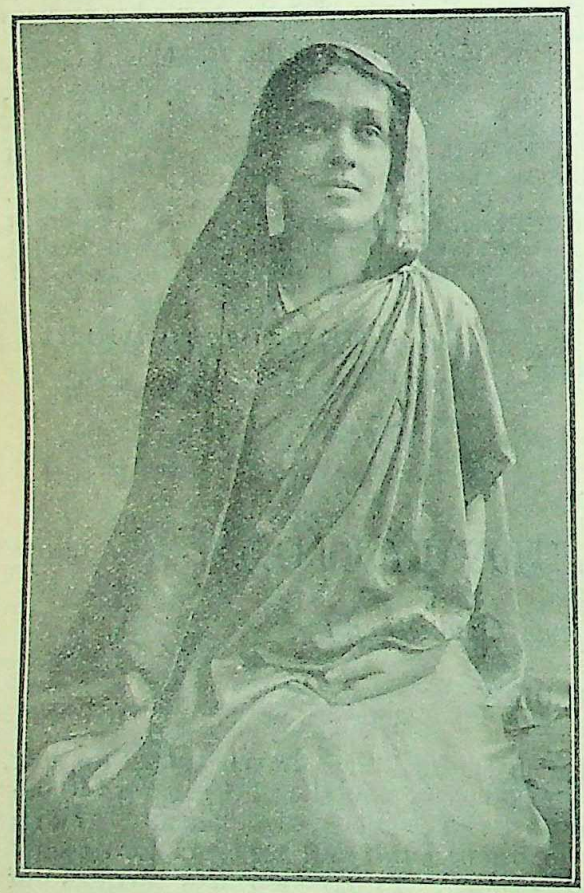
We who live in western Europe have always the opportunity to test the truth of these remarks. The Russian film as well as Russian music, the drama, literature, and the folk-dances, are almost constantly before our eyes. The classical Russian literature is known wherever men read and love beauty and majesty. To day the new writers of revolutionary Russia are pressing upon a world that wishes to pretend that art cannot be produced in freedom by workers and peasants. The Russian film has no rivals in Europe, Asia or America ; in art it is unsurpassed. The "Potemkin" film still stands as the highest point reached in the field of film art, and the many efforts to equal it by Germans or Americans have fallen miserably flat. Gorki's "Mother" likewise remains un-

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equalled in the pure beauty and genius of its production. Before these, there had been Tolstoi's "Polikushka" with its gripping beauty and tragedy; the historical film of Ivan the Terrible, which appeared last year under the title of "Slaves have no Wings," was colossal in its power; Indians, viewing it here in Berlin, were not only deeply moved, but frankly said that it was much like the debauched life of many of the ruling princes of India.

The sad strains of the Russian folk-songs and the haunting music of the balalaika orchestras further bear witness to Russell's words that the Russians are an artist nation. Those who have once heard the singing of



Agnes Smedley

groups of Russian peasants and workers during a period of rest in their work, can never forget. We living in the Indian Colony in Berlin had only this week another opportunity to judge of Russian music and dancing for in our annual winter festival given by the Hindusthan Association, a balalaika orchestra of twenty-five young Russian men and women students played for us. The wistful Russian folk melodies held our large audience spell-bound. The dancing ceased and applause induced the orchestra to play one selection after another. Later on, through the evening, when a lull settled over the hall, the dash of Russian folk-dance music was heard, and with a whirl four Russians—two young men and two girls—swung into the middle of the hall. Dressed in their own peasant costumes, and dancing with the dash and freshness and joy that is characteristic of them, they danced the Russian folk-dances while the audience took up the rhythm beating time to their dashing feet.

Quite recently, the writer of these lines had the opportunity to talk further on these lines with Madame Lunatscharsky, a well-known actress on vacation in Berlin, from the Russain State Theatre in Moscow where she is permanently engaged. Madame Lunatscharsky is the wife of the Commissar of Education of the Soviet Union. She is a very charming, elegent and pleasant woman, pronouncedly Russian in type—a type that shows that Russia is the beginning of Asia. Her knowledge of literature and the theatre—the two are intimately connected—as well as of the entire cultural life amongst the Russian workers to-day, seems to be very fundamental. She is one of those Russians of the intelligentsia who, despite a high culture, have blended with the masses so completely that they speak as one of them, without any tone of condescension of a superior to an inferior. For, in Russia there are only comrades. During her vacation in Berlin she has been playing the leading role in a Russian film, "Vera Mirzeva", which will appear in the spring. In her conversations, she spoke particularly of the Cultural Sections of the Workers' Clubs which exist throughout Russia in all industries as well as in the distant villages. A part of the work of these Cultural Sections, she explained, concern themselves with the theatre. This theatre section has three duties: (1) To purchase tickets for the professional threatres—30 of whose tickets must be sold at very low rates to labour organizations. This means also that they must buy tickets for good threatres only, that the workers may see the best productions. (2) They bring to the Club professional artists who play in the Club threatres—for instance, on holidays, such as on the 1st of May, the 7th of November,

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or other revolutionary holidays. (3) They produce plays of their own on the Club stage. This is, in fact, the chief part of its activities and calls into co-operation all the workers in the factory. There is a regisseur in charge of this theatre section ; this regisseur must be half-pedagogue also, who has the ability not only to produce the plays with small means, but to train the workers in acting, and at the same time to study all the workers to find if a great talent amongst them can be found who might devote his or her entire time to this profession. Madame Lunatscharsky says that she herself has worked in such workers' clubs and found them really very interesting. "One sees how these people who work eight hours in the industry find time and strength to produce plays," she says. "These Clubs work very much and with great interest. In the large industries they are very active and form a very important centre of cultural work. There are also clubs of sales employees, but the best clubs I have seen, and the most interesting, are in the industries. During the past year I was in a club of a great textile industry on the outskirts of Moscow. It has a theatre that seats 2,500 persons. Since the revolution, the Workers' Club organized there has theatrical sport, science and other sections."

Speaking further, she said: "For me, the most interesting is the new Workers' Theatre, which is a section of the Club of Railway Workers on the outskirts of Moscow. This Club was founded 1½ years ago. It has a very large sanitary creche, built very much on American lines: its walls are of glass, through which the working mothers may look in to see how their children are getting along. The club is fairly rich—judged by our standards—and it provides the best in culture and convenience for its members. When noted orchestra directors—such as Klemperer or Fried from Germany—come to Russia, this club invites them to play in the Theatre. It also invites noted Russian artists, and in this way the workers see the best acting and hear the finest music. Two other similar clubs were opened in Leningrad on November 7th at the time of our 10th Jubilee of the Soviet Union. These two theatres have the most up-to-date apparatus, such as lighting and modern stages."

Madame Lunatscharsky spoke of the great demand of the Russian warkers and peasants for the drama and for other aspects of culture.



Cherviakoff, the Russian Actor who plays the role of the great poet Puschkin in the tragedy-film "Poet and Czar"

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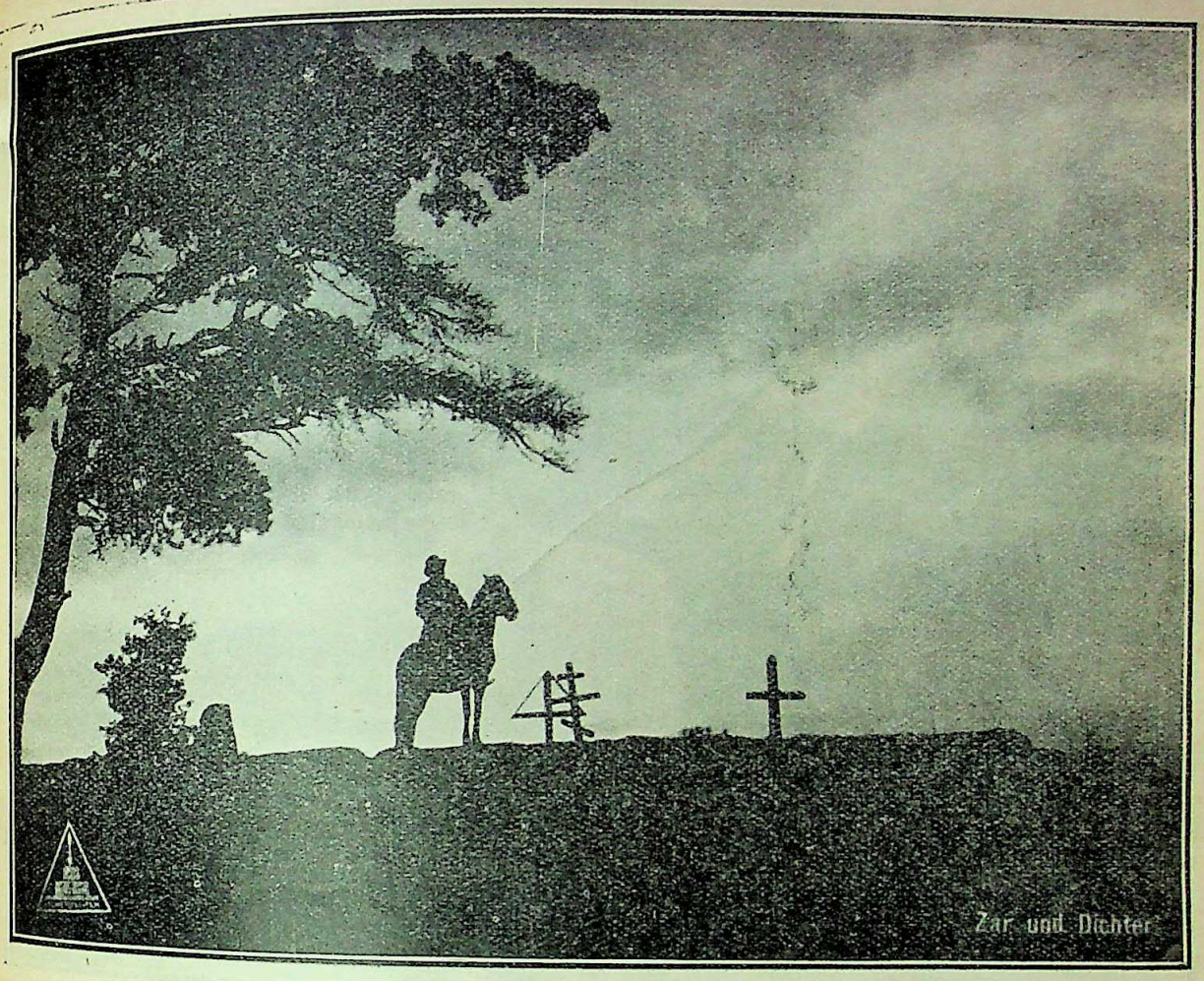
Their clubs with their theatre sections are multiplied throughout the Soviet Union. It is through these that not only the best in dramatic literature is brought to the peasant in distant villages, but that education is imparted. They are also organizations for combating illiteracy and for carrying social ideas of the revolution. The gigantic possibilities of such institutions cannot be over-emphasized. The revolution awoke the masses to their power and human rights, and the rapid spread of the theatre is a result of their demands. Since the revolution also, the social character of the theatre audiences has been completely changed. No longer is it the tired business-men with degenerate tastes who seek amusement in what is boldly known in the capitalist world as "leg shows," but it is the worker, the peasant, the soldier, in rough clothes, who speak to each other as comrades, who now stream to the theatre, thirsting for a dramatic treatment of the problems of their lives, of the revolution for which they fought and for which they still work. The demands of the masses become more and more urgent and place greater and greater pressure upon writers and at her artists.

In Russia, Madame Lunatscharsky says, there is a renaissance of realism on the stage and in literature. Abstract things are not of interest any more. Before the revolution, writers often found it more comfortable to remove their scenes from this earth to heavenly regions that exist only in their imaginations. But today, as even before the revolution for the revolutionary, this is not necessary. Gorki is the teacher and leader of this renaissance. Pre-revolution though he is, he comes from the soil of Russia, a worker who knows the life of the worker with all its darkness, and its hunger for light. It is not the orgies sought for by the degenerate bourgeois soul, that the worker longs for or is satisfied with, but it is the problems of the earth and of this life and the new world for which he fights, or for which the men of the past have fought. Out of this social foundation, the renaissance of realism has developed. In it, says Madame Lunatscharsky, both Russian and foreign realist writers find place. To mention a few successful plays of the past and the present season, there are plays by Upton Sinclair and Jack London; "Roaring China", a drama based on the Chinese Revolution; the "Decabrist Revolt", by Solotarev, and "Stenka Rasin," by Triodins, a drama of the Volga peasant leader who, in the middle of the 17th Century, led the peasants against the Czar; both of these last two dramas were presented at the Great Academic Theatre.

Among the academic theatres, the little Academic Theatre has presented such dramas as "Ljubow Jarowaja", by Trenew a drama in five acts of the Civil War in the Crimea from 1917 to 1920. The Moscow theatre, "Safonof", which is a branch of the State Theatre, has presented such historical-photographic plays as "The Death of Peter I", "The Araktchejev", and others. In both of these, Madame Lunatscharsky played during the present season. Other successful dramas based upon historical, realistic, revolutionary or factory themes, are "Armoured Train 1469", by Ivanoff; "The Revolt"—produced with great success by the Moscow Professional Union Theatre; "The 17th Year", likewise; "Growth", produced by the Revolutionary Theatre—a drama based upon the struggle to keep industry in the hands of the workers; "Buy Yourself a Revolver', by the Hungarian Communist, Bela Illish, dealing with emigrants and factory owners in Vienna. Further: the First Moscow Art Theatre, and the second Moscow Art Theatre, have presented many plays dealing with modern themes, the noted Stanislavski directing many of them, while the "Wachtangof" Theatre has presented Lavrianof's "Baltic Fleet", a revolutionary drama from 1905. The new Russian novel, "Cement", by the cement worker Gladkow, which has become so noted throughout Europe during the past few months, has been dramatized and presented in the Theatre of the Moscow Professional Union. This drama deals with the actual problems arising out of the life of a worker in modern-day Russia. The "Proletkult" theatre (an organization of Proletarian Culture) has produced some very excellent things, including satires, while the Trade Union Theatre of Moscow has sent throughout Russia and even to western Europe the noted "Blue Blouses", a troup of acting workers. The Theatre of Meyerhold, which is so often spoken of in Europe, has presented many modern and historical things. All in all, the place of the theatre in the life of the Moscow worker, as of the worker throughout the country is colossal. Today there are some thirty

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From the Russian Tragedy-film "Poet and Czar" on the life of the great Russian poet Puschkin

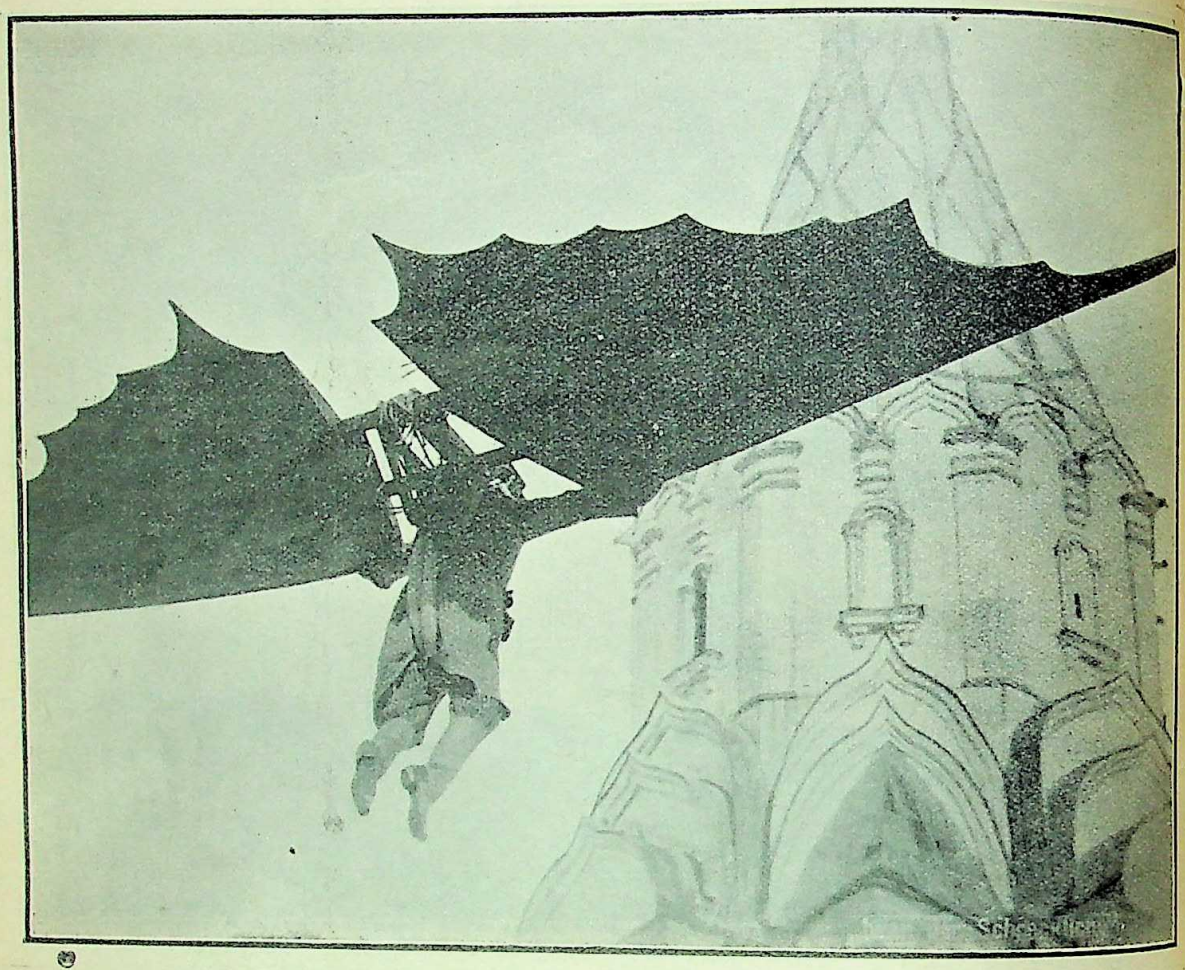
professional theaters in Moscow—but this does not include all the theatres of the clubs.

In Leningrad a similar story could be told. One of the interesting new institutions in that city is the "Children's Theatre", which produces things that delight the hearts of children, such as legends adventurous thing such as Mark Twain's "Adventures of Tom Sawyer", and even an Indian fairytale. In various parts of the Union also the minority nationalities have developed their theatres remarkably: for instance, the Jewish Theatre in Moscow which brought some of its remarkable things to Europe and America during the past year; then, the Ukrainian Theatre Kurbas in Kiev, the White Russian Theatre Studio, the Georgian Opera, and the Tartar Theatre in Kasan. In fact, my conversations with Madam Lunatscharsky but showed me that I stood upon the outer edge of a vast world.

It is of interest to note that the Moscow Government Cultural Committee for Political Enlightenment, with which most of the Moscow Theatres stand in the closest relationship, has recently declared that the ideological and artistic niveau of the Moscow theatres must be still raised; the theatres were asked to come into closer contact with the working public, while a better organization in the entire film field was demanded. It also states that more workers should be drawn into the Art, Repertoir, and Management Commissions of the theatres, in order that the theatre should become more of an organic part of the cultural life of the masses. At the end of the past season, for instance, conferences of theatre-goers were held to discuss and judge the productions of the season as well as to suggest or decide what should be presented in the present season which is now in full swing.

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"Slaves Have No wings"—from the Russian film *Ivan the Terrible*

In her conversation Madame Lunatscharsky discussed the new literature as well as the film, but this is a subject so vast that with every word written a thousand remain unsaid. Madame Lunatscharsky has also had much experience in film acting and her conversation showed that she studies the Russian films with a very exacting and critical thoroughness. Gorki's "Mother" film which also ran in Berlin last year, she regards as the best thing yet produced in the film world. She saw it seven times, and says, the regisseur, Pudowkin, is the best regisseur Russia has produced. "Potemkin" is, as she says, a piece of collective work in which the individual is rigidly submerged in the mass. Eisenstein, the regisseur who produced it and other mass films, is indeed an artist of the highest rank, but Madame Lunatscharsky says that few such films can be produced, while films built around a personality, around the individual, the human element, such as Gorki's "Mother," have inexhaustible possibilities. The film "The Forty-first," by Pratazanoff, now running in Berlin, she regards as one of the very best pieces of Russisn film art.

It is indeed to be regretted that these Russian films cannot be produced in India, and that so few Indians have the opportunity to study the Russian theatre and film. These films are not only often revolutionary in content, but they are revolutionary in art, and are forcing the entire art world of Europe and America to revise and raise their standards. American or European films cannot for a second compete with them. These films are a direct break with the cheap, sensational trash produced by films of other lands by companies that cater to the very cheapest and lowest tastes for the sake of profit. In these Russian films we see art of the highest kind, themes of the noblest produced not for the profit of a few degener-

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ate capitalists, but for the enlightenment and advancement of millions of working men and women. They disprove the old statement of film producers that they turn out the trash they do because this is demanded by the public. This is absolutely untrue. The tawdry films and threatrical pieces so common in capitalist countries—including India—are produced without any regard for the opinions of the public, but are based entirely upon the unspeakably low, cheap tastes of the producers and financiers. The masses attend them only because there is nothing else to see. In Germany we have seen the crowds that try to secure tickets for every Russian film, or Russian play. Realizing that revolutionary Russia had called forth art of the highest kind—such as any revolution is bound to do—a German capitalist company tried to imitate the "Potemkin" film by presenting Hauptmann's "Weavers." It was a sad affair. The spirit, as well as the sincerity and understanding of the motives in a revolutionary outbreak, were absolutely lacking. The producers showed a thing which they imagined was an uprising of workers ; it was, instead, a cheap, upper-class, salon or stage revolution. The idea and the technique fell flat, and the only saving grace was the music, actually taken from the songs of revolt of the Silesian weavers. The bourgeois idea of a revolutionary drama or a revolutionary movement is the distilled essence of unmitigated rot. After the presentation of "The Weavers," the society regisseur appeared on the stage in a full dress evening suit, bowing in the best salon manner to an audience of silk-and-fur beclad males and females of the upper classes of west Berlin who, in a revolution would not have brains enough to last them over night. Capitalist countries will never present any fundamental or fresh art until it clears the stage of the parasites that bedeck it to day, and build their art upon the earth out of which all beauty grows. It has a world to learn from Russia the workers of the capitalist countries must one day teach them this lesson. This applies likewise to India. Many Indians, I know, have the idea that the Russian Revolution, and Communism, is nothing but a change to rush into a sex orgy. Perhaps nothing else can be expected of men who themselves have no inner discipline and to whom personal freedom leads to nothing but an orgy, instead of to a very high human and cultural development. But the working masses of Russia are today teaching the world what a Socialist society can produce in the field of art.

(Photos from the "Photo-kino" Department of the Russian trade Bureau, Lindenstrasse 20-25 Berlin, Germany. Any questions regarding the purchase or use of Russian films to be directed there.)

LEGAL POSITION OF WOMEN IN INDIA*

By NIRMAL CHANDRA PAL, M. A., B. L.

Lecturer in Law, University of Dacca

IN ancient times a woman was regarded as man's property which he could buy and sell at his pleasure. The ancient Greeks often vended their wives and daughters or lent them to their friends like articles of furniture. Even Socrates is said to have lent his wife Xanthippe to his young disciple and friend Alcibiades. The privilege of lending one's own or receiving another man's wife was esteemed very highly by the Spartan citizen and its forfeiture was deemed a punishment reserved for serious delinquencies. Similar was the idea regarding women prevalent in those times among the Jews, the Babylonians and other civilised nations.

At an early stage of the Indian civilisation also, women could be bought and sold like ordinary moveable and immoveable properties. In chapter 12, verse 53 of the *Narada Dharmashastra* we read.

The issue of those women who have been purchased for a price belongs to the begetter, but

* A paper read before the Law Association of the University of Dacca on the 20th March, 1928.

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when nothing has been paid for a woman, her offspring belongs to her legitimate husband.

The *Asura* form of marriage among the ancient Hindus was nothing but a sale of the daughter by the father.

Later on, during the Middle Ages women came to be recognised as human beings but fit only to act as servants of man. Apart from their usefulness to the other sex, nobody thought that they could have any other purpose in life. All the religions of the age regarded them as a necessary evil in the world. A congregation of the dignitaries of the Christian Church decided that there was no necessity of any religion for women as they had no soul. Our own Sankaracharya solemnly declared that woman was the veritable gate to hell and that she, like the Sudras, had no right to study the Vedas.

According to the laws of that age a woman was hardly considered to be a legal person and was, thus almost incapable of possessing any rights. She was treated as a perpetual minor over whom man was always entitled to exercise control. During maidenhood she was under the guardianship of her father, after marriage she was under the control of her husband and during widowhood she was under the care of her sons. She was never competent to act on her own behalf.

Fortunately, at the present time, the indeals of democracy have advanced so far that every civilised man recognises that all men and women ought to have the same rights and privileges before the law. Democratic ideas of the present day about women are no doubt of recent growth and most probably originated from the French Revolution of 1789 when the women of France petitioned the National Assembly to establish equality between men and women, to accord to the latter freedom of labour and occupation and to appoint them to posts for which they were qualified. The idea of 'liberty, equality and fraternity' engendered by the French Revolution spread all over Europe and political philosophers in every country began to plead for the amelioration of the condition of women. In England John Stuart Mill put forward a most vigorous plea for improving their lots in his admirable thesis on 'The Subjection of Women' and pointed out that the principle which regulated the social relation between the two sexes—the legal subordination of one sex to the other—was wrong in itself and one of the chief hinderances to human progress; and urged that it ought to be replaced by a principle of perfect equality, admitting of no power or privilege on the one side or disability on the other. Inspite of the pleadings of John Stuart Mill and the agitation carried on by the educated women of England there was hardly any improvement in their legal position till 1882 when the Married Women's Property Act was passed, which entitled them to possess separate properties of their own and also to enter into contracts independently of their husbands. Agitation for equality of treatment went on till the last Great War when the women of England got an opportunity of proving that in the performance of civic functions they were in no way inferior to men. And in recognition of their services to the State during the War, they got the right to vote in Parliamentary elections immediately after the conclusion of peace. As soon as they got the franchise, all obstacles in the way of equalising the position of men and women before the law disappeared and the very next year in 1919 the Removal of Sex Disqualification Act was passed by the Parliament, which declared that henceforward no one would suffer from any legal disability in England on the ground of sex. Since the passing of this act every branch of English law has been amended with the object of placing women on exactly the same legal footing as men and some amendments are still pending before the Parliament for removing certain minor disabilities which still exist.

It is now several years that women have been enfranchised in almost all the provinces of India and in certain provinces they have already become members of the legislatures, but upto now no improvement has been effected in their legal position so far as it is determined by the private law of this country.

Some of the disabilities imposed by our law upon our women are so reasonable and humiliating that they ought to be removed immediately. I desire to draw the attention of our educated men and women to some of these anomalies in our law and to request them to judge for themselves if they are not blots on the fair name of India.

At the present time all the civilised countries of the world recognise marriage as the voluntary union of one man with one woman to the exclusion of all others, as a result of which the husband and no other man is entitled, under law, to have consortium

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with the wife, and the wife and no other woman is entitled to the consortium of the husband. But, owing to the recognition of *polygamy* by both the Hindu and the Mahomedan Law of India, while the husband is entitled to the exclusive company of the wife, the wife cannot, under law, claim the exclusive company of the husband. No doubt, under the stress of economic forces, polygamy is rapidly disappearing from this country, but until it is made illegal by legislation, a Hindu or a Mahomedan wife in India is bound to suffer from numerous legal disablities. I have not as yet met a single educated Indian who supports this institution from conviction, but I do not know of any serious attempt to change the law in regard to this matter in recent years. Mr. Ameer Ali, in his book entitled 'The Spirit of Islam', says that polygamy is as much opposed to the teachings of Muhammad as it is to the general progress of civilised society and true culture. Mustafa Kamal Pasha has already abolished this institution in Turkey and made marriages strictly monogamous in that country. So I do not see any reason why it cannot be abolished among the Indian Muhammadans. Nor do I find any justification for its recognition among the Hindus. If it is absolutely necessary for an orthodox Hindu to get a son, he may have recourse to adoption. What is the necessity for him to marry again for a son so long as the law recognises an adopted son who can confer the same spiritual benefit upon him and his ancestors as a natural-born son ? It is often argued that Hiudu marriage being indissoluble monogamy cannot be enforced without great hardship to the husband whose wife has become unfaithful to him and left his protection. When we put forward this argument we forget that our women have for thousands of years been suffering from the same disadvantage. If we should be supposed to encourage illicit sexual relations amongst men by prohibiting polygamy and enforcing monogamy, I am afraid we are doing the same thing now by not allowing our women to re-marry when they are deserted by their husbands. If we but once take into consideration the disabilities suffered by our women due to the recognition of polygamy by our law, we will find that they far outweigh the inconveniences which would be suffered by men if monogamy is enforced even without the introduction of the law of divorce. But there is absolutely no reason why the Hindu marriage should even at the present day continue to be a sacrament and therefore indissoluble.

In India, a Mahomedan can marry three other wives during the life-time of one wife and a Hindu any number. But if a Hindu or a Mahomedan woman goes through the ceremony of marriage with a man during the life-time of her husband, though that husband may not care to take any notice of her, she is punishable for bigamy under section 494 of the Indian Penal Code with imprisonment which may extend to seven years and and also with fine.

Besides allowing more than one wife to a man, Indian Law is most one-sided and unfair towards women regarding conjugal fidelity. While it requires no faithfulness from the husband to the wife and allows him to keep openly as many concubines as he likes without any detriment to his marital rights, the slightest unfaithfulness on the part of the wife is severely punished. A Mahomedan husband in British India incurs no legal penalty, civil or criminal, by failing to observe conjugal fideilty. But if a Mahomedan wife is disobedient or unfaithful to the husband she may be divorced or driven out and deprived of her right of maintenance. Under the Hindu Law also the faithfulness of the wife is strictly enjoned and for the slightest unfaithfulness she is deprived of all her conjugal rights, including her right of maintenance. But the husband need not be faithful to her, as he does not lose any of his legal rights over her by becoming unfaithful. Consequently, if the wife refuses to live with him on the ground of his infidelity, he may force her with the help of the court of law to come back and live with him. The text of Manu upon which the law regarding this matter is based runs as follows :—

'Though unobservant of approved usage or enamoured of another woman or devoid of good qualities, yet a husband must constantly be revered as a god by a virtuous wife.'

An eminent Hindu lawyer in justifying this precept has said,

'The feelings which it serves to engender often enable the wife calmly to bear her lot, however unhappy, and to try to propitiate a cruel husband, and often prevent those vain bickerings which can only embitter life.'

With due deference to the opinion of this learned lawyer it may be pointed out that one of the primary objects of law is to mete out

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justice to all, and the law which ensures peace entirely at the expense of one party fails to fulfil one of its primary objects.

Even at the present day a Hindu marriage is recognised as a gift of the bride to the bridegroom by the father or any other relation of the bride, so the bride is not an active agent, but is merely the object of the gift by the legal guardian. While no marriage according to the Hindu law can be valid unless the bridegroom willingly accepts the bride, there is no provision for taking the consent of the girl at the time of the marriage and it is perfectly valid even if the girl is given in marriage against her wishes. Want of any provision for the consent of the bride might have had some justification when every girl used to be married during minority, but there is no justification for it at the present time when many Hindu girls are being married after the attainment of majority. (A Hindu girl in Bengal attains majority for the purpose of marriage on completion of the fifteenth year). If the Hindu Law still continues to ignore the necessity of an expression of the bride's consent at the time of the marriage which creates a tie for her from which she can never free herself, it merely shows that the law has not ceased to look upon woman as a perpetual minor.

Of course, I do not for a moment want to suggest that all marriages among the Hindus are unhappy because there is no provision in law for ascertaining her opinion at the time of her marriage or because the legal position of the wife is inferior to that of the husband. The majority of the Hindu couples are as happy as any couple in any other nation or community, and an occasion may not arise in the lives of most of the Hindu wives when they may feel that their position is one of subordination to their husband. But that does not justify the disabilities which have been imposed by our law upon our women. One of the objects of law certainly, is to guard against the brute in man, and the husband may and does sometimes prove himself a brute. But the law has imposed so many disabilities upon our women that she can hardly get any relief from a court of law when she may want to save herself from the oppressions of an inhuman husband.

It has been pointed out already that Hindu Law does not recognise divorce. Non-recognition of divorce would have meant equal convenience or inconvenience both to the husband and the wife if Hindu marriage had been monogamous. But the husband being free to marry any number of wives it has placed the wife in a position relatively of the greatest disadvantage. I know of a recent case in Dacca which would illustrate my point clearly. A girl belonging to a respectable family in this town was married to an educated young man well placed in life. Within a very short time of the marriage, the young man, somehow, became alienated from his wife, sent her away to her father's place and married again. While the husband could feel no inconvenience for what he had done and could get on in life as if nothing untoward had happened the law is so one-sided and faulty that the wife must spend her days alone and in misery, and yet in subjection to a legal bond from which she cannot release herself unless she is prepared to abandon her society and religion. So long as she remains a Hindu she must suffer because the law regards her marriage as a sacrament and therefore, indissoluble. But if she becomes a convert to another religion, she becomes entitled to a dissolution of marriage and may marry again, provided her husband refuses to live with her. So long as Hindu Law does not recognise dissolution of marriage even in such exceptional cases, it merely puts a premium upon apostacy on the part of such victims of that law and faith.

Mahomedan law in India recognises divorce, but the rules are one-sided. They appear to have been enacted solely for the benefit of the husband who may divorce his wife at his mere will and pleasure without assigning any reason, while the wife can never divorce herself from her husband without his consent. Neither cruelty nor conjugal infidelity on the husband's part nor neglect or inability to afford proper maintenance to the wife, will enable her to claim a divorce. This is placing the wife entirely at the mercy of the husband. He may at any time get rid of her, while she cannot get a divorce even for a just cause.

Among Christians conjugal infidelity on the part of the wife is always a ground of divorce in India, but the same offence on the part of the husband would not authorise divorce unless it is coupled with some aggravating circumstances like cruelty or desertion. Morally the offence is the same by whichever party it is committed, so the

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English Matrimonial Causes Act of 1923, has given equal facility to the husband as well as the wife to get a divorce if one of them proves unfaithful. Let us, in the next place, discuss the proprietary rights of the husband and the wife in each other's property. In England marriage formerly operated as a conveyance to the husband of all the property which the wife possessed at the time of marriage and whatever she subsequently acquired. The wife had no corresponding right or advantage. Marriage in England at this time, converted the husband and the wife into one person in the eye of law and that person the husband. The Married Woman's Property Act of 1882 wrought a considerable change in the relations of husband and wife by allowing her to retain all her property and by giving her absolute control over it. The Administration of Estates Act of 1925 has gone a step further and equalised the positions of the husband and the wife regarding the properties of each other at the termination of coverture. After payment of funeral expense and debts, the surviving husband or wife of the intestate takes, according to the provision of this act, the personal chattel and a net sum of £1000. If there is any residuary estate left after this, then, in the case where the deceased leaves issues behind him, half of the residue and where the deceased leaves no issues behind him, the whole of the residue goes to the surviving husband or the wife for life. So that in England at the present time, whether during coverture or the end of it, the husband and the wife stand on exactly the same footing regarding rights in each other's property.

Both the Hindu Law and the Mahomedan Law in India have always recognised the proprietary rights of women and were, thus, in this regard in advance of the English Law as it was before 1882. But while our law in India has remained exactly what it was several centuries ago, the laws of England have changed within the last 50 years to the great advantage of the woman.

The Hindu Law, however, recognises merely a limited proprietary right of a woman except in certain special kinds of property technically known as her own peculium or *stridhan*. Among the Hindus, whenever a woman is found to be the owner of a property, the presumption is that she is entitled merely to enjoy the income of such property during her lifetime and after her death it is to go to the heirs of the last male owner. Normally a Hindu woman does not possess the power of selling, mortgaging or making a gift of any of her properties excepting her *stridhan*. But during coverture she cannot transfer even her own peculium without her husband's consent, excepting properties received by her as gifts of affection from relations, known as her *Saudayika stridhan*. Even the property which she may buy with her own earnings, she cannot sell or make a gift of or bequeath by will without the consent of her husband. On the other hand, the husband, when in need, is allowed by Hindu Law to appropriate the *stridhan* of the wife without her consent and even against her wishes. The law is worse regarding the earnings of a married woman. While the wife cannot spend her own earnings without the consent of her husband, the latter is entitled to take away such earnings from the possession of the wife even without any necessity and spend them in any way he likes. This and, indeed, most of the disabilities, legal and social, of the Hindu woman of to-day, are relics of a past, when women of all castes were considered to be no better than Sudras. The enfranchisement of the wife and mother has failed to keep pace with the progressive enfranchisement even of the slave. It is high time for us to realise that the union of husband and wife does not mean domination of the husband over the wife and complete effacement of the wife's individuality.

The Mahomedan Law, so far as the proprietary right of the wife is concerned, is more liberal. Her property belongs to her in her own right, to deal with it as she likes ; if she is a wage earner, her earnings belong to her absolutely without any power on the part of the husband to intermeddle or appropriate them.

On the death of the husband the widow, according to Hindu Law, is entitled to inherit his properties in the absence of any issues, provided she was faithful to him at the time of his death. The husband also is entitled to inherit the *Stridhan* of the wife on a similar contingency but the law does not enforce the condition of fidelity upon him. Moreover, owing to the general incapacity of women in Hindu Law, the wife gets a limited interest in the property which she inherits, while the husband takes the property absolutely. Among the Mahomedans, while the husband inherits one-fourth

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of the wife's property on her death, the wife inherits only one-eighth of the husband's property.

Next we come to the legal position of a mother. In an Indian family, the father's claims upon the children are always considered to be superior to those of the mother. Both according to the Hindu and the Mahomedan Law the father is the natural guardian of the person as well as the property of the minor children and so long as he is alive, the mother is not entitled to exercise any control over them or their properties. If the father and the mother are living apart, the father, as a matter of right, has the custody of the children, however young they may be. In the matter of educating the children or in the matter of giving the daughter in marriage, the father's voice is always to prevail in preference to that of the mother. Even in the case where a Hindu father becomes a convert to another religion, he retains his rights over his children But if a mother changes her religion, the Court may at the intervention of any relation, remove the child from the custody of the mother and place it under any person who may profess the religion of the father. Normally, the mother becomes the guardian of the children after the death of the father, but a Hindu father may, by word of mouth or by writing, nominate a guardian for his children after his death, so as to exclude even the mother from the guardianship. According to Hindu Law, the mother's right of giving a daughter in marriage is postponed not only to that of the father, but to that of all the paternal relations of the daughter. The position has no doubt been to some extent ameliorated by ststutory enactments and by the assumption of power by the Court to modify the operation of the personal law of the parties in the matter of appointment of guardians in the interest of the children, but the general character of the law remains as outlined above. The right of taking a son in adoption according to Hindu Law belongs to the father only and not to the mother. The father may adopt a son not only without the consent of the mother but even against her wishes and the mother is bound to recognise him as her own son, and the son thus adopted shall inherit even the *Stridhan* of the mother after her death. But the law does not allow a mother to take a son in adoption without express authority from the father. Indian children, in short, belong to the father and after his death to his nominee and not to the mother.

The English Law regarding the custody and the guardianship of children, it should be observed, was not dissimilar to the Indian Law in material respects up to 1925, when the Guardianship of Infants Act was passed. This Act recites that Parliament by the Sex Disqualification (Removal) Act of 1919 and various other enactments has sought to establish equality in law between the sexes and that it is expedient that this principle should obtain with respect to the guardianship of infants and the rights and responsibilities conferred thereby; and enacts, that where in any proceeding before any Court the custody or upbringing of an infant or the administration of any property of the infant or the application of the income thereof is in question, the Court in deciding that dispute shall regard the welfare of the infant as the first and paramount consideration whether the claim of the father is superior to that of the mother or the claim of the mother is superior to that of the father. The mother is to have a right equal to that of the father to apply to the Court in respect of any matter affecting the infant. A daughter in a Hindu family, whether married or unmarried, has no right to inherit the property of the father so long as a son is in existence. The son, however well placed in life, inherits the whole property of the father to the entire exclusion of the daughter, however helpless or poor she may be. The distinction, on the score of sex, is nowhere so prominent in Hindu Law as between sons and daughters in the matter of inheritance. There is no other system of law which ignores the daughter in such a way. English Law does not, at the present time, make any distinction between sons and daughters for the purpose of inheritance of the properties of the father and the mother. The Mahomedan Law gives to a daughter half the share of a son. The Indian Succession Act, which is applicable to the non-Hindu and the non-Mahomedan inhabitants of India, speaks of lineal descendants who should inherit, without making any distinction between sons and daughters. The grave domestic problems which attend the procuring of marriages of maidens in Hindu families, would, it seems to me, be brought materially nearer solution if the law were to recognise the right of the

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daughter to share in the inheritance with the son.

According to the Hindu Law prevailing in Bengal the relationship with a sister is not recognised at all for the purpose of inheritance. When a Hindu brother dies leaving behind him no other relation excepting a sister, his property, on his death, is escheated to the crown because the sister is not an heir. But if an unmarried sister dies leaving *stridhan*, the brother succeeds to all her properties to the exclusion of all other relations.

I hope, I have been able to show that the legal position of a woman in India is decidedly inferior to that of man. Whether as a wife or as a mother or as a daughter or as a sister, she always occupies a subordinate legal position in the family. Of course, I do not even for a moment want to suggest that we yield to any nation in our respect for women because of their inferior legal position. On the contrary, they are the real mistresses of our household and respect for women has been one of the chief characteristics of the people of Aryavarta from very ancient times. "Where women are honoured", says Manu, "there the deities are pleased, but where they are dishonoured there all religious rites become useless." "Strike not even with a blossom", says another sage, "a woman guilty of a hundred faults". But however deep our respect for women may be, we are not justified in keeping them in legal subordination to men, because it is the peculiar function of law to step in to protect an individual, just when the purely social forces fail him or her. A person suffers from legal disabilities when he is a lunatic or an idiot or an infant—that is to say, when he is less than a normal human being either in intellect or in maturity. No man at the present time would contend that a woman as such is inferior to man in intellect or in any other respect. Individual for individual, many women are immeasureably superior to many men in these respects. Why then is this legal inferiority of women to men in India? All the civilised nations of the world are giving equal rights to them. Indians only are lagging behind. We are the only people on the face of the earth who are still content with laws which were suitable for men who flourished during the Middle Ages.

So long as we do not give equal legal status to our women within the family, the people outside India will continue to look down upon us and our claim for recognition as the equals of other civilised nations of the world will remain unjustifiable. We have a long leeway to make up in this matter, and now that the women of India have been enfranchised, it rests entirely with them to pool their forces together and compel the legislatures to give them equal rights with men.

"COUNCIL WITHIN COUNCIL" WHICH RULES THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS*

By JYOTI SWARUP GUPTA

FOR sometime past the idea has been gaining ground that the League does not stand for the ideals which were advertised to actuate its promoters when it was brought into existence. It is not a democratic body—such as it professes to be—in which every number, big and small, has an equal voice and an equal control but it is a gathering, international only in name, in which a group of four or five big powers, who have formed a clique within themselves, rule and dominate mostly to their advantage and to the detriment of small powers. This view of the working of the League has been often discussed in the press, the public platform and possibly at many a private conversation, but it was only at the last session of the League that these feelings were for the first time openly expressed by a delegate on the floor of the house itself. A Reuter's message from Geneva dated September 8, 1927 says:

"Vociferous applause punctuated the vigourous speech of Mr. Hambro (Norway) who frequently glaring in Sir Austin Chamberlain's direction,

* The quotations in this article are from *The Leader* of Allahabad.

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criticised the work of the Council and spoke of the secret activity of the 'Council within Council' discussing an important agenda before the latter submitted by the General Council. Mr. Hambro finally asked why the under-Secretaries of the League belonged only to the great powers and said that Norway admired the work of the Secretariat but it would do even more if the powers that were still outside were brought inside.

The delegates rose and patted Mr. Hambro on his back as he returned to his seat.

Big men when they sit in big assemblies generally indulge in high sounding platitudes and complimentary epithets and one need not always put much importance on such expressions. But when a small member stands on his legs in a sedate international gathering of diplomats and statesmen and musters courage to openly make a grievance to the face of the stalwart members that their conduct has not been proper, it may safely be presumed that there must have been a considerable volume and intensity of feeling on that point. The *vociferous* applause which *punctuated* Mr. Hambro's speech and the unusual mark of approbation and commendation which prompted the delegates to pat Mr. Hambro on his back under the very nose of the big members whose conduct was so directly and seriously impeached show that his feelings were fully shared by the delegates of many * small states, and that they felt very strongly on this point.

The detailed accounts published lately of the speech of Mr. Hambro may be summarised very briefly thus:

"The attack was delivered by Mr. Hambro, the representative of the Norwegian Government, who declared that an impression had been gaining ground during the last two years that there was within the Council of the League a sort of supreme council meeting at the same time, but in private to discuss problems with which the Council itself was to deal at a latter stage, that regular agenda had been circulated for such meetings and that questions had been decided before they were submitted for consideration to the Council, as a whole. Every non-permanent member of the Council, he said, was justified in watching with jealousy the semi-private deliberations at Geneva. He emphasised that the number of active diplomates among the delegates had been increasing and drew attention to the feeling that the traditions of the diplomatic carreer were not in favour of publicity and openness and even in the council the deplomatic element was very strong. He expressed the view that it would give greater political weight to the council if its members were not too closely connected with the diplomatic centres of the great powers."

Rasping criticism indeed! And yet how true and direct! and the beauty of it seems to be that it created such a profound impression that no delegate would even cry out "Question".

The members of the "Council within Council" seem to have realised the significance of Mr. Hambro's speech; for *after two days* both M. Briand and Sir Austin Chamberlain tried to meet the charge levelled against them. Reuter's message dated Geneva, September 11, says:

"In the course of the Assembly debate M. Briand replying to Mr. Hambro's insinuations gave an assurance that the statesmen of the Great Powers in conversing outside the League, while here, never desired to impose any decision on the Assembly because all were working for the Universality of the League.

Sir Austin Chamberlain followed and contended that the work done in conversations helped instead of impeding council's work."

Whatever little satisfaction M. Briand and Sir Austin may have derived by giving this explanation, the cumulative effect of Mr. Hambro's attack and the defence of the big powers cannot be lost upon the world. Mr. Hambro's complaint was direct and concise. He enumerated his grievances, cited documentary evidence (viz., the circulation of regular agenda) and suggested radical cure for this unhappy development.

The reply came a little too late, at least so late as to allow it to be said that the "Council within Council" met in another conclave and briefed its two stalwarts who tried to meet the charges by laboured speeches. They were neither precise nor direct. They neither categorically denied the charges nor laid the evidence, which was doubtless in their possession, but instead tried to convince by arguments. They could have said that there is no "Council within Council" and that whenever the delegates of the big powers meet at Geneva they do not discuss beforehand the agenda of the next meeting of the League Council. In support of their case they could have laid on the table of the house full copies of the agenda and minutes of their own meeting of which Mr. Hambro had made direct reference. They could have promised to appoint Under-Secretaries of other Nationalities and thus set at rest the doubts and fears of Mr. Hambro and of those who applauded and patted him. But

* The small states are represented by a fewer number of delegates and unless *many* of them joined it would have been impossible to *punctuate* Mr. Hambro's speech with *vociferous applause.*

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they chose none of those ways! Both of them admitted by implication the existence of these secret meetings. What they did was really to ask the delegates to believe in their good-faith and to take it from them that their aim was in consonance with the high ideals of the League. This can hardly be said to be the right way of appealing to those who directly impeach your honesty and good-faith. A thief in the dock might as well say that the complainant must believe in his good-faith and that he removed the complainant's things in a spirit of brotherhood. Whatever it may be, it is an affront of the greatest magnitude to the League Assembly and League Council that the delegates of the big powers who are better organised and have permanent seats on the League should settle between themselves their future course of conduct in the regular Council meetings and register their previously-planned decrees by the superior force of their name and vote.

It is not only Mr. Hambro and the delegates who applauded him who make a grievance of the big powers ruling and dominating over every activity and decision of the League, but that is a general feeling and has been freely expressed in numerous papers and periodicals. The *Round Table* for September says :—

"A few weeks ago a well-known delegate to past Assemblies was asked whether he would, as in previous years, be found representing his country at Geneva in September. He replied that he thought not; that it no longer seemed worth while coming; that the smaller states were completely powerless; and that, as representative of one of them, he might as well stay at home. That view of the general situation at Geneva may be justified or not, but that it has for the last three or four years been steadily growing, till it has become a real danger to the League, is undeniable. Unless the tendency of great and small states at Geneva to drift apart can be quickly arrested, and some new demonstration of real solidarity provided, the effect not on the League itself, but on the whole evolution of international relations will be serious. This at any rate is the considered opinion of many of the most sober and experienced observers of the working of the League in the last seven and a half years of its existence."

The London correspondent of the *Leader* wrote :

"There seems to be no doubt that the smaller nations are getting tired of the domination of the affairs of the League hitherto by the Foreign powers of the Locarno powers. They do not dislike secret diplomacy so much as they dislike to think that decisions are taken over their heads and that they are thereafter required to register decrees upon those decisions.

The direction in which the League is moving should be clear to every one who cares to look ahead. *The Leader* has correctly diagnosed the position of the small powers and given a timely warning to the big powers, when it wrote :

"In a number of important cases affecting small states the big powers concerned disposed them of in private conference behind the back of the League Council. If this state of affairs continues the smaller states may cut off their connection with the League, which will not be able to survive this defection. If in actual practice the League is merely the instrument for recording the decisions of the big powers, the small states would naturally be unwilling to associate themselves with an organisation which only subserves the interests and ambitions of the great powers and hides its real character behind a high sounding name. The signs of restiveness they have shown should serve as a warning to the big powers who have been treating the small states as if they were pariahs."

It is clear that if the small powers want to remain in the League, not only as silent and dummy members only to give the League a high sounding and sanctified name, but are determined to make their presence felt and to make the League a truly democratic body, such as it professes to be, then it is their paramount duty to organise themselves so that they might mould the future in accordance with its declared objects and not remain content by contributing annually to its funds and attending its meetings regularly only to let the big powers run the whole show in their name.

They must see to it that the power within the Secretariat is not monopolised by the big powers, but is *evenly distributed* between all the states, big and small *alike*. The important posts in the Secretarial must be so distributed that the Nationals of all the states occupy an almost equal position with respect to salary, position, power and influence over the Secretariat work of the League. If necessary and feasable, some of the posts might be made tenable for a fixed term and may be given by rotation to different nationalities.

The permanent seats within the council must be *immediately* abolished. It is incongruous to all principles applying to democratic institutions that any set of members should have permanent and irremoveable seats within its executive. Such members are sure to become organised and consequently in a position to rule the institution. Thus all the seats in the council must be thrown open to election. The

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election of one-third of the total number of seats should take place every year and the elected members must continue for three years, and after having served their term they must be ineligible to stand again for a definite number of years so that every member may get a uniform chance of serving on the Council. Thus and thus alone will every member, big and small, command the respect and meet the treatment of equality which is due to every member of a democratic body.

Mr. Hambro rightly complained that the diplomatic element within the League and its council is very strong. Diplomats are bound to think in lines of their respective countries. They are sure to stand for and try for greater power and concessions for their own countries without regard to the fairness of their claims. It is impossible for them to think internationally or to work for international weal. As the disputants to a litigation cannot form themselves into a committee and honestly and fairly adjudicate upon their rights and liablities, so diplomats, with narrow nationalistic outlooks, cannot sit properly in an international body. Therefore, either a dual chamber of persons with an international frame of mind, should be formed to sit above the Nationalist Chamber (i. e. the present League) to inspire, guide, direct and correct the Nationalistic leanings of that body, or the League should consist of a mixed element of delegates who are diplomats, viz, engaged in the governance of their countries and of persons who will take an international view of the problems which come up for discussion. Their presence is sure to exercise a sobering effect on the nationalists and perhaps the work of the League will then progress more smoothly and to the greater good of the world.

A SONG OF SPEED

Ever adown the ages,
However far we go,
We learn, from history's pages,
The swift despise the slow.
And ever less apt in conveying
The twentieth-century's drift
Is the ancient Preacher's saying,
"The race is not to the swift."

In days when people walked or rode,
On highways unpatrolled, unchalked,
The few who drove or who bestrode
A horse looked down on those who walked
From arrogance (or ignorance) unable
To appreciate the hare-and-tortoise fable.

But when the populace began
To push the universal bike
Both rider and pedestrian
Viewed the intruder with dislike,
Expressing their unmitigated loathing
For his peculiar posture and his clothing.

Next came the crucial moment when
Combustion's dread internal force
Bestowed the motor-car on men
And from the high way drove the horse,
Trebled the swiftness of the cycling million
And placed the flapper on the deadly pillion.

The cost of living has come down;
But, as we gather from the Press,
Alike in country and in town
The cost of dying's growing less,
For Speed, the modern traffic-Reaper, checks it,
Affording us a swift uncostly exit.

Yet walkers, though a dwindling crowd,
By statisticians quite unawed,
Erect, undaunted and unbowed
Still take their perilous walks abroad,
Until the day when, legally forbidden,
The mare of Shanks no longer may be ridden.

From Punch.

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The Poet on Unity

In "Indian Unity"—a small, beautiful poem, in *The Indian* (Singapore)—Rabindranath Tagore gives one more illuminating sign of the high mission which inspires his poetic soul.

When fate at your door is a miser, the world becomes blank like a bankrupt;
When the smile that o'er brimmed the sweet mouth, fades in a corner of the lips;
When friends close their hearts to your face, and hours pass in long lonely nights;
When the time comes to pay your debts, but your debtors are one and all absent;
Then is the season, my poet, to shut your doors tight with bolts and bars,
And weave only words with words and rhymes with rhymes.
When sudden you wake up one morning to find your fate kind to you again;
When the dry river-bed of your fortune fills up in unhoped-for showers;
Friends are lavishly loving and the enemies make truce for the moment;
Ruddy lips blossom in smile, black eyes pass stolen glances;
This is the season, my poet, to make a bonfire of your verses;
And weave only heart with heart and hand with hand.

—

Mr. Andrews on Buddhism

It cannot fail to interest one, and elevate one as well,—to know in what light a truly Christian soul of our days views Buddha and Buddhism. And this is what is done by C. F. Andrews, a true lover of Christ, in his lecture at Colombo Y. M. B. A. (reproduced by *The Maha-Bodhi*).

Mr. C. F. Andrews said that Buddhism was never destructive as far as he could see. In every country where the movement had spread, whether in Siam, Burma, Ceylon, China, Japan, Java or elsewhere it had always accepted the tradition —it had modified the tradition but it had built upon it its own beautiful structure of love and compassion. What seemed to him to be the three pre-eminent truths which had sunk into humanity through the early Buddhist teachings were: Firstly, the supreme teaching which might be summed up in the word *Ahimsa*—harmlessness to all creatures. For the first time humanity saw with clean eyes that merely to go on retaliating and striking back was to be utterly stagnant; hopelessly stationary. That was one of humanity's greatest steps forward that was ever known in all human history. The second great feature could only be summed up in the word which Buddhism seemed to have peculiarly made its own—compassion, universal compassion. Out of that returning love for hatred, out of that refusal to do violence came something even wider. That compassion embracing not humanity but all the timid creatures of the world came the third and possibly in some ways the greatest of the new conception of life which came from Buddha. That was what he would call religious tolerance—the ceasing of religious wars, the savage, barbaric wars of one reilgion against another which had disgraced mankind and defamed humanity. The pages of human history before the birth of Buddha were drenched with the blood of religious wars of extermination and annihilation. Even in India quite recently they had had those feuds of religion and so in Europe. But here from the very first Gautama by the miracle of his personality, of his compassion, by his perfect, all-embracing charity, was able to keep away from his followers anything that at all entrenched upon what they called intolerance, They never got anything of bigotry. "That is my intrepretation of your great treasure"

—

Religion and the People

The people were the object of Buddha and the early Buddhists, thinks Mr. T. S. Vidyarthi in *The D. A. V. College Union Magazine*, who finds Zoroastrianism to be otherwise:

Let us take the case of Buddhism. Its founder was a prince and if he wished he could spread his religion in that position more easily than he could do otherwise, but he knew that the princely power was not the proper power for the propagation of his faith. He renounced the world and became a Sanyasi. He did not look for help to the Kings and Rajahs but he went amongst the peasants, the village folk, the poor and the lowly. The result was that thousands and ten thousands came in the fold of Buddhism in a very short time. The Buddhistic religion flourished and became a state religion. It was at its height in the days of Asoka. But soon after the Bhikshus became very ease-loving and a burden upon the people and when Buddhism ceased to be a state religion it began to decline.

These two instances are sufficient to show that the rich people and the Rajahas are not to be depended upon for the propagation of any religion.

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It is among the middlemen, the peasants and the village folk that the religious martyrs and heroes are born. There are only the poor and the lowly who can sacrifice their all for the sake of their religion. The strength of a religious body does not lie in its bankers, merchants, landlord and rich people but it lies in the masses.

The writer calls on Arya Samajists who have so far been busy with the middleclass educated people to turn to the masses like the Sikhs in the last decade.

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As Sikhism Grew

"Balanced Growth of Sikhism" is again the subject on which Prof. Teja Singh of Khalsa College, Amritsar, writes in *The Young Men of India*, and notes among others its democratic appeal:

From the study of the conversions, in the time of Guru Nanak and later, we find that the Pathans, Sayyeds and Shias, whose races had been defeated by the Moguls, were more prone to accept Sikhism than the Moguls, who had too much of the conqueror's pride to adopt the religion of the conquered. The chief complaint of Jehangir against Guru Arjan, as recorded by the Emperor himself in his *Tauzak* was that "So many of the simple minded Hindus, nay, many foolish Moslems too, had been fascinated by his ways and teachings." The Guru also converted many outcastes and men of the lowest castes, such as Ramdasias or shoe-makers. Guru Gobindh Singh opened the door of *pahul* or equal baptism to all, even to sweepers, who for their staunch faith, came to be called *Mazhabis* or faithfuls. The *Mazhabis* are sometimes called *Ranghretas*, a term which may be due to the fact that some of them owe their origin to Mohammedans of Rangarh clan. Because of their gallantry in rescuing the mutilated body of Guru Tegh Bahadur, Guru Gobind Singh called them "*Rongrete Guru ke bete*"—"the Rangretas, the Gurn's own sons."

Beside making impartial conversions, there were other ways too, by which the spirit of Sikhism was kept balanced. In the free kitchen, established by the Gurus as a means of levelling down all social barriers based upon caste or other prejudice, it was made a rule that all who came to take food, whether Hindus or Mohammedans, must sit in a line and eat together. Even Akbar and the Raja of Haripur, when they came to see Guru Amar Das, had to do the same. In order to show that those who were born among Mohammedans or low-caste Sudras were as acceptable as high-class Hindus, Guru Arjan included in his Granth the compositions of Kabir, a weaver and Mohammedan by birth: Farid, a Mohammedan saint; Bhikhan, a learned Mohammedan; Sain, a barber; Namdev, calico-printer and waherman; Ravdas, a shoe-maker; Mardana, who had been a Mohammedan drummer and so many bards some of whom were Mohammedans. The significance of this can be best realized, if we remember that the whole Book containing these compositions is considered by the Sikhs to be divine and is held in greatest veneration by them.

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Another Appeal for Unity

The Vedanta Kesari adds its force to the appeal for unity—"A call for Hindu-Moslem Unity"—which is being repeated by every right-thinking organ in the country:

A learned Mohammedan writer while dilating on the Islamic ideals of education has boldly stated that Islamic education stands for "the principle of the unity of God, of the brotherhood of man, the ideal of the humble service of the less fortunate brethren, the principle of democracy and, above all, the ideal of service of the motherland." May we not reasonably ask what then is the difference between the Hindus and the Mohammedans if the former stand also for the very same principles? From time immemorial the stream of Hindu civilisation has rolled down the ages and fertilised many a soil with the springs of its universal ideals. The spiritual oneness of humanity,—the very basic principle of democracy and the brotherhood of man; the recognition of the potential divinity of man that lies at the bottom of the Hindu ideal of service; and, above all, the realisation of the transcendental nature of the Absolute Reality,—are but some of the splendid contributions of Hindu thought to the stock of human knowledge and culture. This cultural affinity if properly understood, should furnish a permanent basis of synthesis between the apparently conflicting ideals of the two mighty races of the world. In India the destinies of both have so inseparably been intertwined with each other that they have now no other alternative but to work out their common salvation and well-being by a joint and co-ordinated activity.

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How to Dry Khadi

The popular complain against *Khadi* in these rainy days is met in the following way by *Khadi Patrika.*

How to Dry Wet Khadi Cloths

During rainy seasons it is a constant question with Khadi users how to dry their Khadi clothes when washed and wet. To solve this it is suggested that two bamboos instead of one only should be hung for the purpose, and the *dhotar* or the *sari* should be so spread on them that its middle part as well as both the ends remain quite loose and hanging. This makes for easy and free passing of air through the wet cloth and hastens its drying. In Maharashtra where women use long *saries* this is the general custom.

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Juvenile Marriages

The informative passages that follow, reproduced by *The Red Cross* from *The World's Children*, will be read with wide

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interest by us all when the question of juvenile marriages is uppermost in our mind.

The reception by the English Home Secretary of women's deputation urging the raising of the statutory minimum ages for marriage has focussed public attention on the fact that in this matter the United Kingdom is still among the backward nations. It is not generally realised that, as the law stands, a giri can marry at the age of 12 and a boy at 14. These minima are survivals of the age of puberty as defined by Roman Law, which remains the basis of the Common Law of the United Kingdom, and thus of many of the Over-seas Dominions and of several of the States of the U. S. A. Juvenile unions are, however, infrequent in this country, and occasionally we find as happened recently at Wellingborough a magistrate exercising his discretion and prohibiting the marriage : but it is only in special circumstances, *e.g.*, when parental consent cannot be secured —that a magistrate has jurisdiction.

It is said that Richard, Duke of York—who with his brother the boy King Edward V, was murdered in the Tower of London by their uucle Richard III—was married at the age of 6 to Lady Anne Mowbray, a child of about the same age. Such an example of child marriage is rare—though by no means unique—in English history, but the law does not recognise such infantile unions.

In the United States, where a vast and complex population intensifies most social problems, the number of married children is of substantial proportions. The Russell Sage Foundation, which conducted an enquiry into the matter, announced in 1925 that there were then approximately 343,000 women and girls living in the United States who had begun their married lives as child brides within the previous 36 years. Of 240 child marriages which were made the subject of special enquiry, over 23 per cent were celebrated when one of the parents was under 14 and in a few cases as young as 11.

India inevitably comes to mind when the question of Juvenile marriages is under consideration. In many cases (in India) the so-called marriage is really in the nature of a betrothal, and under the Children's Protection Bill introduced by Sir Hari Singh Gour, immature children would be protected against cohabitation even though legally married.

The League of Nations Advisory Commission for the Protection of Children and Young People has been conducting an enquiry into the state of the law in various countries, and an attempt may be made to bring about some uniformity with a minimum age beyond the limits of childhood.

Indian thought has moved before the League; but, it remains to be seen how Dr Gour's and Mr. Sarda's Bills are received by the officials—mostly of the United Kingdon as they are.

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Religion and Politics

The significant speech of Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru at Bombay in which, not unjustifiably, he made pointed attacks on the much vaunted claims of a section of Indian political leaders that it is the God-ordained mission of India to save the world, provokes the thoughtful editor of the *Prabuddha Bharata* to make the following instructive comments on the thoughts of the new-school in Indian politics, of whom Jawahar Lal is the spokesman.

One of the items of their programme is that India should be freed from the grip of religion. When they say that politics should be separated from religion, they are intelligible as meaning that politics should not be guided by religious opinions, by theology. In this sense, it is quite true that not only politics, but also economics, social customs and rules, etc. should be freed from their theological bias and made absolutely scientific.

Instructive and illuminating is the line of distinction the writer draws between theology and religion in this connection :

It is extremely desirable that politics, etc., should be separated from theology. But they must never be separated from real religion. Real religion must permeate every sphere of life as far as possible and practicable. Of course, religion should be conceived in its most rational and universal form. The aim should not be an attack against religion, but the emancipation and proper development of the so-called secular aspects of life. In their enuthusiasm for the separation of 'religion' and politics, they forget this true aim and inveigh against religion itself. Politics, etc., may be separated from so-called religion and yet religion may fulfil all these and occupy the highest place in the scheme of national life, if only we conceive religion in its true impersonal and universal form. Such a religion can never impede the progress of men, on the other hand, advances it. But it must never be understood that religion is to endure through sufferance. Even if religion were to impede the material progress of the country, we would insist on its occupying the paramount position in the national aspirations and activities; for India must bear witness, as it has ever done in the past, to the fact that the spirit is the real man and its realisation the highest and only end of life.

—

Place of Jainism in Indian Culture

Dr. Walther Schubring's speech, extracts of which are supplied by *The Jaina Gazette*, points to the position of Jaina literature in Indian linguistic and cultural research :

In order to show how deeply the Western Indological world is obliged to Jain religion and literature, I would like to proceed on a way similar to that of Leumann, who stared from Jain legend and fiction. The order in which he proceeded might be called influenced by Western mentality, had not Leumann previously proved himself as an authority in both religion and philosophy. For the European manner of becoming

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acquainted with a foriegn literature is to study first the works of dramatists and poets from which a good deal of the mentality of the people may immediately be gathered. So the beginner in Sanskrit who wants to read an easier text, meets at once with stories from the important Jain versions of the famous *Panchatantra*. When he has become capable of reading *kavya*, he will, when interpreting Kalidasa's *Meghaduta*, be referred by his teacher to the *Parshvabhyudaya* of Jinasena and the *Nemiduta* of Vikrama, which seem to come so near to the poet's original work. These two works are as is well-known typical for the art of using the verses of another poet as a supplement to each stanza of one's own composition. Further examples of master work appear in the numerous other *kavyas* and *mahakavyas* which all do honour to the Tirthankaras and many other holy persons as well as in the *stotras*. I shall refer later on to their value as concerns language and metre; here it may be said that their style can hardly be surpassed. For the noble purpose of praising the Perfect and Holy Ones unites the highest artificiality with the pious enthusiasm of the poet. To name the one or other of them would be equal to drawing water from the ocean by means of a bucket; I must content myself by keeping to the types. And so I may briefly say that in those forms Jainism not only seeks and finds its adequate religious expression, but also has, in its *charitras* and *prabandhas*, developed typical features which variously enrich the many sides of Indian literature.

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The Ruins of Hampi

To 'The Ruins of Hampi,' K. Raghavacharyulu invites the attention of all in an interesting article in *The Quarterly Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society*.

One peculiar feature as regards the geographical position of the ancient city is its impregnability in the North. The double row of mountains on either side of the narrow and rapid Tungabhadra formed a natural barrier repelling aggression from the North. Another feature in the ruins is the close interspersion of the various temples belonging to different religious sects, Jain, Saivite and Vaishnavite. The numerous Jain temples illustrate the toleration of different religious faiths by the Vijianagar Kings. In fact, the Jain temples seem to date many centuries before Krishna Raya and we hear of Bukka in the middle of the fourteenth century squaring up quarrels between Jains and Vaishnavites. Besides, the visitor finds various Nagakals used for serpent worship among the ruins which show that kind of worship was also in vogue in those days. Many of the temples are in ruins and if greater care is not taken the wonderful monuments of ancient culture will disappear leaving behind only a mass of stones.

One other feature is the fine sculpture found in almost all the temples and specially as has been referred to above, in the Vitthala and Hara Rama Temples. The monolithic statues of Vira Narasimha Nandi and Ganesa and the Stone Linga are superb in their wild grandeur. But one burns with indignation to find all the figures in sculpture mutilated to an enormous extent by the invaders and their preservation in the present form is the least that can be ardently desired by us now.

The wonderful irrigation system and engineering skill has been spoken to by the chroniclers Polo and Nuniz. The remains of a stone acqueduct used to supply water to the baths in the citadel can still be seen near the throne platform. I cannot bring this short description of the ruins to a close without observing that they are a marvellous sight for the gods to see and that the sacred place ought to be a place of Pilgrimage for every patriotic Indian as being the only remain of a vast Hindu Empire during the medieval period.

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Dharanidasa, a Hindi Poet

Mr. Anathnath Bose of Viswabharati, who is a keen student of the songs and poems of the mediaeval mystics of India, notes the following characteristics in 'Dharanidasa, a Hindi poet of the seventeenth century,' in the *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*.

Like Kabir Dharanidasa did not believe in idolatry. Says he—

अहमक पूजै अग्नि जल, प्रतिमा पूजै गंवार।
धरनी ऐसा को कहै, की ठाकुर बिकै बजार॥

Very often we come across such sentiments in his writings. But with a strange irony of fate an image of Krishna is to-day worshipped in the *matha* which goes by the name of Dharanidasa. The present incumbent of the *gadi*, Mahant Harinandandasa while asserting the non-idolatrous character of Dharani's teachings tried to explain away the presence of the image but to the present writer his reasons did not seem to be very convincing, But this is not a solitary instance of such a phenomenon; the religious history of India beginning from the days of Buddhism is replete with such instances.

Dharanidasa did not distinguish between the Hindus and the Muhammadans; to him they were all equal, and their methods of worship, though apparently conflicting, led but to the same final goal, it does not matter by what name you designate it, by Rama or Rahim.

हिन्दुके राम अल्लाह तुरुकके बहुविधि करत बखाना।
दुंहुके संगम एक जहां तहवां मेरो मन माना॥

And Dharanidasa was not the solitary soul in this track of mystical contemplation in that age.

—

Truth in Literature

J. C. Molony's remarks in 'Truth in Art and Life' in *The Indian Review* are, it must be admitted, rather too early for Indian

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litterateurs of the day nor too wide of the mark for them.

Old Dumas, if he wrote shamelessly, at any rate made no pretence of writing otherwise: he did not suggest that by his decidedly "warm" passages, he wished to convey a moral lesson. The sensuality or sexuality of the modern novel masquerades as a desire to speak naked truth, but is quite palpably used as a bait to attract the prurient buyer. A modern book will scarcely sell unless it toys with the intimate relations of the sexes; and sex is either plastered over the picture, or thrust into passages wherewith it has no logical or artistic concern. India has recently been perturbed by an attack on Indian morality. I do not assert that Indian morality is perfect or unattackable but the underlying motive of this attack was summed up for me by a critic cynically, and I fancy not untruthfully, by the words, "it is for the delectation of the American virgin."

So much is criticism of Art by others and by myself. In my opinion the critic, no less than the creative artist, must work with an abiding recognition of a Law without him. He must give reasons impersonal as well as personal for his praise or blame, such reasons will not necessarily convince any particular man, but they should be intelligible to the majority of men. The critic, who through a cloud of verbiage merely conveys the fact that a thing pleases or displeases him personally, is a critic "bolted", run to intellectual seed. Wholly to substitute subjective for objective standards is to establish tyranny or anarchy. Tyranny and anarchy are stupid things, things not worth the trouble of establishing.

—

A Message to the Young

The high note of idealistic dedication of oneself for the highest cause is sounded by T. L. Vaswani in *The Scholar* in his 'Message to the Young.'

Be creative, not imitative.
The paths of achievement are not the easy paths of imitation.
Look not to Russia nor Italy nor England for the needed to make India new.
Learn of the experiences of every nation; follow none;
Be not copies! Be yourselves!
Each nation must obey the law of evolution immanent in its own genius and ideals.
Imitation is self-suppression. Freedom is self-realization.
India must be Herself. Her own self.
No Russian socialism, no British industrialism, no Western cult of aggressiveness or exploitation will give India what she is seeking through her deep unrest.
She has a world mission!
Therefore, I ask you to listen to the voices of your prophets and rishis!
And in the strength at once of the ancient wisdom and modern science, rebuild India into a nation of the strong, a nation of the Free!
Will our Youth Movement heroes hearken?

Milk as a Drink

Drink more milk, is one of the useful pieces of advice from *Prohibition*, which says:

The Ministry of Agriculture in Great Britain are lanching a 'drink more milk' campaign. If sufficiently supported as much as £100,000 may be spent to secure permanent results. The people of England, it has been found, drink less milk than those of other countries. While in America the children are given a pint per head per day and the average is not much less in Norway, Sweden, Denmark and Switzerland, British children get barely a third of a pint per day. Tests have proved that those brought up on an extra pint of milk a day have gained nearly 7 lbs. and grown nearly 2½ inches in the year, while those without milk only gained 3¾ lbs. and grew only 1¾ inches. Not only do health giving and sustaining qualities recomend to 'drink more milk' campaign but for the benefit of home industries, the farmer and his cows and heifers and the increasing difficulties created by foreign competition all suggest the wisdom of the new campaign. Britain will soon follow India in the true appreciation of "Mother cow."

It may be added that the devoted sons of 'mother cow' in India seldom get *pure milk or sufficient milk to drink.*

—

Mental Life of the Europeans in India

H. C. Menkel, M. D. thus begins his article on 'Mental Hygiene among Europeans in India' in *The Oriental Watchman*:

During the recent session of the Far Eastern Assotiation of Tropical Medicine, held in Calcutta, a paper was read by Colonel Berkeley-Hill of Ranchi, dealing with the above subject.

Colonel Berkeley-Hill drew attention to the fact that Europeans residing in tropical countries frequently develop a variety of mental abnormalities. Among those particularly noticeable are irritability manifested over slightest occasions: uncontrollable temper; lowered moral consciousness; anxiety; stressed religious sentiments on certain points; strong mental sex urge; and a variety of other mental aberrations. It requires only a casual observer to recognize the extent of these mental phases among Europeans residing in India.

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Baroda's Annual Progress

British India may note the following instructive review of Baroda's Dewan regarding 'Baroda's Progress in Education' (produced in *The Feudatory and Zemindari India*,) and may consult its own record for the year for purpose of comparison:

Considering the number of villages and towns in the State, it can be said that on an average there is one institution per every town and village.

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Approximately fixing 15 per cent. of the male population as the average number of boys of school-going age the number of boys on the roll gives a percentage of 89·4 as against 88·5 of the last year. Taking 12 per cent as the average number of girls of school-going age, the percentage of girls at school comes to 56·6 as against 55·1 of the previous year.

There were 229 schools for the Antyajas (untouchables), of which four were for girls. These were attended by 9,520 students. Besides these, 4763 Antyaja children attended the ordinary Gujrati schools. Untouchability is losing its hold as is evinced by the fact that high class Hindus are coming forward to work as teachers and inspecors for the Antyaja schools. There were four Antyaja boarding houses at Baroda, Amreli Patan and Navsari giving shelter and education to 137 students.

There were 45 town and district libraries and 655 village libraries and 144 reading rooms during the year under report. The various branches of of the Library Department such as Travelling Libraries, Children's Library, Ladies' Library and Visual Instruction Branch appear to have carried their work satisfactorily.

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An Indian Iron Works

Sir P. C. Ray blesses the Mysore Iron Works (in the *Mysore Economic Journal*)—an Indian enterprise out and out in one of the Indian States. The Works truly deserves his blessing, as the following will show.

The Mysore Iron Works is in many respsots unique of its kind in India. Apart from the production of pig-iron which is the main product it incidentally turns out large quantities of wood distillation products, *viz.*, wood alcohol (methyl alcohol) methyl acetone, acetates, creosotes and pitch. For the recovery of these products, it has the biggest and most up-to-date plants. In a pioneering industry of this nature, it would be idle to look for immediate profits. Take the history of Bengal Iron Works or the Tata Iron Works. Both of these had to contend with immense and insuperable difficulties in the initial stages and even now the latter has been getting large bounties from the State directly or indirectly.

It is gratifying to note that the staff has been Indianised from top to bottom. The saying goes :—'The hour makes the man.' I feel confident that the heads of the several departments who have been entrusted with the responsibilities will give a good account of themselves.

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Rates and Development of Indian Railways

Mr. S. C. Ghose, with his long-standing and thorough knowledge of Indian Railways, puts forth in *The Calcutta Review* some hard and sound reasoning on the Rates and Development of the Indian Railways with the following observations to support him.

The fact that the Capital at charge of the East Indian Railway amounts to nearly 13 crores of rupees and that the nett earnings vary between 7 and 8 crores of rupees (which makes this Railway the greatest contributor both to the Railway revenues, and thus partly also to the General revenues of the Government) may affect an impression that the Railway is at the height of its development and that nothing further could be done to stimulate its traffic and earnings, but the mere fact that the dividend paid by the East Indian Railway went down by 1 p. c. in 1926-27 and that the Capital expenditure went up by 5½ crores of rupees in one year (partly on new constructions) would alone tend to correct such an impression.

Moreover, when it is remembered that the Railway passes through fertile lands, traverses areas which are populous, touches important towns and places of pilgrimage in Northern India, and that inspite of these facts and comparatively low working expenses the percentage of nett return on Capital outlay over the East Indian Railway amounted to less than 6 p. c. against 7 p. c. in the case of the Bombay, Baroda and Central India Railway, there can no longer remain any doubt as to the ability of the East Indian Railway to progress further with the development of its traffic.

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Land Situation in India

The Linlithgow report is before the public and agrarian questions are more or less arresting the attention of all. In the following contribution Dr. Radhakamal Mukerjee reviews the general land situation in India under the caption 'Agrarian Unsettlement' in the *Indian Journal of Economics*.

As in all agricultural countries, so in India the problems of the land are the most significant of national questions. The standard of living of the Indian peasant cannot rise until a change in the land system supplies the essential economic basis of more efficient peasant farming. Neither scientific agriculture nor co-operation can make much headway unless we reform the land system now so serious a handicap to the prosperity of the small farmers. In many parts of India the peasant is unable under existing land settlement to make his occupation profitable. Indebtedness weighs him down to an extent difficult for him to overcome at prevailing rates of interest with his limited holding and uncertain tenure; while the rate at which holdings are being transferred to the non-agricultural classes is indicative of the difficult situation. The inefficient system of agriculture that prevails, indeed, is connected less with tillage practice than with forms of tenure now overshadowing the ancient peasant proprietorship which formerly enjoyed the protection of the village communities.

The disruption of the village communities everywhere has spelled agricultural decline. The disuse of equitable regulations as regards meadows,

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pasturegrounds, tanks, and irrigation-channels, and the dispersion of the supply of free labour for common agricultural tasks which formerly was facilitated by the associated life of the village communities, has weakened the rural economy to an extent which neither new habits inculcated by education nor the conventional measures of the Government can cure. But peasant proprietorship has been weakened not merely by the loss of the traditions of social and agricultural co-operation ; it also has been working its own decay by minute fragmentation where there exists no check of a collective coparcenary community.

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Settlers in Malaya

Malayan Miscellany has from Pro Patria an analysis of the causes which contribute to the flourishing of the Chinese settlers in Malay while Jaffnese fail there.

Let us compare a typical Chinese and a Jaffnese youth starting in life in Malaya under almost identical conditions, and perhaps we may gain some insight into the mental outlook of each and in some measure understand the cause of our total failure compared to the Chinese. As soon as the Jaffnese youth gets a salaried appointment he starts saving with a feverish haste and remits home the major portion of his mouthly pittance—not, mind you for the support of his old and decript parents or for the education of his near kindred (for in these things there is bound to be a limit) but with the object of building in time a palatial (?) house that is of no earthly use to anybody, and buying extensive areas of unprofitable land at uneconomic prices and incidentally by forcing up land values turn worthy farmers in his poor village into landless vagabonds. He spends a small fortune on his wedding celebrations, and finally when the time comes for retirement he hastens back home to burry himself in his village, amply content to be the "lion" among the "Jackals" of his humble village! The Chinese youth has a supreme centempt of all clerical work. Government service with all its petty restrictions is anathema to him and if he takes to it, it is because owing to proverty and consequent lack of capital he has no choice in the matter. He however quickly saves up sufficient to make him independent of Government employment and when he thinks he has enough capital he regains and starts a small commercial undertaking or joins his friends or relations in a planting or business venture, puts his money into anything, in fact, that will bring him a quicker and handsome return on his hard-earned captial—and almost as a matter of course he succeeds. In a few years more he is a towkay, a power in the land of his adoption. Or us let suppose that he is more cautious and works on till he is due for pension : by that time he would find the judicious investments out of his monthly earnings bringing in a decent income. Abstaining from all useless ostentation he carefully husbands his resources and lays the foundations of a sound and profitable undertaking for his sons to take over and expand instead of their having to become, in their turn, despised quill-drivers or briefless barristers or similar burdens on society.

The lesson should not be lost on Indian settlers who leave India for other lands.

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Exclusion of Orientals From Western Lands

The National Christian Council Review reports the following :

At the Kansas Methodist Conference, on the motion of Dr. E. Stanley Jones (who, we observe, has decided that he shall not become a Bishop, but shall continue to travel by the Indian Road with those whose hearts are seeking Christ, a resolution was passed approving restricted immigration, but demanding the application of this policy to all nations on a quota basis. The resolution describes the exclusion of Orientals as 'invidious, un-American and un-Christian,' and the acquiscence of Christians in such treatment as 'a negation of the spirit of Christ and the claims of universal brotherhood, to proclaim which missionaries of our Church are sent to these countries.' Another injustice to Orienials is denounced in a resolution passed by the Administrative Committee of the Federal Council of Churches of America. This resolution endorses an appeal, made by a number of American missionaries in India, against the injustice done to naturalised American citizens of East Indian ancestry who have been deprived of their citizenship. This action, as well as the present immigration law, the appeal declares, 'is an outstanding national wrong which has done incalculable injury to America's moral influence in India and the East.'

—

A Brave Postman

Labour, the mouth-piece of the postal employees, recounts the following brave account of a brave postman.

"At about 2-30 A. M. on the 23rd May, 1928, a daring case of mail robbery took place on the platform of the Bhabda Railway station in the district of Murshidabad. The dacoits, four in number, were following the postman Rajballabh Hazra of the Bhabda Post Office while he was coming with two mailbags on his shoulder, received from the E.—3. out section, towards the passenger shed to deposit them in the mail-chest. The Assistant Station Master who was present on the spot took them for passengers and demanded tickets from them who bluntly refused to produce tickets and one of them, all on a sudden, snatched one of the two mailbags from the postman. The brave and loyal postman without any loss of time, firmly caught hold of the dacoit and felled him down on the ground and tried to recover the robbed mailbags but another man came to the rescue of his associate and began to mercilessly beat the postman with a bamboo lathi and transferred the robbed mailbag to the

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other two men of the gang. The postman fought courageously with his assailants for full 20 minutes and cried aloud for help all the time. The railway staff were apparently too much panic-struck to come to the rescue of the postman. The dacoit finding it too difficult to disengage himself from the deadly grip of the postman, threw off the cloth which he was wearing and fled in state of nudity. The postman saved the other bag and snatched the cloth and lathi of the dacoit. He was profusely bleeding on the head while the station staff came to him. He was immediately removed to the Berhampore Sudder Hospital where he is progressing well. The postman has, indeed, maintained the glorious tradition of the loyalty of the subordinate postal employees and fought alone against heavy odds at the risk of his own dear life.

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Admisssion in the Medical Colleges

The following observations by '*The Calcutta Medical Gazette* containing valuable suggestions for the University authorities on the above now when thousands of students knock at the College-doors (most of them come back in despair) will be read with interest and attention:

A large number of students who have passed the Intermediate in Science Examination will seek admission in either of the two Medical Colleges in Bengal. There are admission Committees in both the Colleges and their task is very difficult. Mere success in the I.Sc. Examination is not the only criterion to go by. Personal interview enable the Committees to reject easily the physically unfit candidates. General knowledge, smartness, intelligence, power to grasp questions and ability to talk in good English are seen to. Yet it cannot say that the method of selection is above criticism. The Committees of the two Colleges have tried every possible means to arrive at the correct solution and they have not yet succeeded.

In some of the Indian Universities the course of Medical studies extends over five years only. The Calcutta University in its great wisdom, would not accept the five years course. Although the Calcutta University followed the advice of the General Medical Council in many other matters, they did not see their way to allow medical students to finish their scientific studies before entering into their medical studies. What newer Universities in India found possible and practicable, the Calcutta University did not, namely, to have an Intermediate Examination in Physics, Chemistry and Biology. The argument put forward by some, was that there are no facilities in any college affiliated to the Calcutta University for the teaching of Zoology, up to the I.Sc. standard. Had the regulation of the Calcutta University been such that the scientific subjects must be passed before a student enters into a med college, classes in Zoology would surely have b started and the University would have as a s sequential measure, had an Intermediate Science Medical Examination started.

The objection raised to having an Intermedia in Science Medical Examination is that t subjects of Physics and Chemistry could not taught in a Science College by professors w will not necessarily know the needs of medi students. Curiously enough with the knowled and permission of the Calcutta University o the professor of Chemistry in the Medical Colle Bengal, is a medical man, the Professor of Phys in that College and the Professor of Physics a Chemistry in the Carmichael Medical College a all laymen. How can these three profess know the needs of medical students? If there to be an innovation, imaginary difficulties a raised.

To revert to our original point, namely, t diffiaulty of selection of candidates for admissi into the Medical Colleges, we are strongly opinion that if this Intermediate in Scien Medicai Examination were started by the Calcu University, practically the whole difficulty wo have been solved. After the examination of physically unfit by personal interview the can dates could be admitted on the results of t examination.

There is yet time for the Calcutta Univers to think over this difficulty and by altering regulation reduce the course of medical studies one year.

—

Vernaculars and Universities

Mr. Gopal Haldar in pleading in t weekly *Welfare* for an early introducti of the vernacular as medium of instructi concludes with this well-reasoned suggesti which we invite our Senatorss and Syndi to take note of:

We do not want to *abolish* English a gether from our schools or colleges. As matt stand, we believe it has to be retained for so time at least, if not for all time, as a compulso subject in which a *competent knowledge* should demanded of all who go in for secondary educa But, all the same, we want and pray for a qui life in our vernaculars which alone we sho make it a point to serve while we should m English serve us in affiliating ourselves with world of thought outside. And, in every Indi University a competent knowledge of the partic vernacular of the province should be demanded all its scholars without exception who permanent or habitual residents of the provi Thus Calcutta University should make Benga non-Bengali Indians, Anglo-Indians and Europe all sit for an examination in Bengali. This can relaxed only in the case of those *foreign* schol from abroad who come for research work.

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Religion As Inner Experience

In an intensely sincere article of Mr. Doremus Scudder on 'A Quest of Human Brothers' in *The World Tomorrow*, we find the elevating and illuminating thoughts that the writer gleaned from Rabindranath Tagore's rich and sacred storehouse of experience.

An afternoon with Dr. Tagore at his Ashram gave opportunity for rare interchange of experience. "We Indians meet God in nature as Love and Joy rather than as law. We have something in our Indian mentality which I may call a Universe consciousness or cosmic feeling. If we have not a feeling of Kinship with nature we lose something very vital. The Universe, this earth, sky, star, all come from One, Central Creative Personality and this same creative will has its manifestation in our own consciousness; hence there issues this sense of relationship between the inner self and the outer world. I believe that Jesus reached brotherhood through fatherhood and that this has done great good and has begotten humanitarianism. Yet we find men who do not get to God though they may be great lovers of men. Religion cannot be taught. Teaching about religion is not teaching religion Religion must be imparted from Spirit to Spirit." With reference to the barring of religious teaching from schools by Russia, Turkey and Mexico, Dr. Tagore added "I believe in this course myself. We teach no creed or faith in our school. The danger in so-called religious teaching lies in its effect upon those who follow the majority. As religion is an inner experience each must find his religion for himself and give no particular name to his find. As each one chooses his own line of development, so each man has power to grow himself into his own peculiar personality I do not believe in the herding spirit in religion." I have given this conversation somewhat at length and without the questions which drew it out because it is so full of the modern spirit.

India, the writer noticed, responded to the idea of brotherhood, but distrusted Christianity.

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Six Gateways to Happiness

Bhikku Dhammaloka counts in a sermon reproduced in the *British Buddhist* these six gateways to the City of Success where and where alone we can find Happiness.

1. The first of these is health.
2. Having entered through the first gate-way, we next come across the second, which presents itself in the form of good and pleasant manners. To know how to conduct oneself in society is really a great advantage in life.
3. The third gate-way that we have to cross is the responsiveness to good advice.
4. Learning is the forth gate-way to Success.
5. The fifth portal which leads to Success is righteous life.
6. Strenuous endeavour, unyielding effort, is the sixth gate-way to Success.

—

Chinese Situation affects Christianity in China

The deep distrust of Christianity all through India, which pained a writer in the *World Tomorrow* is reflected everywhere in the East, more so in China, where the Christianity of 'Christian Generals' make them bitter enemies of the Christian Powers. F. H. Hawkins thus notes in *The International Review of Missions* the discouraging conditions in the working of the Christian ministry there.

The factor in the present situation which has depressed me most is the serious dearth of students in the theological colleges, and the short supply of candidates for the Christian ministry. This state of affairs seems to be almost universal and to affect the work of all the missions and Churches. In Yenching University there were four candidates only for the full theolegical course, with about double that number of professors to teach them. It is true that there was an elementary 'short-cut' course for candidates for the position of preacher, but the theological faculty of the University does not exist to give this type of training. Even sadder is the fact that of the theological students at Yenching who have recently graduated scarcely one is in the ministry of the Church. Many of the graduates are diverted to better paid secretarial posts in the Y. M. C. A. and other national organizations. In the theological school of the Shantung Christian University at Tsinan there were thirty-four students, the same number as

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during the previous year. In the Union Theological College in Canton there was a considerable falling off in the number of students.

Outside the theological colleges the problem was even more acute. A bishop of a large diocese told me that after he had ordained a deacon as priest a few weeks later he did not see in the whole of his diocese a single Chinese who seemed suitable for the priesthood. He deplored the fact that the supply of potential Chinese bishops in the Anglican Church in China was almost non-existent, and said that after the consecration of a Chinese assistant bishop which was shortly to take place, he had no idea where the next Chinese bishop was coming from. This depressing prognosis was confirmed by other bishops, and the outlook in the matter of finding candidates for Orders in the Church of England is indeed gloomy.

—

Morning At Gandhi's Asram

Morning is heralded in at Gandhi's Asrama—writes Krishna Das in *Unity*—amid ringing of bells and deep notes of music calling the inmates to this prayer :

"This morning I worship the great being who is beyond the rerch of Mind and speech, by whose favor the Eternal sound receives its primal energy, to whom the Vedas point by the words, "Not this ; not this' ; who is the great Lord whom all guards bow this in neverence : who is the self-existent (uncreate) Immutable and primal being."

Then follow songs of praise in salutation to the Earth, to Saraswati, to the Guru, to Vishnu, and to Siva. Then, the devotee places at the Lotus feet of his Lord the yearnings of his heart in the following terms : "I yearn not for earth, nor heaven nor even freedom from rebirth, but my heart's yearning is to relieve the woes of suffering humanity. May the peoples be happy ! May the rulers of the earth following the path of righteousness protect their peoples ! May good ever attend the Cows and the Brahman ! May the whole world be happy !"

—

Youths' Coming of Age

'Youths' Coming of Age', an article in the same journal, may supply our Youth Movement enthusiasts with abiding thoughts.

The Youth Movement is the independent self-assertion of youth in the actual life of today.

It is youthful life claiming its own. It is youth's coming of age. No longer contented with a shadow existence it was reduced to, youth steps into life with an emphasis of its own.

What is the part youth can play in "real" life ? Just study the activities of the various Youth Movement groups. In China they carry on the crusade for the education of the masses, and for the development ef a unified and free nation. In Europe they make their experiments in individual, sexual and social living. They bring about international rapprochement and work with movements for economic and social regeneration. *As manifold as life are their activities.*

This is what we want life to be like (they say) More sincerity, less evasion ; more naturalness less sophistry ; more childlikeness less cynicism ; more group action, less particularism ; more justice, less self-interest.

—

A Communist Schoolboy

Robert Littell in the 'Diary of a Communist Schoolboy' in *The New Republic* (June 20) brings home to all the thoughts and ideas that work within the mind of the future generations of Russia :

He (Kostya) wants to change his name to Vladlen—the first syllables of Lenin's names. He doesn't dance—"if one did, where would our ideology come in"—and he believes that "proletarian consciousness" forbids being too friendly with the girls, but does not act on his belief. There are midnight hooch and petting parties, where dreadful things happen, and sex, often in a crude form, is always in the background. One of the teachers tells him that in the old schools "the use of obscene language was a form of protest," but that "you, on the other hand, have nothing to protest against." Anonymous newspapers are constantly appearing, and posted on the walls of the school, with satirical articles or long discussions of "the purpose of life" or "can girls and boys be friends ?" Other newspapers, full of smut, circulate secretly. At a meeting of the committee of the factory in which Kostya will probably work when he leaves school, a girl asks that funds be given her for an abortion. After a long argument, this demand is turned down.

One boy insists that the election of a chairman at meetings is a "bourgeois prejudice." Kostya thinks that suicide and sitting next to girls is "intellectualism." The meetings of the Communist Unit are "so dull that no one outside the party ever attends them." When the school performs "Hamlet." Kostya, who would have preferred "something with barricades and revolutionary fights," remarks that "Hamlet isn't a brainless fellow, in spite of his bourgeois origin."

—

Egypt and Britain

Unhappy Egypt attracts considerable attention in the pages of the same journal (May 30) when Dr. H. N. Brailsford takes a survey of her position arising from the rejection of the British treaty offered by Chamberlain.

By one of those pathetic tricks with words in which only dilomatists indulge, the draft treaty declared that the presence of a British garrison on Egyptian soil is not to have the character of an occupation. But the blunt demand

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was continued that Great Britain shall "have the right to maintain on Egyptain territory such armed forces as the British government considers necessary for the protection of the lines of communication of the British Empire."

The events which have followed the rejection of the treaty are hardly calculated to reconcile the Egyptians to the occupation. On the plea that certain measures recently before the Assembly endangered foreign residents, the British Resident was instructed to impose his veto. One of them extended the very limited right of public meeting which prevails at present. Another substitutes elected for nominated persons as headmen of villages. The Egyptians, as they witness this cynical mockery of their nominal independence, may indeed reflect that it is inconvenient to incur the displeasure of Downing Street. But they will also draw the moral that, while a foreign garrison remains in Cairo, they will always be subject to such attentions.

To crown all *Independent* Egypt has now lost her own Parliament by an autocratic fiat of her ruler.

—

Average Man no Devotee of the War God

Peace relies on the average man—The Main Street, who, as the speakers said in American Peace Society's Centenary—does not know its grim meaning as yet. *Literary Digest. June 2* quotes some such opinions.

"If it can be proved to a man that if his country goes to war for any issue short of its absolute liberty of action at home, and in defense of that liberty, he will in future stand a very good chance of being bombed in his home ; if we can show him that even tho his country may be victorious, he will certainly have his taxes increased by 200, 300, 400 or 500 per cent.; if we can maks it clear to him that for the sake of some issue to which he is probably an entire stranger he risks having to give up that new Ford next month, or, even worse that he may very probably be thrown out of work, as has been the fate of millions in Europe after the last war ; then perhaps he may find war less pleasingly dramatic and may bestir himself to see that as a means of settling disputes between nations, it is better abandoned."

"It is Main Street which in last anlysis controls the making or the preventing of wars nowadays, and war is gradually becoming the subject of Main Street's most bitter hatred. It is this changing feeling of Main Street toward war, a feeling which is exprest in the whispers to which ambassador Claudel refers, which gives us ground for hope that not all the efforts which are being made to outlaw war, to make it less bloody and of less frequent occurrence, will be in vain. As Main Streets go to day, so go the governments of the nations in which they are situated. And Main Street, it is impossible to doubt, is going against war as it never has gone before."

—

Why the Sea is Salt

The old but interesting question is answered thus in *Current Science,* (reproduced by *The Literary Digest,* June 9.) by Dr. E. G. Zies.

"He attributed some of the chlorin content of the oceans to the outpourings of hydrochloric acid gases from fumarolic areas, such as the Valley of Ten Thousand Smokes in Alaska. The hydrochloric acid gases change to salt in contact with sodium mineral content of the rocks and water, just as the acid contents of the stomach produce salt when they come in contact with soda or baking-powder. These minor volcanoes and other eruptions also belch forth considerable quantities of hydrofluoric acid gas. This is the acid that will etch glass. To it is due fluorin content of the sea. Recently the sea was discovered to be a veritable mine of fluorin, and a floating chemical from the seawater, Dr. Zies declared that so much fluorin is sent down to the sea that some unknown chemical mechanism must be at work to precipitate most of it to the submarine rock floor."

—

Where Science Ends

The voice of Alfred Noyes rises into the musical chant of a mystic as he turns from science with gas and gunpowder to visions he has caught, which science must fail to define (quoted in *The Literary Digest,* June 16, from London *Spectator*) :

The highest that we know here—indeed, the only reality of which we have immediate knowledge —is that of personality. Science claims that human personality is more and more controlling nature. Supreme personality, we may therefore suppose, would have supreme control in every detail. The Highest Reality of all, in which all the explanations reside, if the human intellect were capable of discovering them, cannot be less than personal. We cannot identify God with a universe in which nothing is self-sufficient, or its own explanation. Behind all these contingent shadow-shows we are driven at last by inexorable logic to that which is its own explanation, and is sufficient to itself and all that it has produced. When we ask what the attributes of that Being must be, we are forced to believe that they are above reason and beyond nature as it is known to science. What is this, after all, but the supernatural Maker of heaven and the earth, and of all things visible and invisible, of whom the Nicene Creed tells us, and whom St. Augustine found, not in the discourses of the Platonists, but in the voice of the Supreme Personality, infinite in perfection, speaking to what was highest in his own personality, and saying, 'Come unto me' ?

"It is when science turns her face in this ascending direction that she wears the impassiond expression which is poetry, reflects in her face the glory of the divine center of the universe and cries, with Pasteur, 'O salutaris hostia.'"

—

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A New Industry Emerges

In the *Pacific World Commerce* we learn of a new industry—airplane industry—emerging in which the New World will have the greatest share.

The airplane in dustry has finally emerged from the experimental period into an era of big and rapidly growing business. The day is gone when the main question was whether the machine would fly, or whether it was safe, once it got off the ground. Nowadays, big business is asking questions about cost of operation, cost of maintenance, carrying capacity and various other items as to just how and when they can fit this new and better mode of transportation in with other existing facilities, and they are surprised at the ease with which they can make use of the airplane and the airplane service to speed up business.

As the industry stands now, it is not a question of getting more orders, but to fill the orders now on hand, for survey of the situation shows that all airplane factories are working at full capacity, but are still unable to deliver orders.

In the world's market India has had little share in any industry, new or old, except as a buyer of cheap commodities.

—

Haeckel's Contribution

Evolution devotes most fittingly its place of honour to 'Ernst Haeckel and Ontogenetic Law," which begins thus:

If Darwin was the father of evolution, Huxley was its war horse, but, Haeckel the great German Darwinian, was its knight in shining armor. Haeckel's greatest contribution to evolutionary theory was probably his 'fundamental ontogenetic law" which stated that ontogeny recapitulates phylogeny. This meant that every organism in its pre-natal embryonic development recapitulates the stages through which the species of organism had passed in their phylogenetic succession.

—

Preserving Youth

Not to Voronoff, but to sunlight and open air should humanity turn for keeping up health and vigour, so opines *The Inquirer*:

The real mischief wrought by artificial attempts to restore youthfulness lies in the neglect of infinitely more satisfactory methods by which health and vigour can be generally maintained. We are at last beginning to understand scientifically what incalculable benefits are derived from fresh air and sunlight, habits of temperance in all things, a good environment, properly proportioned periods of work and recreation, the pursuit of ideals which ennoble—in short, that healthful functioning of body, soul and spirit without which a harmonious life is impossible. All that is necessary in order to bring "saving health" to the nations is that this knowledge should be more widely known and accepted. We cannot imagine that the Voronoff theory of rejuvenation will make the slightest appeal to those who know the secret of a healthy, well-ordered life; and the best help we can render to those who are already doubtful as to its efficacy is to point out that true youthfulness of spirit cannot be artificially restored when the laws of God and man which safeguard it have been violated.

—

Politics and Temperance

Political preoccupations are forcing some urgent problems into the background, say some people. *Abkari* joins issue with them here:

The position during the past twelve months has been complicated by the absorption of all parties and classes in political questions, and there are not so many definite marks of progress to be recorded as in some previous Reports. It has always been the aim of this Association to stand aloof from the political and communal controversies which must necessarily divide a great country like India. Moreover, it may be justly claimed for the Temperance movement, quite apart from other considerations, that it has provided a common platform upon which all races, creeds, parties and castes have been able to unite for the promotion of an essential social reform. There have been frequent indications of this fact during the year under review. It has to be recognised, however, that there is a tendency in some quarters to grow impatient at the slowness with which such reforms are achieved under the present system of government, and there are those who maintain that little effective progress can be made towards the abolition of drink until India obtains control of her own affairs. But let those who take this view remember that intemperance is all the while claiming its victims and that the free India of the future will be less free if the drink octopus is permitted in the meantime to fasten its tentacles upon large sections of the people.

Mr. Gandhi's emergence into politics, it may be remembered, was reflected in this line as also in many other spheres of our activity. And though 'prohibition' is not a plank in our political platform, cannot it be made a live issue and not a mere 'lip issue' as it is now with our politicians?

—

Outdoor Recreations For Labour

The spare time of Labour, as shown by the Bureau of Labour Statistics in the *Monthly Labour Review*, is sought to be employed quite profitably for themselves in-

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directly, by many industrial plants which are providing for athletic fields, country clubs, etc., for their workers :

The general movement for shortening the hours of labour which gained momentum, following the war, both in European countries and in the United States has brought with it the question of the use to be made by the workers of the leisure time secured through the shorter workday. Investigations have been made in many of these countries of the way in which the workers' spare hours are or may be occupied, with a view to providing the educational and recreational facilities needed to secure the most benefit from the added leisure.

In this country many organizations and individuals are concerned with the provision of suitable occupations for leisure hours, and the importance of outdoor recreation to the well-being of the people has been particularly emphasized by the President of the United States in the call for a general conference on outdoor recreation, issued in the spring of 1924, in which the need for bringing the chance for out-of-door pleasure within the reach of all was pointed out. At this conference the many agencies concerned with this question, such as the Federal Government through the administration of national parks and forests, wild-life preserves, and unreserved domain ; the governments of the different States ; municipalities ; and many civilian organizations were represented. Topics were dealt with by the conference, such as the encouragement of outdoor recreation as a Federal function ; the bearing of outdoor recreation on mental, physical, social, and moral developments ; outdoor recreation as an influence on child welfare ; and major possibilities of national cooperation in promotion of recreation. Under this last topic was included a proposal for a general survey and classification of recreational resources, and a special committee on the value of outdoor recreation to industrial workers therefore included in its plan for the furtherance of an industrial establishments as a guide in the development of this phase of the subject.

The Bureau of Labor Statistics was accordingly designated to carry on a study showing as far as possible what is being done to provide recreation for industrial workers, the response made by employees to attempt to furnish them with facilities for recreation, and the particular lines along which such work may be developed. This subject was therefore included as part of a general study by the bureau of the various personnel activities carried on in industrial establishments.

—

Handicrafts not Dying Yet

That the remarkable expansion of large-scale industry has in certain cases encouraged instead of eliminating the development of handicrafts under new conditions is shown by Hermine Rabinowitch in *International Labour Review*, passages from which are reproduced below :

Not only is the number of workers now engaged in handicrafts still considerable, but it does not seem to have decreased either absolutely or even relatively, i.e. in relation to the increased population. There is no doubt that handicraft production has been hit much less severely than is generally thought by the progress of industrialist concentration. and that it has even followed the development of large-scale industry—if not at the same rate. at least in the same direction.

The writer takes up hand-weaving as an example to the point :

Hand-weaving by the handicraftsman can alone make possible the creation of unceasing succession of novelties. It may be said that all the difficulties of weaving are overcome by the hand-loom ; the handicraftsman has an admirable role in the process : conscious of this role, he likes to be confronted with difficulties in order to overcome them by his patience, his technical knowledge, and his love of weaving (Kart Bucher). Not only, has large-scale industry not entrenched upon the principal handicraft industries ; not only, as already mentioned, have handicrafts developed side by side with large-scale industry ; but if will also be found that in many ways the growth of the latter has actually been beneficial to the former. Large-scale industry has in fact, provided certain old trades—handicrafts in the narrow sense, or home industries—with the means of keeping alive and even of expanding e. g., the sewing machine, and more recently the knitting machine, the use of which is fast spreading in France, Italy, and especially Switzerland.

Not only have large-scale industry and handicrafts each a part to play in production as a whole, but the co-existence of these two methods of production, and their parallel—or even joint—development, are to some extent dependent upon the very nature of industrialism—at least, as it is to day. Other very varied circumstances which concern the handicraftsman himself, are favourable to the development of handicrafts. Here we shall deal with two kinds only. Firstly, there is the growing reaction against certain drawbacks of industrial concentration, and more especially of the concentration of labour. Secondly, there are a whole series of possibilities or new conditions which are being opened up to industrial production.

Indeed, 'new inventions point to its transformation under new conditions' and to further expansion in some other directions, as will be evidenced by the following :

Is electricity destined to restore to the handicraftsman what steam has taken from him—or even more ? To this query direct observers and specialist writers reply unhesitatingly in the affirmative. The following is the opinion of Mr. Schleiffer. Electricity more than anything else has lent newstrength to the handicraftsman even in rural districts. The small electric motor will certainly be the technical factor tnat will afford the greatest encouragement to the creation and development of small handicraft workshops as foci of this decentralised production which is so desirable both from the economic and from the social points of view.

The writer makes a general inquiry into

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the problems of the handicrafts and their possible solutions.

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The Virtues of Tea

Our last generation made a crusade against tea because of the Tea Garden Labour horrors. We, however, think that the new generations do not require the following from *The Japan Magazine* (May) to recommend to them the 'world's drink'. All the same, it would amuse some and interest many to know its historic attraction from the remote past as shown here:

In China, where the habit of tea drinking is the oldest in the world, the original reason for its drinking is given as a result of her people's experience of the fresh water there being bad and its drinking being detrimental to health. In Japan, the people in the early part of the Heian Era, when tea drinking was temporarily in vogue, seem to have had two ideas about tea, a medicinal idea and a taste idea, undoubtedly after the Chinese thought. Besides, tea was taken in Japan by Buddhist priests in the study of the Zen doctrine or the practice of its cult, as it is effective for keeping one awake. The first theoretical explanation of the medicinal idea of tea was given in the famous *Kitcha Yojoki* (a book of tea drinking for he preservation of health) by the Zen priest Yeisei. A professor of the University of California published a study of Japanese tea, in which he stated that it contains, in addition to vitamines, viose which is efficacious three hundred times as much as vitamines, and promotes energy, good health, and longevity, its everyday drinking by the Japanese being perhaps responsible for their high birthrate and their comparative energy in old age. Dr. U. Suzuki and Dr. M. Miura have found upon their study of fine tea, plenty of vitamine C in it, which has proved of great virtue for scurvy, being far better than milk in the treatment of it. Such medicinal value of tea was mentioned by Priest Yeisei 800 years ago in his great book, and he evidently possessed wonderful insight.

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Heliolatry

The June issue of the same organ from the Land of the Rising Sun presents us with K. Tsuda's article on 'Heliolatry and Religious Ideas', which cannot fail to interest India. Sums up Mr. Tsuda:

Summing up it may be considered that as a religious idea given by the Sun, its light, power and mercy were worshipped directly at first and then some living and invisible power was personified and worshipped. As civilization advanced it produced in the world some very complicated power, which was superhuman and mystic, and God was the divinization of this mystic power. Amitabha is a God so divernized and the Sun-light became simply a mark showing his body and features. When this religious idea advances further, such figurative manifestation will be considered unnecessray and the existence of gods will become conscious to the people purely spiritually; in fact, it seems that there is already that tendency existing at present.

—

A Chinese God

Arthur De C. Sowerby of *The China Journal* who seems to have been making a good collection of the grotesque but beautiful Chinese gods says this of the Chinese God of Wealth:

The writer has obtained about fifty specimens of the various wealth gods used in different parts of the country. Their titles vary either according to the tradition behind them or the imagination of the priests and printers.

The pictures of the god of wealth, as of many others, are usually printed from wooden blocks onto cheap coarse paper of the flimsy quality. A few have a better grade of workmanship and colouring, some even being hand-painted. They are made simply to be burned after the ceremony although in Chang, al An, Chekiang sheets of red cardboard are used, which can be preserved in a yellow cloth bag and used from year to year. Beside the common combination of the civil and military gods of wealth another may be found in a frequent combination of the wealth with the kitchen god. In Hunan the farmers worship a "Water Wealth God," apparently controlling rain irrigation, and fertility of crops. The best probable explanation for "Wu Lu Tsai Shen" or the "Five Roads God of Wealth" is offered by Hutson as referring to the principal ways of earning a livelihood, scholar, soldier, artisan, plus hills and and rivers—suggesting the occupations of mining and fishing as also fruitful of wealth. There may also be an indication of the five chief classes of society, scholar, farmer, artisan, merchants and soldier, as the five ways to wealth.

—

Mazzini on Rights and Duties

In a well-written paper on Mazzini and Dante in *Political Science Quarterly* Sydney M. Brown writes as follows about Mazzini.

Mazzini, during his impressionable years, had steeped himself in the philosophy and literature of the French Revolution: reading much and thinking more, probably brooding often on that entrancing subject during those long nocturnal walks which escaped the comprehension, and aroused the suspicions, of the Genoese government. As he turned the subject over in his mind, there came to him almost as a revelation, the remarkably sane conviction that the French Revolution had failed because it was one-sided. He had been impressed by the insistence with which the Revolution had held fast to the doctrine of the Rights of Man. He was more impressed by its failure to insist on the equally essential doctrine of the Duties of Man. The Revolutionists, he felt, had

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not realized that rights cannot exist without duties—that rights, all-important and undeniably necessary that may be, are, none the less, conditioned upon carrying out of duties ; that rights emanate from duties, which are antecedent and superior. To insist upon the Rights of Man was laudable ; to insist upon such rights without proclaiming the existence of duties was futile.

The French Revolution failed because it appealed to the weaker side of man's nature ; it urged him to get rather than to give; it encouraged acquisitiveness rather than sacrifice. "A Declaration of Rights furnished no basis for idealism, provided no imperative, binding law for man ; it established no guide for conduct, bestowed no definition for happiness. It neglected the strongest impulses to right action ; enthusiasm, love, and a sense of Duty." "You cannot," declares Mazzini, "by any theory of Rights make men unselfish. You can at best drive them like Faust to seek happiness or life's Elixir in the Witches' Kitchen,"

"Right is the faith of the individual. Duty is the common collective faith. Right can but organize resistance ; it may destory, it cannot found. Duty builds up associates, and unites; it is derived from a general law, whereas Right is derived only from human law. There is nothing to forbid a struggle against Right. Any Individual may rebel against the Right of any other Individual which is injurious to him : and the sole judge between the adversaries is Force. And such in fact has frequently been the answer which societies based upon Rights have given to their opponents. Societies based upon Duty would not be compelled to have recourse to force. Duty, once admitted as the rule, excludes the possibility of a struggle, and by rendering the individual subject to the general aim, it cuts at the very root of those evils which Right is unable to prevent...The Doctrine of Rights puts an end to sacrifice and cancels martyrdom from the World."

Here, one is inclined to agree with Professor Rose, is the bed-rock of Mazzinian doctrine

—

Culture and Technique

In his lucid style, typical of French intelligence at its best, Gaston Rageot in *L' Illustration* (reproduuced in *Living Age*) thus brings out the contrast between culture and technique—a contrast between the Old and the Young, in other words, between Europe and America, the Old World and the New,—

The old people, having only learned how to think, do not know how to act, and the young people, who only know how to act, hardly occupy themselves with thinking at all.

The former possess culture, the latter technique.

Undoubtedly the inhabitants of the Old Continent resemble our erudite men of fifty, while the inhabitants of the New Continent resemble our young mechanics. Thus all the momentary disorder, both within each nation and between the different nations, may be explained by a conflict between culture and technique.

Let us first define our terms.

Culture may belong to individuals or to groups. It is a function of time, and increases in value the longer it lasts. Nations who possess culture have a history, and individuals, who have attained it possess experience. It does not illuminate the world in flashes, nor does it proceed by leaps and bounds. It is continuous and slow. One must participate in it one's self to recognize it in others. It implies no particular ability, but rather a general capacity. Although it comes from the past, it is above all a potentiality, and its merit lies in the future that it envelops. It is more a method than a science ; it is more an attitude than a bag of tricks.

The way one thinks is more important than what one thinks, and 'thought for thought's sake' can be recognized either in an individual or in a nation through a smiling skepticism that presupposes neither discouragement nor renunciation, but merely equilibrium and wisdom. Seen in this way, culture is entirely turned upon itself,—upon the subject, as the philosophers say,—and whoever acquires it is transformed. It serves no purpose except living.

Technique, on the other hand, is turned outward toward the object. It modifies things, surroundings, the material elements of existence. It increases the productivity, but not the value, of individuals and peoples.

The Western peoples possess long-standing traditions, and France in purticular enjoys the prestige of guarding this culture—or, to be more exact, France possesses the capital city of culture. Paris remains unique. What we breathe along its gracious river, its historic avenues and quays, is an atmosphere charged with human experience and harmonious life. It includes all the most precious, delicate inheritances that humanity has retained through the slow course of the ages,—Greek beauty and Roman justice, sombre feudal faith and royal luxury, everything that could be saved from decadence and revolutions,—and all this has been left in tangible form where the Seine flows between the Louvre and the Institut.

New York is to Paris what the artisan is to the artist, or, to be more exact, the engineer to the architect. The most salient characteristic of America, and the one that probably includes all others, is the unequal development of different lines of human conduct,

The older cultural nations are adapting themselves to technique, and the young technical nations are improvising a culture. America is searching for a past, Europe for a present.

And, his conclusions on the basis are :

At the moment all tendencies point in one direction. The engineer, the artisan, and the builder are dominating everywhere, and the intellectual, the artist, and the poet are losing their prestige.

We are living in an epoch of transition—that is all.

May Europe and France preserve their mission and renew their task. The problem is clear and their duty obvious. Modern technique has not

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rendered necessary the disappearance of old-fashioned culture, but its transformation. All Greco-Latin civilization was based on experience; all modern civilization is based on science. Technique is therefore sovereign in its own demain, and its reign is absolute. The culture of the future will resemble ancient culture, but instead of opposing technique it will embrace it, harmonize it, and get beyond it. Our French defect, our weakness, lies in being Greco-Latin and not doing enough in our system of national education to develop the scientific spirit. We must make ourselves more modern. In other words, while still striving to develop the humanity that is latent in each human being, we shall pursue it by different methods and shall attain culture by the intelligent practice of technique.

What the writer wishes for France we wish for India, which has no less legacy of culture.

—

Gor'kii

Of Gor'kii a communist admirer in the same journal writes:

What differentiates Gor'kii from all the other people who try to describe the lower classes and what makes him so different from any middleclass writer who attempts to depict the life of the proletariat, is his own relation with these people and their lives. He does not stand above them; he does not judge them from a higher court and wring the withers of a bourgeois public at the fate of his creations. Gor'kii identifies himself utterly and completely with the people he describes. and he always discerns behind a layer of filth, apathy, evil or indifference the instinct to rebel against the unworthy, inhuman surroundings in which these people live out their life of misery.

Our *litterateurs* may note that suffering made Gor'kii and not middleclass sympathy for the suffering.

The essence of Maxim Gor'kii's being is expressed most clearly in these words of his:—

I would that everyone who wears a human countenance were really worthy to be called a man. All this life is senseless, tragic, and hateful in which the endless slaving labors of one man constantly go out to supply another with more bread and more spiritual substance than he can use.'

INDIAN ARCHITECTURE *

(A Review)

This is the third volume in Mr. Gangoly's series of "Little Book on Asiatic Art" which has already as a matter of course, captivated the heart of all lovers of Indian and Asiatic art. With only 45 pages of text, 75 illustrations and 45 diagrams the author has managed to trace the evolution of Indian architecture in a style at once convincing and inspiring. Starting from the *yajna vedis* (Fire altars) and *yajna salas* (sacrificial halls) of dim Vedic antiquity, he comes down to the 17th century Nayakka Architectural discussing actual architectural documents of over two thousand years. In his masterly summary we read not only the progressive development and transformation of the primary architectural motifs but also their correlation with the regional factors which at once initiated and controlled those architectonic evolutions. While sticking substantially to the hitherto accepted "Northern" and "Southern" "Aryan" and "Dravidian" theories. Mr. Gangoly with the true instinct of a historian is ever ready to discover the *trait d'union* and the cross currents modifying the exclusive character and rigidity of "schools" and "orders." Underlying the apparently bewildering diversity of forms there is a fundamental unity of spiritual urge and of aesthetic inspiration that go to build the manifold *vastu* melodies of India into a vast architectural symphony, which some future Indian Beethoven will probably interpret to us with all its mystic unities in differences. Says Mr. Gangoly, "though employed by adherents of different creeds it cannot be definitely asserted that any particular form has derived its origin from any particular religious sect. Thus it is a misnomer to designate any type of Indian architecture as specifically Buddhistic, Jain or Brahmanical. It is *Indian* Architecture for the time being in the service of one or other religion prevailing at a particular place or time. Thus the architectural Vedic mounds came to be adopted by the Buddhists for their dagobas relic shrines or stupas. Similarly, the northern Indian *nagara* tower shrines not only serve as Siva and Vishnu temples but also as image-house for many Jaina temples at Khajuraho. The finials of nagara Sikharas are equally adopted in many Buddhist shrines in Burma. The forms of the Chalukyan or the later Hayasala order are indiscriminately used for a Hindu or a Jaina shrine. The barrel-shaped *Vesara* temples of the early Buddhistic uses, have been adopted in toto for Brahmanical shrines..."

Such subtle analysis apart Mr. Gangoly gives every possible help to the general reader by way of neat diagrams, apt illustrations and precise dates that go to make the "little book" an invaluable manual on Indian architecture. He proposes to publish separate volumes on "Southern Indian Architecture" and "Indian Islamic Architecture." The public, we are sure, will respond warmly to this noble attempt of popularising Indian art. The plates illustrating the theme reflect great credit both on the author for their selection and on the printer for the execution. The letter-press seems to have been hurriedly printed with inevitable faults here and there (e.g., pp. 9 and 11 last lines).

KALIDAS NAG

* *By O. C. Gangoly, Editor, "Rupam". 6 Old Post Office Street—Calcutta.*

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Women candidates fared exceedingly well at the last B. A. examination of the Calcutta University. Of the six candidates who secured first-class honours in English three were lady-students. Srimati Lila Ray (daughter of Rai Saheb Pramadaranjan Ray) stood first, the other two being Srimati Lily Sen (fifth) and Srimati Kooka (sixth). Eight women students have secured second-class honours in English.

Miss Ray stood second among the successful candidates at the Intermediate examination in 1926, securing the highest marks in Botany. Both in the Matriculation and Intermediate examinations she stood first in English.

In Sanskrit Srimati Surama Mitter of the Bethune College has stood first-class first.

Special mention must be made in this connection about the brilliant success of Srimati Santisudha Ghosh of the Brojomohan College, Barisal who, stood first in class first in Mathematics and has been awarded the Eshan Scholarship. Srimati Santisudha Ghosh is the third daughter of Professor Kshetranath Ghosh M. A., (retired Professor of English, Brojomohan College, Barisal), and sister of Prof. Devaprasad Ghosh. She competed at the Matriculation Examination in 1924, from the Barisal Sadar Girls' School, and stood sixth in order of merit. In 1926, she competed at the Intermediate Examination in Arts from the Brojomohan College,



Miss Lila Ray

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Barisal (where arrangements were made for the teaching of girl-students), and stood third in order of merit. At the last B. A. examination she stood first not only in Mathematics, but among all the Honours graduates of the year and has therefore been awarded the Eshan Scholarship for the year. She is the first girl-student to obtain this scholarshtp since its foundation.



Princess Ikkavu Thamburan

We understand that she will continue her studies for the M. A. degree in the Presidency College, and will study mixed Mathematics.

MRS. ANNA CHANDI, M. A. (Hons.) wife of Mr. P. C. Chandi, B. A., B. L. Inspector of Police, Trivandrum, has passed the F. L. Examination with distinction. She is the first lady in Travancore State to pass the law examination.

At the recent Convocation of the Indian Women's University, Poona, nine girl-students received their degrees (G. A.). MISS BALUBHAI KHARE received the degree of P. A. for her thesis on "Alankaras".

PRINCESS IKKAVU THAMBURAN of the Cochin Royal Family passed the last B. A. (Hons.) examination of the Madras University.



Mrs. Kamala Bai Lakshman Rao

MRS. K. K. KURUVILLA B. A. (Hons.) has been nominated as a member of the Travancore Legislative Council and MRS. NARASINGHA RAO PURNIAH, Jagirdarini of Yelahanka, has been nominated as a member of the Bangalore District Board.

MRS. KAMALA BAI LAKSHMAN RAO has lately been appointed Honorary Magistrate Tinnevelly. She is the first Maharashtra lady to attain this distinction in South India.

SRIMATI RAGINI DEVI sends us the following account about the achievments of two Indian girl-students in America.

ANANDIBAI JOSHI of Bombay has completed Training in Social Welfare. ANANDIBAI JOSHI is the first Hindu girl to graduate from Vassar College, one of the oldest women's colleges in the United States. Affe

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graduating in 1927, she received a scholarship for graduate work in social welfare at Simmons College.

She has been living at Dennison House in Boston, Mass., a welfare centre, where she is able to get practical experience among wemen and children.

ANANDIBAI came to America from India to train herself for educational work in India. It was not her first visit to America. She had been here once before—but then she was too young to remember that occasion.

Her father, Professor S. L. Joshi, often teases her by recalling that really she was born in America and, had her mother not taken her back to India in infanthood, she most surely would have grown up to be an American lady. ANANDIBAI is very glad that she grew up to be a Hindu lady, for she dearly loves India.

Her name, and her ambition to serve India, go back nearly forty years before her existence, to an occasion when a certain Brahman lady in India had a great longing for a college education in America. Her name too was ANANDIBAI JOSHI but she was no relation to the ANANDIBAI JOSHI of our story.



Mrs. Narasinga Rao Purniah



Graduates of the Indian Women's University, Poona.
Miss Balubhai Khare sitting in the centre



Mrs. Anna Chandi, M. A., F. L.

The ANANDIBAI JOSHI of forty years ago was the first Brahman lady to come to America for an education in medicine. In 1902 there arrived in New York harbor a family from Bombay. S. L. Joshi had come to America with his wife and two sons in anticipation of an appointment to teach Indian languages to missionaries training for service in India. Unfortunately,

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the college where Mr. Joshi was to teach had undergone a change in management, and so he was left without a position and with very little money in his pocket. Mr. Joshi finally arranged for the care of his family and devoted his time to giving lectures on India. He then managed to enter Columbia University for graduate work.

After getting his A.M. degree, he went to an ocean resort for a rest, and there a strange girl came up to him and enquired if he were from India. He assured her he was—and she suggested that he must meet a Mrs. Carpenter, whose address she gave him.

He wrote immediately to Mrs. Carpenter, met her, and at her urgent request, removed his family to her home. There they remained for a long time, for good Mrs. Carpenter would not let them leave. Thus their financial difficulties were made easier.



Mrs. K. K. Kuruvilla, M. L. C.

Mr. Joshi's struggle had been a hard one. Had it not been for the financial aid of a fine-spirited American who sent him a monthly cheque, his financial straits would have brought disaster upon his family, and his education would have been impossible. It was Seth Low, the president of Columbia University, and former Mayor of New York City who made it possible for Mr. Joshi to remain in America.

Now generous Mrs. Carpenter took the whole family under her wing, and in her house, ANANDIBAI JOSHI the second was born. Because the new arrival was born in the very same room which the first ANANDIBAI had occupied, and in her memory, the new babe was named ANANDIBAI. Although ANANDIBAI went to India in infancy, she came back to America as a young woman to finish her education.

Her father had been appointed as Professor of English Literature at Baroda College to succeed Aurobinda Ghose. Then he returned to America in 1922 as exchange professor under the Carnegie Foundation—and later sent for ANANDIBAI and her brother to come to the United States for their college education.

Because of her charm, dignity and amiable disposition, ANANDIBAI has become to her classmates a symbol of Hindu womanhood loved and respected by all of them.

When she left Vassar they raised a purse of 500 rupees for training a girl in Bombay for social welfare work. She will make a brief tour of Europe and then go to Bombay where she will take up her work in October.

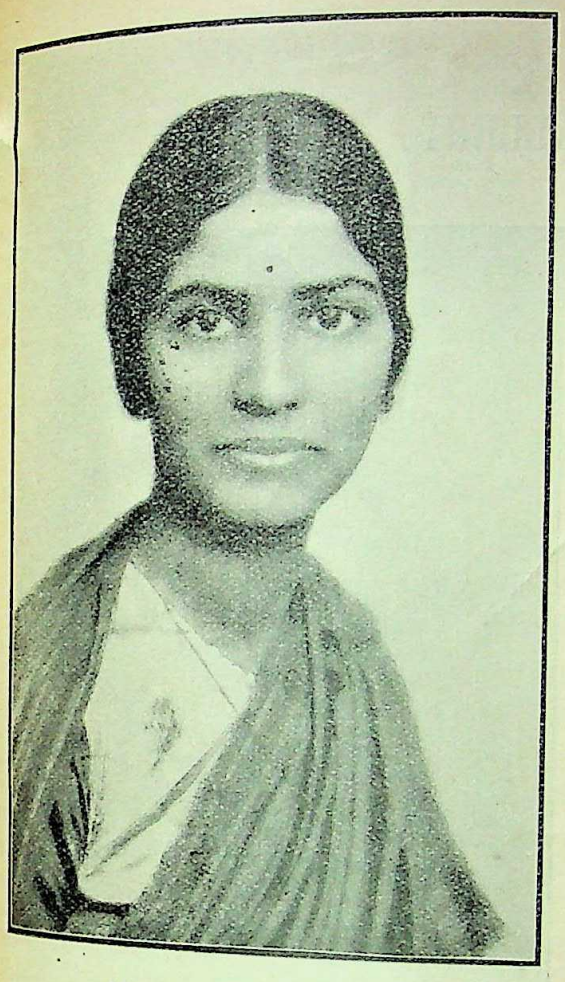
Her father, who is Professor of Comparative Religion and Hindu Philosophy at Dartmouth College, Hanover, New Hampshire, will leave her in Europe and return to the United States, where his teaching and lecturing tours demand his full attention. Professor Joshi's appointment to the Chair of Comparative Religion at Dartmouth College is unique in that Dartmouth is the first College in the United States to create a Chair for teaching world religions, and Professor Joshi's qualifications in this subject brought him to the notice of the College as the most eligible scholar in the subject.

MISS PRANUJJAM THAKOR, Graduate of Teachers' College of Columbia University, will take up Educational Work in India. MISS PRANUJJAM THAKOR of Ahmedabad, India received her B. S. degree from Teachers' College, Columbia University, some time ago, and will shortly get her M.A. in education.

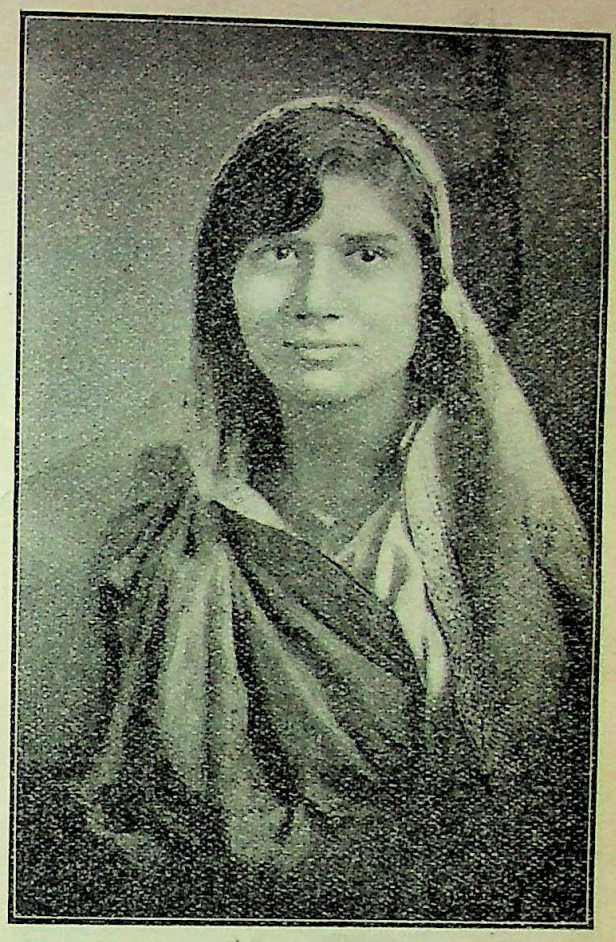
MISS THAKOR was educated in India, and then went to London in 1919. She took the Montessori training course for teachers under Dr. Montessori herself, from whom she got her diploma at the end of 1919. MISS THAKOR then joined the

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Miss Anandi Bai Joshi



Miss Pranujjam Thakor

University of London and there received her B.A. and certificate of Journalism. In June 1926, she left London to travel through Europe, visiting schools and studying teaching methods. She then came to America and joined Teachers' College of Columbia University in September of the same year, gaining the scholarship of the International Institute. By continuous hard work she has received her B.S. and will soon get her M.A. She plans to leave for India by the end of August, so that she may take up her work there without delay.

Miss Thakor is a very intelligent and clear-thinking young woman, intensely devoted to her motherland, and determined to do as much as she can to advance education in India. Miss Thakor is known as an outspoken defender of India at Columbia, where she has spoken on India on several occasions before her professors and classmates, reliably tracing the remarkable educational and political advancement of Hindu women in recent years.

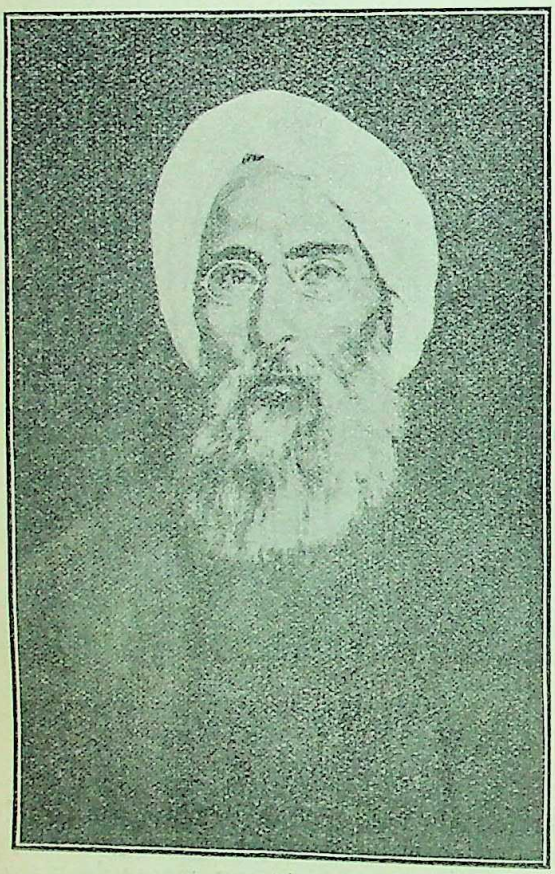
She does not by any means deny the great need for social and educational reforms in India. Her vision of just what can be done to advance education in India, has brought praise and appreciation from her professors. Miss Thakor has distinguished herself by fine scholarship and initiative in approaching educational problems, which has earned for her not only the goodwill of her professors, but also many voluntary letters of high recommendation.

Miss Thakor is very much interested in India's rural education and hopes to carry on her work in village areas, through village schools. The task of such pioneer young women of India will be much harder than that of their successors, for it is the pioneers that must break the ground, endure the hardships of organization and bear the burdensome responsibilities of the new order.

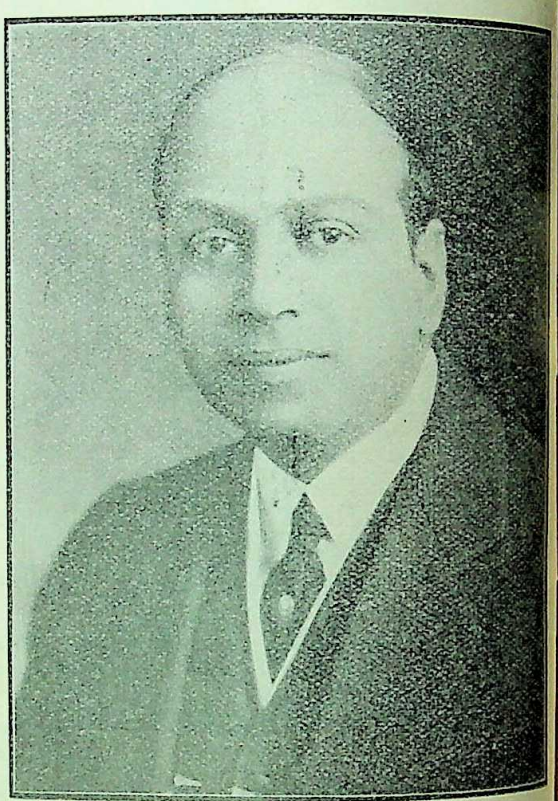
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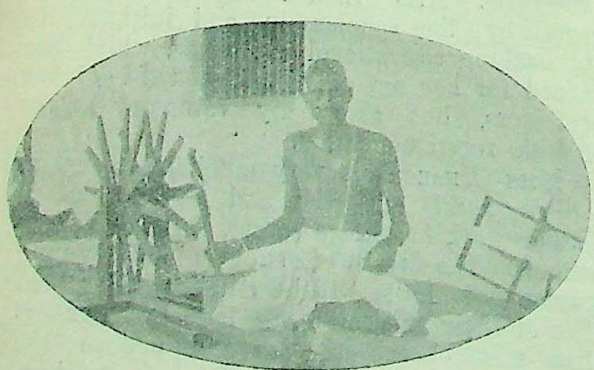
PORTRAIT GALLERY



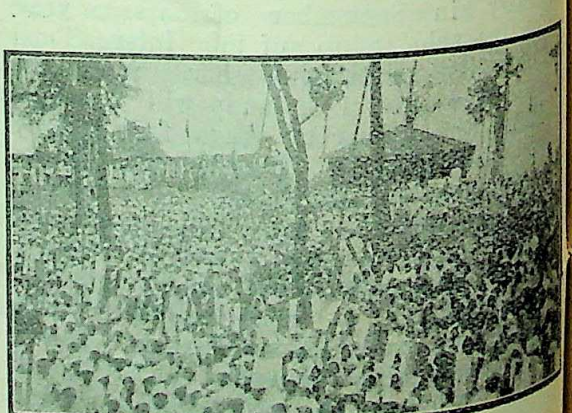
Late Dayaram Gidumal of Sind who was a Great Philanthropist and Sanskrit and Persian Scholar



Prof. J. J. Cornelius, Formerly Professor at the Lucknow University, was entertained at a Farewell Dinner, by the Hindustan Association of America in recognition of his excellent services in India's cause in the U. S. A.



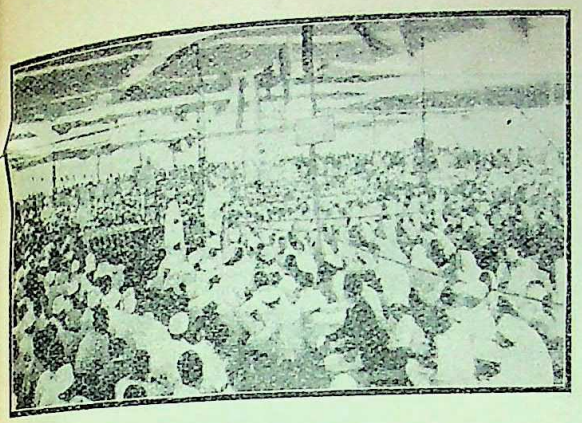
Sj Ravashankar, a Bardoli leader who has been sentenced to six months' rigours imprisonment participating in the Satyagraha movement.



Vallabhai Patel the leader of Bardoli Satyagraha campaign, addressing a meeting of Ryots.

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Sj Jairamdas Daulatram, the well-known Hindu leader of Sindh, addressing a gathering of Ryots at Gujerat.



NEWTON M. DUTT
Cenator of State Libraries. Baroda, is the first Indian to be elected as a fellow of the Library Association.



Mr. Lal Behari Shah, the Founder-Superintendent of the Calcutta Blind School, died recently at the age of 75



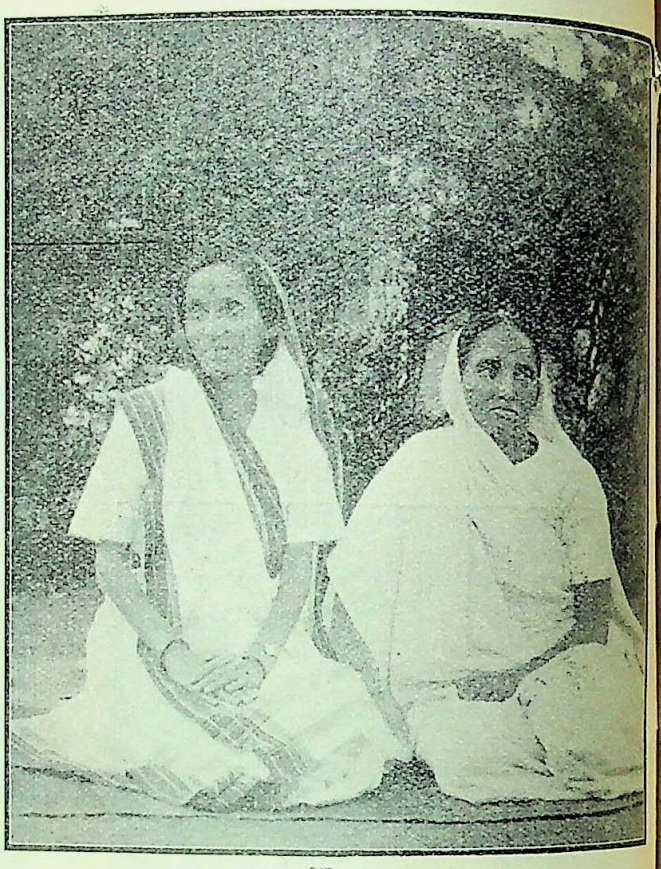
Mr. Sarbani Sahay Guha Sircar, a distinguished graduate of the Calcutta University, has received the D. Sc. degree of the London University for his research work in organic chemistry.

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Lt. Dwijendranath Mukherjee who, has been appointed as an Engineer Sub-Lieutenant, Royal Indian Marine, is the first Indian to get a commission in the Royal Navy.



Srimati Mithuben Petit, daughter of a Bombay Parsee millionaire and Srimati Bhaktibai Desai who have joined the holy struggle which their heroic sisters at Bardoli have been carrying on.

CAREERS FOR CARROTS

[Sir J. C. Bose F.R.S., the eminent Indian *savant*, long known for his remarkable and sensational researches into plant life, observes, in his new book *Plant Autographs*, that, while "as regards sensitiveness in ordinary plants we can not imagine anything more stolid and undemonstrative than a carrot, it is a revelation to find how excitable it is and how vigorous and uniform are its successive responses."]

The carrot long has languished as a servile synonym
For stolid impassivity, for sloth of mind or limb
And crude associations, prejudicial and unfair,
Have linked it with an unbecoming tint of human hair.
And yet the carrot, as revealed by the research of Bose,
Is neither undemonstrative in manner nor morose,
But on the contrary, a most vivacious little cuss
And readily responsive to electric stimulus.
The B. B. C., it seems to me, now that these facts are known,
Are simply bound to send them round the world by microphone.

And add, as special features of the nightly "Children's Hour"
"Talks" with good Uncle Salsify or Aunty Cauliflower.

And yet, O Bose, the vista your researches open out
Fills me with grave misgivings and with dietetic doubt;
For the hungry vegetarian, in the light of modern lore,
Can hardly be distinguished from the savage carnivore.

What fare is left on which humane consumers may subsist
When flesh, fowl, fish, when roots and fruits are banished from the list?
And when at any moment the tidings may arrive
That the minerals are sensitive, responsive and alive?

From "Punch"

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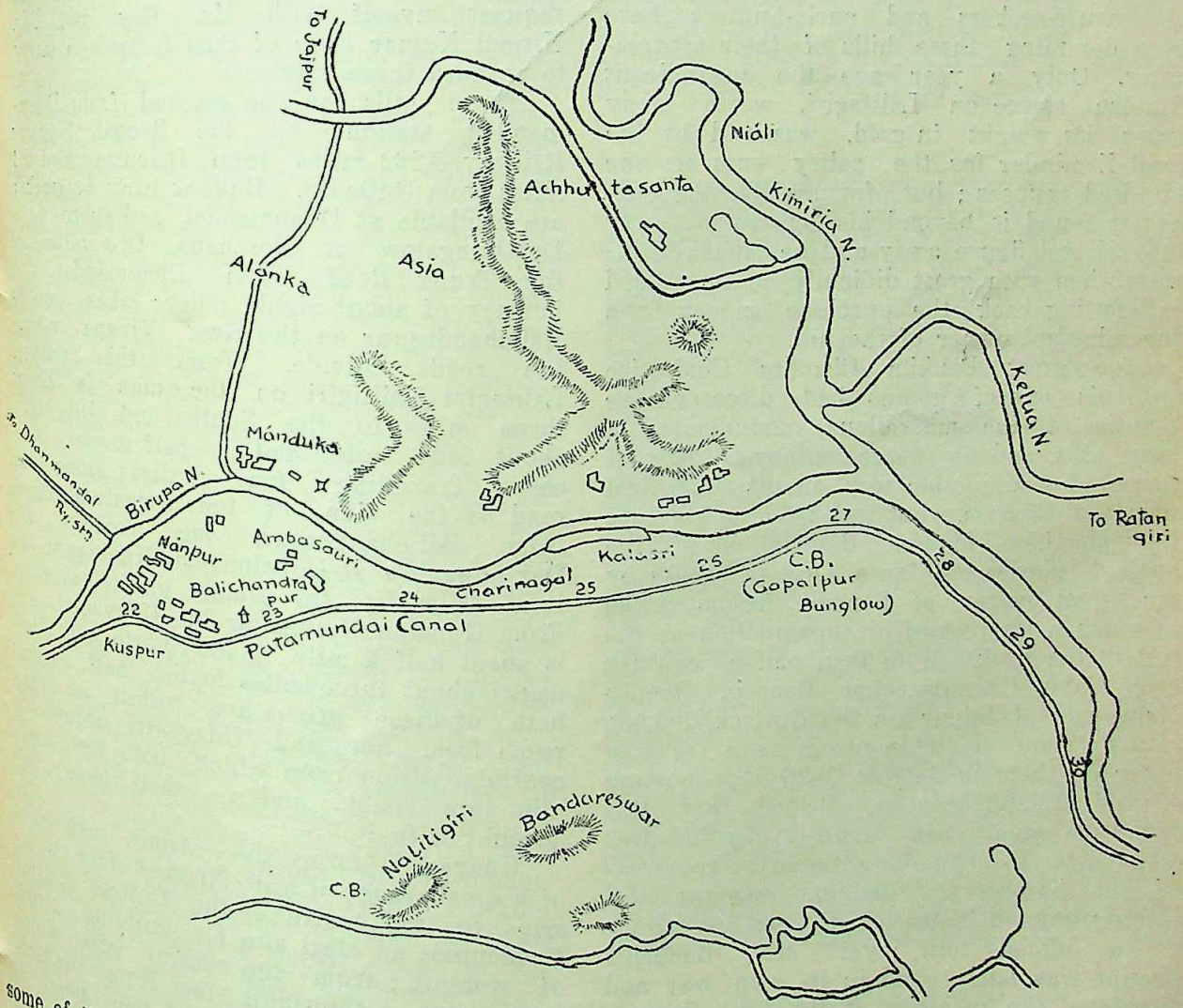
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A GREAT SITE OF MAHAYANA BUDDHISM IN ORISSA

By HARAN CHANDRA CHAKLADAR MA

Lecturer, Calcutta University

A group of three little known hills in the Cuttack district in Orissa—Lalitagiri, Udayagiri and Ratnagiri—have preserved magnificent monuments of Buddhist religion and art, ruins of stupas, shrines and sculptures that can very well vie, not only in their size and number, but also in artistic beauty and grandeur with those at any other site in India. The marvellous sculptures on these hills that deserve to be recognised as



some of the finest art-treasures of India have remained scattered in obscure and neglected ruins never adequately described or illustrated. On Lalitagiri there is a colossal statue of Buddha that in the expression of divine grandeur on its face has but few rivals even in India. On Udayagiri again there is a colossal Buddha that in the dignity of its pose, in its lion-like body broad at the shoulders, deep in the chest and slim at the waist, bears comparison with any other representation of the Great Master of the same

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size and dimensions. On Ratnagiri there are images of Tara that can claim in their ineffably sweet and gracious expression of the face an equality with the best of the kind known to us. On the same hill there are remnants of colossal figures of Buddha—huge heads rising about four feet from the shoulder to the top of the *urna*; the statues when in full height were perhaps not exceeded in stature anywhere outside of Ceylon. Bodhisattva images executed in the best style of Nalanda abound on all the three hills and votive stupas are as plentiful as at Mahabodhi.

The ravages of time and the depredations of treasure-seekers and curio-hunters have been denuding these hills of their art-treasures. Only a year ago the magnificent Buddha statue on Lalitagiri, worth many times its weight in gold, was sold by the local Zemindar for the paltry sum of one hundred rupees; but fortunately the purchaser found it beyond his means to carry the colossal figure away and he thanked his stars when with great difficulty he succeeded in getting back the purchase money from the reluctant owner of the hill.

The great Bankim Chandra Chatterjee with his eye of genius had discerned the beauties of the marvellous monuments on these hills, and he speaks enthusiastically of them in his inimitable way in his historical novel of Sitaram, but its readers perhaps thought these eloquent descriptions of the ancient glories on these Orissan rocks by the great master of Bengali fiction to be as much a product of his imagination as the rest of the book. More than half a century ago, Babu Chandrasekhar Banerji, Deputy Magistrate of Jajpur in the Cuttack district, visited some of these places and read a paper on them in August, 1870 at a meeting of the Asiatic Society, Bengal. But this executive officer, 'had scarcely any leisure,' as he says, 'to devote to antiquarian researches' and he observes that his account was nothing beyond 'notes taken from his diary of an official tour,; yet Mr. Banerji's account was fairly good in its own way and stimulated the curiosity of Mr. John Beames, Magistrate of Cuttack, who in the course of his official duties paid a visit to these hills five years later and published an account in the Journal of the Asiatic Society, Bengal, in 1875, giving facsimiles of his own drawings of the colossal statue of Buddha on Udayagiri, of a Bodhisattva on Lalitagiri, and besides, of a gateway on the former and the remains of a temple on the latter. These sketches by Beames did not do any justice to these great objects of Orissan art, and it is hardly to be wondered at that they excited little admiration and failed to attract the serious attention of scholars or lovers of art. Reproductions of Beames' drawings by Raja Rajendralal Mitra in his Antiquities of Orissa (Vol. II) did hardly improve matters. How much we wish that the Raja had been sufficiently stimulated to visit these hills himself! Mr. Birendra Nath Ray, Secretary, Orissa Historical Association, visited these places last year (October 1927), and at his request myself with Mr. Roy and Mr. Nirmal Kumar Bose of Puri formed a party to explore these sites.

These hills can be reached from Dhanmandal station on the Bengal Nagpur Railway (232 miles from Calcutta and 22 miles from Cuttack). Bullock carts or *palkis* are available at Dhanmandal and there is a Dak-bungalow at Borchana, two miles by the Trunk Road from Dhanmandal. A journey of about eight miles takes one to Balichandrapur on the river Virupa where the roads divide. From this village, Lalitagiri Nalitigiri on the map is about three miles to the South and Udayagiri about four miles and a half towards the east. Travelling four miles along the road by the side of the irrigation canal from Balichandrapur, one reaches the Dak-bungalow at Gopalpur or Kharagpur as it is called by the people of the locality. From Gopalpur bungalow the Udayagiri hill is about half a mile to the north and Ratnagiri about three miles to the east, so that both of these places are within an easy reach from here and Udayagiri occupies a central position from which both the other hills are visible and we shall begin our account with it.

Udayagiri forms the eastern extremity of a small range of hills (marked *Asia* on the maps) in the centre of the Cuttack district. It occupies an ideal site for building places of worship: from the central peak which rises about a thousand feet from the surrounding plains, are sent out two spurs on the two sides of the hill, thus enclosing a horse-shoe shaped area, open in the east, but closed on the other three sides. Forming a moat, as it were, in front of this great semi-circle flowed the river Kalia only 200 yards from the foot of the hill, when fifty

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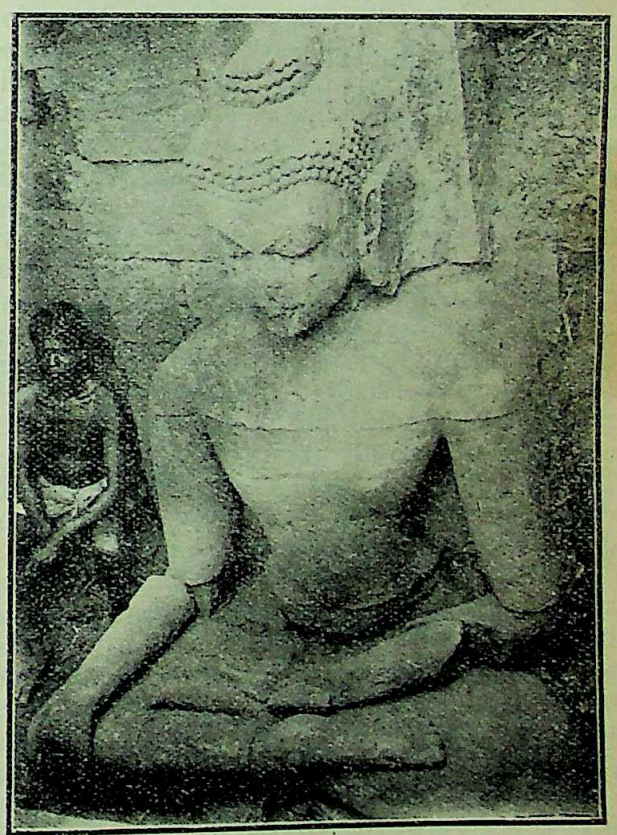
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years ago Mr. Chandrasekhar Banerji visited the place, and ran into the Virupa close by, but now it has been almost entirely silted up leaving swamps and marshes that still mark its bed.

As one stands at the base of the huge amphitheatre, facing the terrace above, the eye is caught by a large standing image of Bodhisattva Padmapani cut in high relief on a slab of laterite, now much weathered and covered with moss and lichen. The broken nose and arms take away from its beauty, but the grace and superb dignity of its pose are still remarkable. The well-known Buddhist formula *ye dharma hetu-prabhava* etc, is incised on the proper right side of the head, and a little below at the side of the broken right arm is another inscription telling us that the statue is the gift of Kesava Gupta (*Deyadharmoyam Kesava-guptasya*). From this spot for some distance we can trace a pavement of laterite rising up the slope and here Mr. Chandrasekhar Banerji found "the place spread with the ruins of ancient edifices, the ground plans of which might still be traced," but the ground plans are hardly visible now except at a few places and even parts of the laterite pavement have been removed, perhaps for erecting the sanctuary built recently by certain members of the *Mahimaniranjani* sect, evidently a remnant of the Buddhist people of old. It stands by the side of an ancient well which for its size and depth is almost unrivalled in this part of India. It is 23 feet square and is formed by cutting the laterite rock 28 feet from the top to the water-level to which a flight of 31 steps lead from the terrace sbove. The terrace is entered through a gate flanked by two monolithic pillars. The water of the well is still very good for drinking. On the laterite wall flanking the steps and also on the face of the arch above the lowest step is incised in letters of considerable size that the well (*vapi*) is a gift of Ranaka Sri Vajranaga (*Ranaka Sri Vajranagasya Vapi*). Nothing is known about the history of this Vajranaga, but he was evidently a local chief as his title Ranaka shows, and his proper name Vajranaga suggests that most probably he was a follower of the Vajrayana cult, a development of Mahayana Buddhism.

We next march up the hill along a path at present flanked on both sides by innumerable broken pieces of sculpture, the debris, of shrines and statues, of walls and stupas until we reach another platform where Mr. Banerji found that "numbers of gods and goddesses engraven on slabs of different shapes were scattered around." But these have now been removed except a group that have been lodged inside a temple recently constructed by the *Babaji* at present in charge of the Mahima-Niranjani *math* mentioned above, and that are worshipped by the Savara people living in the neighbourhood. Some of the gods have been daubed with vermillion, turmeric and lime beyond recognition and it would be sacrilege to remove this paint that lies thick over them.

A little way from this modern Temple we came upon the ruins of a shrine hidden in thick jungle and almost blocked up by brambles. Here in a cell measuring about 9 feet square we came upon a colossal seated



Colossal Buddha on Udayagiri

statue of Buddha buried up to the breast in earth, but the superb head and the broad shoulders standing well out of the mud. We employed a number of men to excavate the image fully out and took photographs. I

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appears to have been so buried when Mr. J. Beames drew a sketch of it in 1875.

It represents the Enlightened One seated in the *Bhumisparsa mudra* with the fingers of the right hand touching the earth and the left palm resting on the lap. The stone seat is not ornamented. It is about six feet high from the seat below to the head; the face itself measures 18 by 17 inches and the chest is 3 feet 6 inches broad. The whole figure appears to have been made up in several pieces cut out of bluish laterite; the joints are now visible, but they are reported to have been not perceptible in 1867 when Mr. Banerjee first visited it. The nose has been mutilated and the arms have got broken owing to the whole shrine with the image gradually sinking in the earth, and it is high time that proper care was taken to save this great souvenir of a glorious period of Indian art. The mud and dirt carried down into the cell by the rains will no doubt undo the clearing work done by us. The stone walls of the cell as well as the floor are lined with bricks of large size as found at Sarnath and it was apparently covered by a roof standing on pillars that Mr. Banerjee found standing at the door of the cell, but which now lie prostrate, broken and almost wholly buried in the earth blocking the entrance to the cell. There was a magnificent gateway made up of three rectangular blocks of stone richly sculptured as we find from the drawing of Beames who removed it from the site and now an ugly ditch marks the spot where it stood in front of the shrine. Both Mr. Banerji and Mr. Temple stopped here and could not carry their explorations further owing to the denseness of the jungle.

Going a little higher up the hill we meet with a standing Bodhisattva image on the back of which is incised a fairly large inscription of twenty-five lines containing the usual *ye dharma* formula and stating with many invocations on Tara, Padma-sambhava and other gods of the Mahayana pantheon that a *Tathagataadhishthita dhatugarbha stupa*, that is a stupa with a relic inside and dwelt in by the Tathagata or Buddha was set up on the spot. The ruins of a stupa are visible not far from the shrine of the colossal Buddha.

The ruins of one other stupa also are seen not far from this one; at one of its corners a Bodhisattva statue lies prostrate on the earth and to his left is observed an early form of the well-known Orissan decorative figure of what is called the Gajasimha—a man on a full-size lion standing on an elephant. At another corner of the same stupa there is an image of a Dhyani-Buddha in *Bhumisparsa-mudra*. Evidently there was an image at each of the other two corners of the stupa also. Perhaps they lie buried in the earth or have been removed.

The site of a third stupa in another part of the hill is marked by two Bodhisattva images on two sides, one of them sunk up to almost the neck in the earth and the other yet standing above it, but both of them covered by thick brambles. There was visible the site of yet a fourth stupa round which we found a trench, dug as we learnt, by the former Zeminder who removed several statues from there and other parts of the hill to his house at Kendrapada.

We also laid bare the pedestal of a Buddha statue in what is known as the *Ardhaparyanka-asana* by removing the earth in which it was sunk. On the pedestal are carved various figures and symbols. There must be many other images lying hidden in the dense jungle which must be removed in order that the whole hill might be explored. The jungle is not quite safe, as we found in one part of it the skeleton of a recently-killed cow which the local people told us, a tiger had made a feast of only two weeks before our visit to the hill.

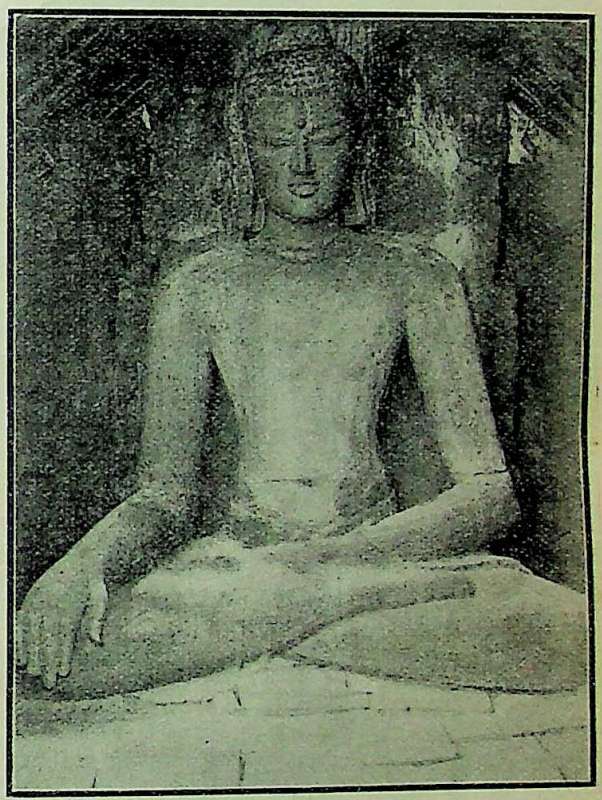
Ascending the hill still higher we found on the other side of the hill facing the west, on a ledge near the top overlooking the river Virupa and the plains above it, a group of five figures sculptured in relief on the living rock by the side of a cave and with a votive stupa standing in front. On the extreme left a large Bodhisattva image is cut in relief with the *ye dharma* formula inscribed on its immediate left and on its right the statement that it was a gift of one Simpaka or Simyaka (*Deyadharmoyam Simpakasya* or *Simyakasya*). To its right is a Dhyani-Buddha figure and next is cut in very low relief a representation of a stupa that is dimly perceptible. Beside it is a goddess and next comes again a Bodhisattva image followed by a god surrounded by fourteen figures. All these images have been painted with vermillion and in some cases a ridge has been formed on the forehead with, it seemed, a mixture of lime and vermillion so that it looks like the prominent supercilliary ridge of the Neanderthal man of the pake-

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ontologists. I was removing some of these excrescences when the Oriya cooly who accompanied us protested against the sacrilege, so that I had to desist. The face of the highly interesting image surrounded by a group of gods that we have referred to above is entirely hidden from view. The images however, are not at present worshipped by the Hindus of the locality who are apathetic towards them, but by the aboriginal Savaras who have given fanciful names to almost all the images on the hill and connected them with their own legends. This would be an interesting study by itself, but it would be out of place here.

Seven miles from Udayagiri is Lalitagiri, in local parlance called Nalitigiri which name it bears on the survey maps. Here is a large number of finely executed Bodhisattva images and other gods and goddesses, but the most commanding figure is the magnificent colossal statue of seated Buddha we have already referred to. It measures 6 feet 3 inches from the waist to the top of the *urna* on the top of the head, the breadth across the shoulders being 3 feet 3 inches and the breadth across the knees 5 feet 5½ inches. The height of the head from the shoulder to the top of the *urna* is 2 feet 2 inches. Not withstanding this great size, the limbs show beautiful proportions and the face as we have already said, is shining with divine splendour and beauty. Like the Udayagiri Buddha, this one also shows the *Bhumisparsa-mudra*. On this hill also the monks of the Mahima-Niranjani sect have established their monastery and they have done some good work by building a shade over the Buddha statue and protecting many other images of Bodhisattvas and other deities by placing them in niches in the walls of a temple that they have recently constructed out of the old materials that lie scattered on the hill. The door with its beautifully carved jambs have fine panels at the base and the whole has been bodily transferred from the ruins of an old shrine. It will be observed in the photographs of some of the images that they stand under Saracenic arches ; these are quite modern and have nothing to do with the old temples beyond the fact that the stones are taken from them. The Bodhisattva figures on this hill have a soft beauty which distinguishes them from those on Udayagiri where all the images including the colossal Buddha are characterised by an austere grandeur and sublimity as compared with the former. We find here an image of Kuvera the god of wealth, sitting with his foot on jars of gold. Of another Buddha statue only the feet remain with the pedestal which is decorated with a very beautifully carved lotus scroll. A little below the terrace where stands the colossal Buddha statue, there is a temple which also is built on the ruins of an older shrine and is reported to contain the goddess Basuli. Several large Bodhisattva images lie seattered about this temple. We observed some smaller



Colossal Buddha on Lalitagiri

images in the village lower down the hill, near a temple of Siva. Votive stupas, we found, are being used everywhere in the village as *Tulasi-manchas*. Some of the images have the formula *Ye Dharma* etc, engraved on them in the same character as in the inscriptions on the Udayagiri hill.

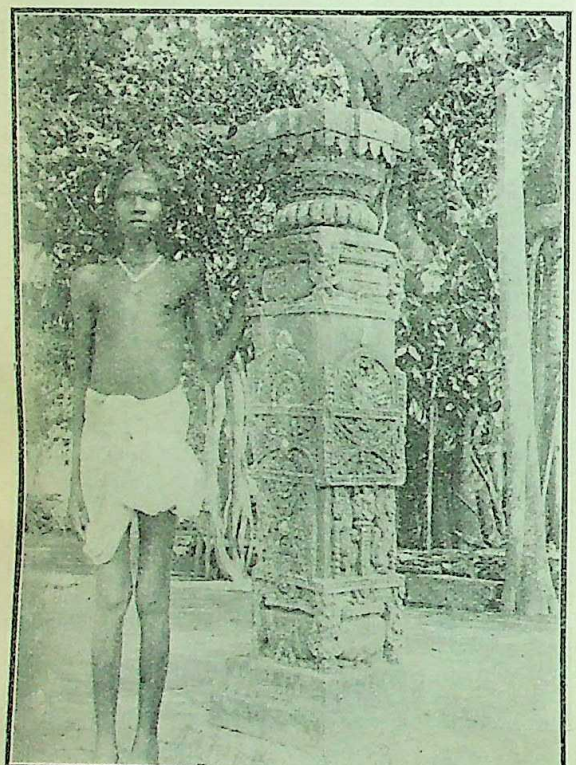
One noticeable feature about Lalitagiri is that the images appear to have been mostly carved out of the local stone--the Atgarh sandstone as it is called by the Indian geologists, and there are quarries on the hills worked even at the present day. Moreover, there are about fifty families of,

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stone masons still living in the village, on the southern slope of the hill and we learnt that some of them in recent times were looked upon as of the first rank among the temple-builders of Orissa, and they have among them many works on the *Silpasastra* relating to the building of temples. But many of these stone masons do not find sufficient work at present to earn a living wage as respectable artisans and are fast degenerating into mere drudges whose services are utilised in metalling roads.

Before leaving this hill I should mention that we found on it a railing pillar-piece with one full central socket and two half-sockets, one at each end and besides, we discovered a headless image possessing characteristic Jaina features.



A Pillar on Lalitagiri

Coming to Ratnagiri, the most prominent objects here are the exquisitively charming images of the goddess Tara and the huge heads that must have belonged to colossal statues of Buddha that had no rivals on the other two hills. One of these heads measured above 46 inches from the shoulder to the top of the *urna* and 29 inches from the chin to the base of the hair-knots. The circumference round the forehead from ear to ear measured about 70 inches, leaving the back of the head which is not carved. There is a slightly larger head executed in a better style used in making up a step on the side of the hill. It should be rescued from this position and properly protected. Heads, a little smaller than these two, were also seen lying near an old temple which here still stands erect and contains an image that is even now worshipped as Mahakala. A Brahmin family that claim to have come from Bengal and settled here are entrusted with the worship of the deity.



Tara on Ratnagiri

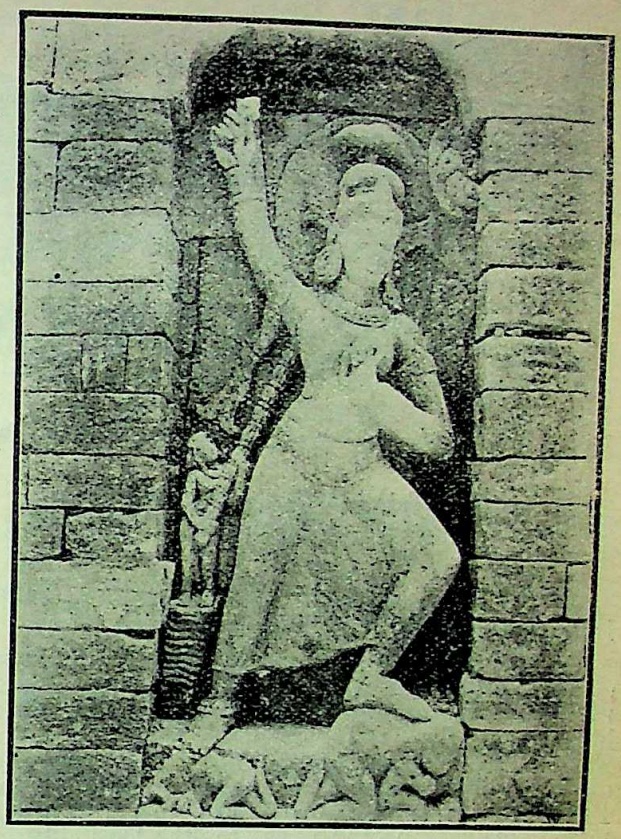
A remarkable figure on this hill is an image of the goddess Tara round which on three sides are represented in separate panels various perils under which a worshipper would seek the protection of the goddess. There is another image of the goddess in the same style though a little inferior to it in the perfection of its tech-

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Bhairava on Ratnagiri



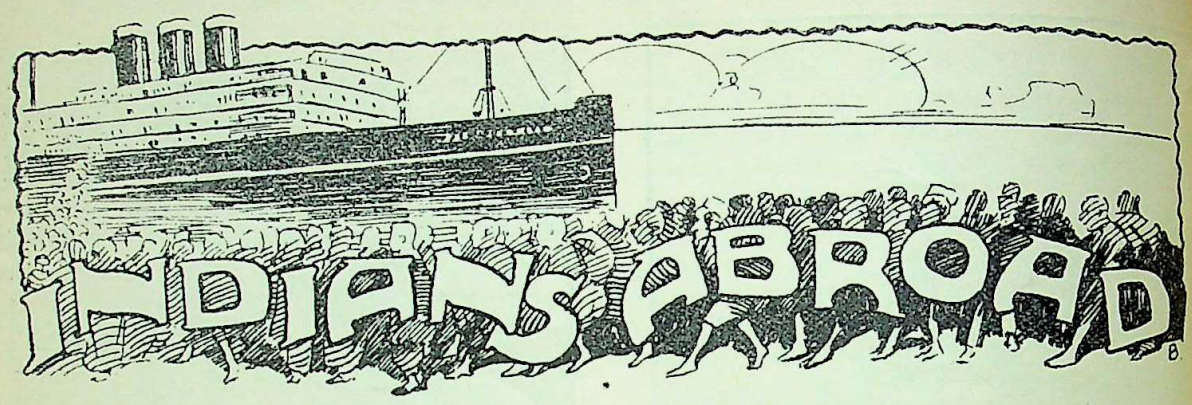
Goddess on Lalitagiri

nique. But the former image is a perfect work of art. Here also there are some Bodhisattva images executed in a good style; some of them are lying in ditches and unless recovered soon are in danger of being destroyed. An excellent statue of Tara has only recently lost its head as the freshness of the scar on the neck, showed, and the finely modelled torso that now remains speaks of its great artistic value. There is a dancing Bhairava that seems to be the prototype of the Nataraja and a very beautiful Buddha with a crown on the head. Innumerable votive stupas lie seattered about on the top of the ridge and many have been utilised for planting the sacred *Tulasi* in the village now standing on the slope of the hill. There are many other statues of gods and goddesses, some of them still standing whole, but many in various stages of destruction. Besides, valuable images have, we were told, been recently sold away by the local Zemindar.

On all these hills or round about them, there must be now many ancient works of art, buried in the earth, or hidden in the jungle, and they may rival, or even surpass those that have been described above. They loudly call upon us of the present generation to bring them out of their obscurity and give them the place which they so rightly deserve. Those that are above the earth at present, are in danger of being lost, of being transferred to foreign countries or private residences. The Archaeological department must therefore, without the loss of time, take up the work of thoroughly exploring these hills that form one of the major sites of Buddhist art in India and of protecting these great monuments which not only Orissa, but the whole of India will take pride in when it knows them.

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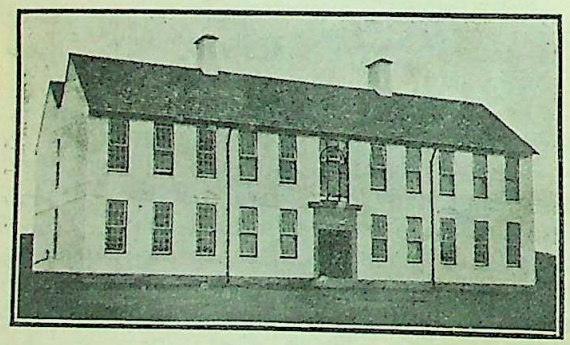


BANARSIDAS CHATURVEDI

South African Native College At Fort Hare

Mr. V. S. C. Pather—Vice President, Natal Indian Congress, Writes:—

One of the advantages of the Capetown Agreement is that the Union Government has agreed to consider the question of improving facilities for higher Education for Indian students at Fort Hare. This has brought a storm of protest from the die-hards of the Indian Community in South Africa. But curiously enough such protests have created a mixed feeling in India as to the feasibility or



Stewart Hall for Hare College

otherwise of this scheme. The institution is about 80 miles from Port Elizabeth and the nearest Railway Station, Alice, is about two miles from Fort Hare. As one who recently visited the College and made a careful study of the proposition, I can say that the situation of the institution cannot be surpassed. The main Hall, hostels and other buildings which have been recently erected are well planned and scrupulously clean. As the College is established primarily for the benefit of the Native Races of South Africa the food and other arrangements are made to suit their requirements, and in view of the narrow circumstances of the Africans, just the bare necessaries of life are provided. The following is a week's dieting for the students and it will give the reader an idea of the food provided by the institution:—

Breakfast:
All days.
Mealie meal porridge with sugar.
Brown Bread (8 oz')
Tea.
Midday Meal: *Monday, Wednesday. Friday*:
Beans, samp or maize or rice (White).
Gravy with vegetables when possible.
Amasi (sour milk) ¾ pint per head.
Tuesday and Thursday:
Mutton (½ lb. per head), samp, rice, potatoes gravy.
Saturday and Sunday:
Beef, samp, rice, beans.
Supper:
Bread (8 oz.) with fat instead of butter.
Jam, twice monthly.
When possible, fruit occasionally in season.

Both the Principal and the Warden are prepared to meet the wishes of the Indian Students as regards their food provided a sufficient number of them join the institution. In fact they have asked us to send them a bag of rice and some Indian recepies so that they may give it a trial. The main objection of our friends is not directed against the Institution or its food and dormitory arrangements, but against co-education with the Native. They further maintain that because the Native is not treated by the authorities as he ought to be, co-education with him means simply subjecting the Indian to all the indignities to which the Native is put to.

In the matter of Education, the Native of South Africa is placed far above the level of the Indian and Fort Hare which is subject to the provisions of the Higher Education Act of 1923 could be compared favourably with any other European institution of the kind in South Africa.

Indians of respectable parentage in the Union have already made use of it and many of them have done well. Some of them have taken their degrees there and others, having taken their part courses there, have proceeded to England to complete their studies. None of these students have suffered any loss of dignity but on the contrary those who have gone through a course of training at Fort Hare, speak in the highest terms of the facilities and tuition given there. They have a very good

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regard for the institution and would resent anything being said against this educational centre."

Indian Education and Arya Samaj in Fiji

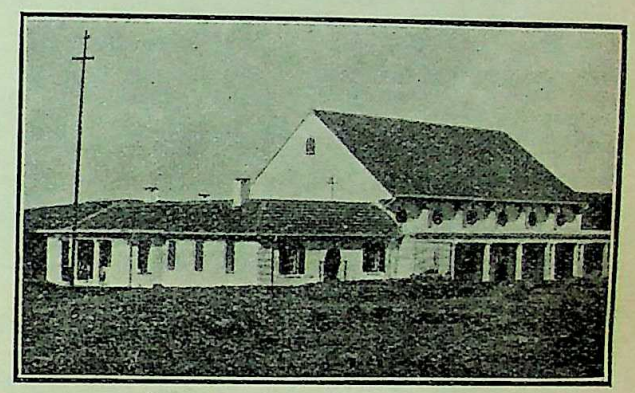
Shriyut Amichand Vidyalankar, teacher Gurukula Nasova, Fiji Islands writes in one of his articles :—

"There is a general want of education among our people here in Fiji Islands. The Fijians are much better placed in this respect. They have their schools in almost every village and more than 75 per cent of them are literate. The reasons of illiteracy in the Indian population are not difficult to find. It was only eight years ago that the Indians were freed from indenture slavery, which had a considerable demoralising effect upon their life and character. Fortunately things are changing now and it is a change for the better. It is remarkable that the Indian population of Fiji possesses general knowledge of Hindi. Madrasis and Punjabis, Hindus and Muslims, love Hindi and it has become their common language in Fiji. In the Indian schools it is a compulsory subject. There is only one Government school for Indians in Fiji, the rest are aided or private institutions. The Government school contains 70 students and it is doing its work satisfactorily. Andrews' school at Nadi is making rapid progress under the able guidance of Dr. Devsagayam and Mr. Dukh Haran. Good educational work is being done by the Mahasangam of Mr. Naidu. The schools conducted by this Sangam have an arrangement for teaching Hindi also.

I must mention here with gratitude the educational work done by the Christian Missionaries. It was they who opened schools for Indian boys when there was no arrangement for it. Most of our educated people of the present day were educated in these mission schools. These schools are still continuing their useful work and it is to be hoped that they will play an important part in the great educational work lying before us.

It is a happy sign of the times that the problem of education is receiving considerable attention in Fiji. Indians in Fiji are now determined to educate their children and they are prepared to spend money for it. Bashishtha Muni—a Sadhu—started several schools here. They are being conducted satisfactorily and new schools are being opened.

The work done by the Arya Samaj for the education of Indian children in Fiji deserves every praise at the hands of those who are sincerely desirous to see our people in these islands educated. The Arya Samaj is conducting many schools, the Gurukula at Nasova being important among them. Mr. Gopendra Narayan, who has now returned to India, worked for this institution for nearly three years and under his able guidence the Gurukula made considerable progress. He was also able to persuade some Fiji people to send their children to India for education. About fifty boys and girls have already gone from these islands to India for this purpose. A Gurukula for the girls is also to be opened at Suva and Shrimati



Fort Hare College The Dining Ha

Dayavati, wife of Thakur Sardar Singh, has agreed to conduct it.

"The Gurukula at Nasova has 127 boys on its roll and there are twenty-one Fijian boys also receiving education along with the Indians. In fact, one of the Fijian boys was anxious to proceed to India for education but the Fiji Government did not give him the required permission. Physical culture is not neglected and there are two foot-ball teams one consisting of the Indian boys and the other of the Fijians. Every effort is being made to teach the boys self-reliance and self-control. There are only two servants for kitchen work etc, while most of the other work is being done by the boys themselves."

We must congratulate the Aryasamajists of Fiji for the useful work that they have been doing for the education of Indian children in Fiji and we hope there will be perfect co-operation and a healthy spirit of comradeship between different societies working for this cause in those Islands.

At a time when some of our countrymen in South Africa consider it below their

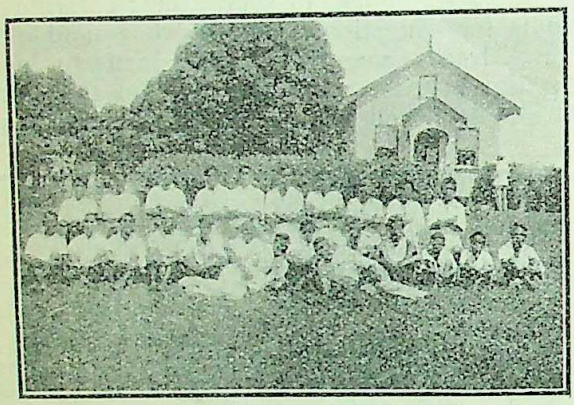
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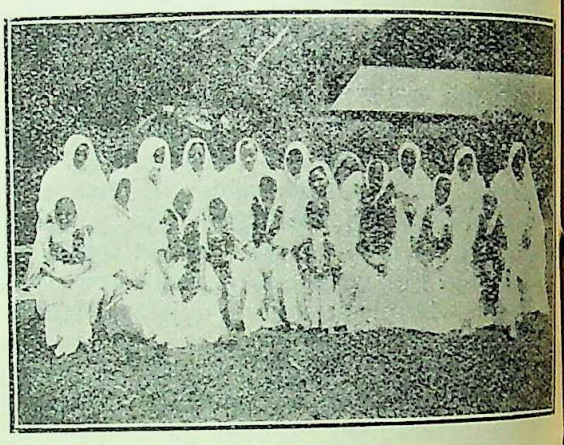
dignity to get their children educated at Fort Hare College—an institution for the Africans—it is really inspiring to learn that as many as twenty one Fijian boys are being educated at the Aryasamaj Gurukula in Fiji. We must stand for international fellowship and they are really the greatest enemies of Indians abroad who advocate any colour prejudice against the native races of the colonies.

Racial Segregation in Mombasa

The abandonement of racial segregation was perhaps the only redeeming feature of the White Paper of 1923, which betrayed Indian interests in Kenya in many ways. Now the decision of the Kenya Government to sell by auction certain plots of land in Mombasa town and to restrict the right of purchase and occupation to Europeans only



Foot-ball teams of Indian and Fijian boys



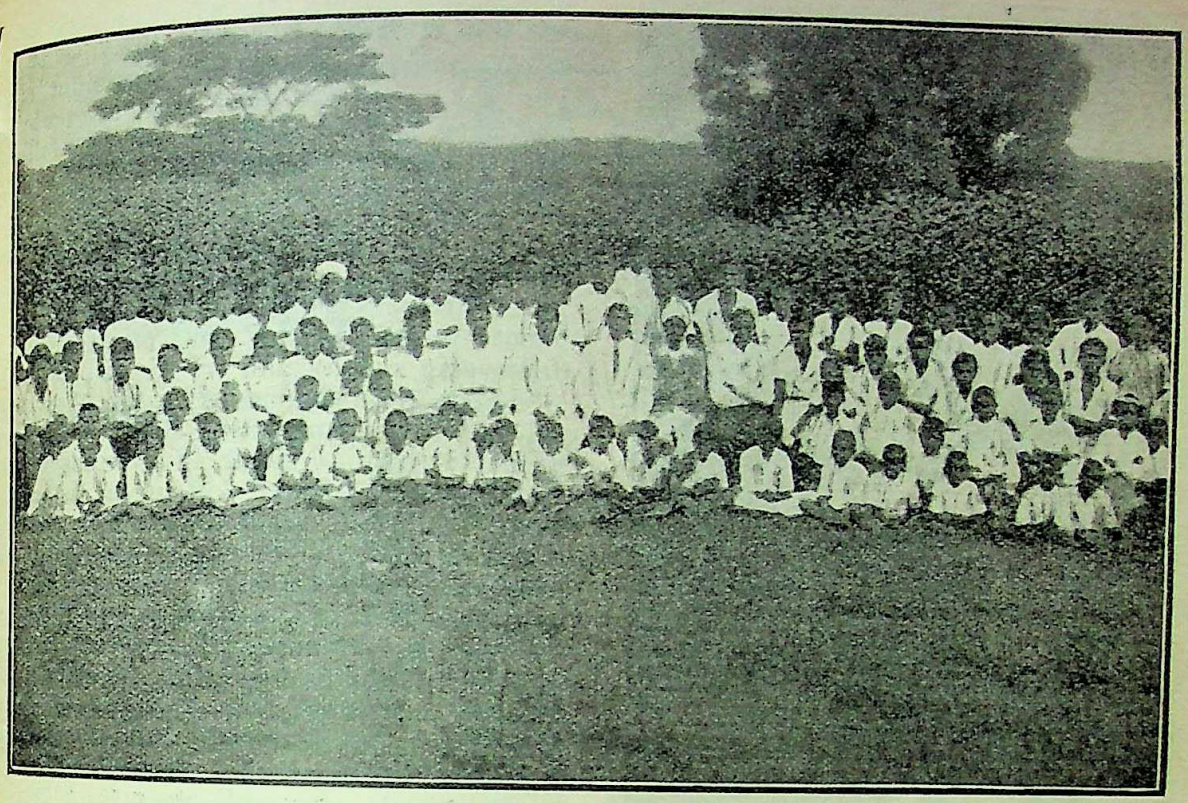
Farewell to the girls going to India for education



Gurukula boys doing agricultural Work

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Boys and teachers of Gurukula at Nasova (Fiji)

means that the Kenya Government is following a policy of racial segregation in complete disregard of even the White Paper of 1923. It is to be noted that the ex-enemy aliens of European descent are entitled to purchase and occupy these plots while we Indian subjects of His Majesty cannot do so! This is how we are treated in the British Empire.

Communalism in Colonies

We have been delighted to read the following views of our contemporary, the Indian of Singapore, on the question of communal representation in the councils:—

We deplore very much the attempt on the part of the High Commissioner in importing religious issues into a purely political question. The canker of religious communalism has played its havoc across the Bay and though there are to-day welcome signs of a *rapprochement* between the two biggest communities in India, the ravages, the ghastly legacy of an incidious policy, wrought by the demon of religious communalism cannot be easily forgotten. On the other hand, they should afford a lesson to Indian overseas. In our attempts to build a community we should place the ideal, the grand ideal of a united Indian nationality before us. We are glad to observe that as far as possible this ideal has always been kept up by our countrymen in these parts. The community, therefore, ought to resist, with all the power at their command, any attempt from outside to break that ideal. To those Hindus, who might have viewed His Excellency's pronouncement with feelings of joy, and we do not deny the existence of such narrow and, in some cases, fanatically-minded Hindus, we say: Do not take advantage of the fact that your co-religionists form the majority of the Indian community. You are Indians *first* and Hindus *afterwards*."

The wholesome advice given to the Hindus of the F. M. S. may well be followed by our countrymen in other colonies also.

Mehta Jaimini in Fiji

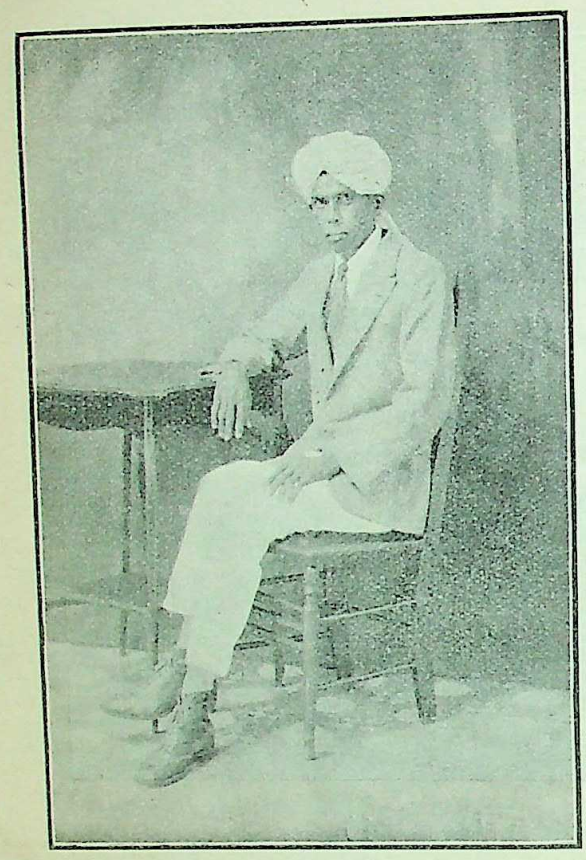
The Fiji Times and Herald makes the following comment on one of the lectures of Mehta Jaimini, Vedic missionary, who has gone to Fiji Islands on a lecture tour:—

The lecturer appears to be well-informed, having up-to-date knowledge of modern discoveries and has a wonderful memory. The method of delivering and handing the subject was interesting and attractive. Fiji no doubt longed to hear such learned lectures full of solid material free from sectarianism and communal feelings.

"The lecturer in comparing the Philosophy of three important religions did not attack any religion or hurt the feelings of any community. He explained the dogmas of other religions, comparing them with Vedic creed and dogmas, in a

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Syt. Ram Narayan, Secretary, Arya Pratinidhi Sabha, Fiji

philosophical manner. On the whole, the lecture was very interesting successful and to the point."

We congratulate Mehata Jaimini for adopting the right way of religious preaching and hope that his example will be followed by his co-religionists in the colonies.

Need of an Overseas Information Bureau in India

The number of educated Indians anxious to emigrate to colonies in search of employment in educational and social fields is increasing rapidly and we receive a number of letters from them every week. They want all sorts of information about the colonies and it is very difficult to give them expert guidance in these matters. It is a work which requires organisation and must not be done individually in a haphazard way. Educated Indians who go to the colonies will some day become the leaders of our compatriots abroad and it is necessary to be careful in their selection. An undesirable man of no principles may do a lot of mischief there and may ruin the work of many years in a few months only. Will our national organisations give some time to this important problem? The work of creation of Greater India can and should continue simultaneously with our work for the liberation of India.

TWO QUEENS

(Translated from the Bengali of Rabindranath Tagore)

By NAGENDRANATH GUPTA

Out of creation's churned cosmic sea
Rose two queenly forms from the couch of the deep:
One, Urvasi the fair, the queen
Of the world's kingdom of desire,
The dancer in heaven;
The other, Lakshmi, the giver of good,
The mother of the universe,
The queen of heaven.

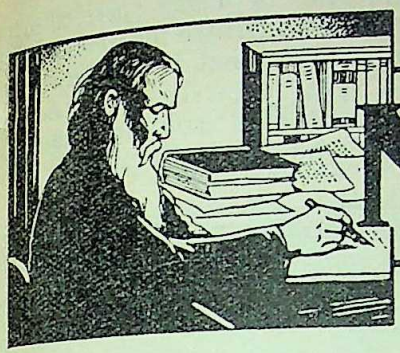
One breaks the saint's meditation
And, filling with wild laughter's fiery wine
The cup of March, steals
The heart and soul
And scatters them with both hands
In the flowered delirium of the spring,
In the red passion of the poppy and the rose
In the song of sleepless youth.

The other brings them back in the dewy bath of tears,
In gentle thoughts;
In the fullness of autumn's golden fruitful peace;
In the cool draught of the blessings of the world.

Brings them back in the calm, nectar-sweet Smile of beauty;
Gently she brings them back to the temple of the Infinite,
At the holy confluence of the streams
Of Life and Death.

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NOTES

Is India Growing Richer or Poorer?

Mr. C. N. Vakil writes in *Young India* that "the answer to the question whether India is richer or poorer to-day than she was, say 25 years or a longer period ago, involves statistical investigations of an extremely complicated nature. The Indian Economic Enquiry Committee, presided over by Sir M. Visveswaraya, recently reported about the inadequacy of the material for an accurate conclusion on the subject even for recent years. They have suggested elaborate changes for overhauling the machinery of collecting statistical data which would be useful for such and allied purposes. But these recommendations have been shelved".

Inspite of the inadequacy of requisite materials, estimates have been made from time to time of the average annual income of Indians per head. These estimates must be taken with great caution, because, says Mr. Vakil, in addition to the inadequacy of the statistical data on which they are based, the method employed in each case is different. These estimates are given below.

Year	Average income per head in British India	Author
1871	Rs 20	Dadabhai Naoroji
1881	,, 27	Sir David Barbour
1901	,, 30	Lord Curzon
1911	,, 50	Mr. Findlay Shirras
1921	,, 74	Mr. K. J. Khambatta

Mr. Vakil's comments on this table are as follows:—

The increase in the per head income as seen in this table is, however, not real. What we want is to ascertain the growth, if any, in the real wealth of the people, as measured in consumable commodities. In order to convert the nominal money income into real income, we must have resort to the index numbers of the general price level in the country during these years, which will tell us the purchasing power of the rupee at each of these different dates and thus enable us to make a proper comparison of these figures. The index numbers of prices in India are given in the following table along with the average income:

Year	Per head income Rs.	Index Nos of prices
1871	20	93
1881	27	100
1891	not known	110
1901	30	120
1911	50	140
1921	74	378 (1920)

We know that prices have fallen in India since 1921 and the index number for a recent year, say 1927, would therefore be smaller. But the per head income would also be smaller in almost the same proportion, because it measures the production of all goods in the country in terms of money by means of current prices. The only difference will be that due to a material increase or decrease in the volume of production in recent years as against that in 1921. But we can safely ignore the difference and say that the tendency shown in the above figures is generally true to-day.

The estimate for 1881 was the first made officially and if we therefore take it as the basis of comparison, we shall be erring on the safe side. On the basis we find that the money income increases from Rs. 27 in 1881 to Rs. 74 in 1921 or in the proportion of 100 to 274. During the same period rupee prices have increased from 100 to 378. This means that in order to have the same real income in 1921 as in 1881 we must have Rs. 378 in 1921 as against Rs. 100 in 1881. We find, however, that we have only Rs. 274 in 1921 as against the required sum of Rs. 378, which shows that the average Indian is poorer to-day to the extent of 1 - 274/378 or nearly 2/7, or we are poorer to-day than 40 or 50 years ago.

—

"The Alleged Land-grabbing Propensities of the European Powers"

The Bengal Administration Report for 1926-1927 has the following on Babu Sarat Chandra Chatterjee:

The most popular novelist, Babu Sarat Chandra Chatterjee, found a new vent for his morbid sentimentalism in a bitterly virulent attack on the alleged land-grabbing propensities of the European powers and the suspected political aims of the various Christian Missions in Asia.

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That "alleged" is exquisite!

Perhaps the writer of the Report suspected that Great Britain might be included among the European powers. But who does not know that the inhabitants of that island have never been guilty in their history of land-grabbing?

In the year 1866 Messrs. William Blackwood and Sons of Edinburgh and London published a book entitled "The Company and the Crown" by the Hon'ble T. J. Hovell-Thurlow. This author was not a Little Englander. For he wrote in his book with reference to the Punjab:

> Such a country, so inhabited, surely was a worthy object of ambition for a man who seemed to have adopted as a rule of guidance the elementary doctrine of the fifteenth century, "that the heathen nations of the world were lawful spoil and prey," and that the right of native Indians was subordinate to that of the first Christian conqueror, whose paramount claim excluded that of every other civilised nation, and gradually extinguished that of the natives.

This proves that the Hon'ble T. J. Hovell-Thurlow was an imperialist. Nevertheless the following paragraph relating to *earth-hunger* is to be found in his book:

> A recent writer has informed us that "there is a malady common to savages in certain parts of the world termed 'earth-hunger.' It provokes an incessant craving for clay, a species of food that fails to satisfy the appetite and impairs the power of digestion." The East India Company suffered from this dire disorder for upwards of a century; and since it has been deemed that the excesses recorded in this chapter were those which ultimately proved fatal to its life, it is to be sincerely prayed for that the Crown, wiser than its predecessor, may, in the words of the writer above quoted, "now cease to make nobles landless" and to increase the sum of Asiatic misery.

Subsequent history shows that the British Crown has not been less earth-hungry than the East India Company.

Dr. Sudhindra Bose

Dr. Sudhindra Bose paid a compulsorily brief visit to his native land after an absence of about a quarter of a century. He did no harm to anybody here. From the biggest to the smallest bureaucrat, nobody felt that his life or limb was in jeopardy so long as this visitor from America was in India. Still he could not obtain any assurance from the tin-gods of Simla that he would be allowed to come to this country again, either as a traveller or as a permanent inhabitant.

It is not known for what high crimes and misdemeanours he is being persecuted by the British and Indo-British bureaucracy. It was once rumoured that his great offence was that he got naturalized in America during the war. But so were numerous other persons, who were Europeans, many



Dr. and Mrs. Sudhindra Bose

Britons being among them. It is not known that they have been prevented from visiting the lands of their birth or settling there for good, whenever they liked. So Dr. Bose is evidently being punished for being a brown man, not a pale pink one, and because he had the misfortune to be born a British *subject* and probably thought he could be free by becoming an American citizen. But the British people and government believe in Caste—once a (British) subject, always a (British) subject. As the holy Brahmins of India believe that a born Sudra cannot become a Brahmin, so the white Brahmins of Britain believe that a political Sudra

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India must not belong to the class of political Brahmins of Europe and America.

—

Deshbandhu Memorial

Mr. Sris Chandra Chatterjee's design of the marble memorial of Deshbandhu C. R. Das, to be erected at the Hindu cremation ground at Kalighat, has met with general appreciation. Prof. Amulya Charan Vidyabhushan thus concludes his article on it in the *Calcutta Municipal Gazette* :—

The new and admirable type of architecture introduced by the architect-artist Sris Chandra depends for the element of stability largely on the co-operation of the public in imparting to it a basis that it demands. We are grateful to him for this brilliant production, which is an important contribution to modern Indian Architecture. The architect has practically proved by his inspiration and actual demonstration that mere theorizing will not improve the art of the country. Demonstration is absolutely imperative. The Baroda and Rajputana Schools of Arts have become successful in their attempts after strenuous efforts. According as they thrive, the other arts and crafts revive, live and develop to the needs of the nation and the country. Such has been and is in practice in those countries. But poor Bengal lags behind. Unless and until our people will aspire and endeavour for the development of indigenous architecture, the revival of other allied arts like sculpture and painting cannot be expected.

—

Indian Influences in Asiatic Art

The London *Times* wrote some time ago :—

Lieutenant-Colonel Sir Francis Younghusband presided at the annual meeting of the India Society, at 21, Cromwell-road and announced plans for the coming year for a considerable extension of scope, without, however, the society losing its original character. He pointed out that, as a natural result of their researches into the connexions between the art of India and the surrounding countries, as exemplified by the survey entitled "Influences of India Art" the society would now include in its curriculum of lectures and publications studies of the art and literature of Java, Siam, Indo-China, Afghanistan, Persia, and the Middle East. Arrangements were now being completed to supply through the society's journal, *Indian Art and Letters*, information on art and on archaeological research in those countries as well as in India. It had been decided not to change the name of the society, specially as Indian culture was in fact the centre from which there radiated the influence which affected profoundly the surrounding countries, which in turn exercised no small influence on India.

The High Commissioner for India, the Persian Minister, Professor Paul Pelliot, Dr. Ananda Coomaraswamy, and Dr. Denman W. Rose were elected vice-presidents. After the annual meeting Mrs. Francis Ayscough gave an illustrated lecture on "Indian Links with Chinese Painting."

—

Noguchi's Discovery of Germ of Trachoma

Dr. Hideyo Noguchi, the distinguished Japanese investigator of the Rockefeller Institute for Medical Research, recently dead, discovered the germ which causes trachoma, an infectious disease of the eyelids in American Indians.

"Whether or not the parasite is related to forms of trachoma other than that occurring in American Indians remains, of course, to be determined by isolation of the microrganism from cases in other localities, and possibily also by serologic examinations," he says.

The discovery of this parasite is considered in medical circles to be one of the outstanding contributions to scientific medecine in 1927, and adds another to the list of Dr. Noguchi's achievements, which include the discovery of the cause of general paralysis, or softening of the brain. He is famed also for his yellow fever researches and research work on other subjects.

The investigator checked up on his trachoma work by the experimental production of a trachoma like condition in monkeys by means of a micro-organism which he had isolated from American Indian trachoma.

Why Ibn Saud Must Not Have Mesopotamia

An American paper writes :—

For at least 6,000 years the tribesmen of Arabia's arid center have looked down covetously on the green fields of Mesopotamia.

That fertile land of the two rivers is safest when she is most desolate. For seven centuries before the present one she had little worth stealing. Now the Irak government of King Feisal and his British adviser has brought back a measure of prosperity As was already ancient history when Abraham lived at Ur, this prosperity has not passed unnoticed in the tents of the Arabs. It is doubtful if any potentate of Arabia, even one far stronger than Ibn Saud, could have held back his hungry tribesmen from visible loot. Among desert peoples green is all too surely the color of jealousy, for it is that of the coveted fields.

If Irak stood alone she might be grievously in danger. Cities train few warriors like the graduates of desert schools and the rich merchants of Babylonia have lost everything many times before. But Irak is no longer alone and what saves her is her air. Whatever Great Britain might be inclined to do for other reasons, there is one novelty of the modern world which affects profoundly the position of Mesopotamia. A glance at a map makes it clear. The broad plains of Irak are an essential way station on the air route from Europe to the East. The defeat of the tribesmen of Ibn Saud is to be managed, it appears, by aircraft. It is also aircraft that make it necessary. Perhaps Western civilization might let Ibn Saud and his desert

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riders have the green fields that they covet ; it does not dare to give them the landing fields to which, it may be, they give no thought at all.

So, the reason why Mesopotamia must not be either absolutely independent or under non-British control is that she lies along Britain's air route to India. The subjection of certain other Asiatic peoples is necessary for keeping India in bondge. If India became free, that would mean freedom for other Asiatic peoples also.

—

Hidden Citadel of Lost Hindu Tribe Found in Siam

A citadel which once was the home of possibly 1,000,000 persons lies unexplored in the heart of a tiger-infested jungle in Siam, according to Robert J Casey, author and traveller. Casey believes he is the only white man to have seen this place and he feels that within its lofty halls there may lie an answer to the mystery of the Khmers, a Hindu tribe that flourished in Indo-China between the fifth and eleventh centuries and then disappeared.

He takes no credit for finding it, saying that had not the French archæologists working in that section discovered more than sixty deserted temples buried under luxuriant jungle growths, he would never have located the citadel.

Bamboo trees have almost entirely hidden the place, while the moat has become alive with huge crocodiles. It was the presence of these animals that kept him from attempting to get into the citadel itself.

"I am certain it must have housed 1,000,000 persons," he said. "In the temples that must be inside the walls there may still be the treasures of ancient centuries, and possibly there are more complete records of the civilization these people developed. Even the mystery of their disappearance may be found."

Casey said the Khmers had been attacked and driven out of Indo-China by the Chams, a Siamese tribe that later suffered the same fate from other enemies. The Khmers, however, when they left that part of the world, disappeared.

The Khmers, he said, were originally a Hindu people, but when they settled in Siam they developed an indigenous civilization. Records of this have been found in the temples, Casey said, but the story of the people is still far from complete.

—

Kenya Indians' Stand—An Object Lesson For Indian Nationalists

A Nairobi despatch to the London *Times* gave some time ago the following most interesting news item :—

"A Conference, representing the whole of the Indian Community in Kenya, has unanimously rejected the Governor's invitation to renewed representation in the Legislature on a nomination basis.

"The Indians refused to put forward candidates at the recent General Election because the registers are communal and they demand common franchise with Europeans."

Indian political leaders with communal bias should carefully note the above despatch. The Indians in Kenya want a common franchise with Europeans and do not want to have communalism foisted on them. They want to exercise their rights as human beings. Indian Nationalists should try to follow the examples of the Indians in Kenya and adopt the attitude of no-communalism in Indian political life. Communal representation in Indian provincial and central legislatures is a curse ; and all sincere Indian nationalists should exercise their best efforts to abolish it. In this connection it may be said that those Indians who want to have some form of indirect communalism and preference for Indian Moslems, under the pretext of Hindu-Moslem unity, are doing a distinct dis-service to the cause of Indian nationalism.

T. D.

—

Indian Universities and the Need of Study of Foreign Languages

Under the heading of "An Institute of Linguists," the *Daily Telegraph* (London) publishes the following interesting letter :—

Sir—The welcome revival in trade emphasises the necessity of increasing the number of competent linguists. Englishmen rarely speak an additional language really fluently. Catalogues destined for foreign countries continue to be printed in uni-lingual form, and enterprising competitors secure our business. Educational and other establishments hold examinations. What is wanted in London is an Institute of Linguists, ultimately to become the Imperial headquarters of the language world, where linguistic candidates would be examined by experts and receive the institute's diplomas. It is true, there is something of this kind in the Midlands, but on the executive of the institute I suggest there would be those whose names are world-famous as linguists. Doctors and other professional men have their own diplomas ; why not foreign correspondents, interpreters, and etc. ? Employers would then be protected by employing only those whose proficiency is evidenced by the diploma of the Institute of Linguists—

Yours, &c.. N. ST. BARBE SLADEN

It is certain that British University students and businessmen are more familiar with foreign languages, such as German, French, Spanish, Russian, Italian, Japanese and Chinese, than the students of Indian Universities and Indian businessmen.

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Universities should encourage study of foreign languages in addition to English.

T. D.

—

An American View of British Protectorate on Egypt

At times American papers, through inspired articles and editorials, present excellent and authentic views on British world policies. The following editorial, from one of the foremost American dailies of New York, throws an interesting light on the Egyptian situation :—

A deadlock is on again in Egypt between native and British interests. These are extremely hard to reconcile, because both the Egyptians and the British authorities are contending for things on which there is little possibility of immediate compromise. Great Britain will continue to guard her rights in the Suez Canal and her vital communication with India, and the Far East and Australia. The Egyptians are set on obtaining fuller recognition of their nationality and soveignty. Besides they shrink from surrendering control of the Nile by yielding their claim on the Sudan. The Nile is Egypt. The prosperity of the country depends on continued enjoyment of the Nile's fertilizing floods.

Before the great war Egypt was nominally a Turkish dependency. Great Britain exercised control in Cairo through an adviser to the Khevive. A protectorate was in force during the war. Egypt was released from Turkish suzerainty. After the peace a native Kingdom was proclaimed, with a special relationship to Great Britain under a scheme of alliance. The governmental settings have altered, but actual control remains about the same. Since the rejection of the new draft of a treaty of alliance the British government has gone back to the Declaration of February 28, 1922, as the chart of policy in Egypt—which means, perhaps, that negotiations for permanent terms of alliance will be begun again as present irritations die away.

Britain as a protector or Britain as an ally is in Egypt to stay. The canal and the Sudan problem have to be worked out. Egypt is a sovereign state, and yet not a sovereign state, depending on definitions. But its progress will doubtless continue under any form which political association with Great Britain may assume. The situation is not new. It is one of yesterday and also one of to-morrow. The new deadlock leaves things very little changed.

T. D.

—

New Aim o the Christian Missionary Work

The International Missionary Council, (in which the Roman Catholics, Greek Orthodox, the Armenian and other Oriental Churches, did not participate) held its recent sessions at Jerusalem. The Bishop of Manchester presented "the Christian Message Report." This report is considered to be the most important pronouncement of the gathering, "expressing the whole central aim of Christian missionary work at the present time." It says :—

"Our Gospel stands against all exploitation of man by man so that we cannot tolerate any desire, conscious or unconscious, to use this movement for the purpose of fastening bondage, economic, political or social, on any people. We would repudiate any symptoms of religious imperialism that would desire to impose beliefs and practices for the purpose of managing souls in their supposed interests. We have no desire to fix on others the ecclesiastical traditions of the western Church, but wish to place at the disposal of the younger Churches our collective historic experience. We also ardently desire that the younger Churches express the Gospel through their own genius and through forms suitable to their national heritage We believe in a Christ-like world. We know nothing better and are content with nothing less We do not go to non-Christian nations because they are the worst or alone in need, but because they are part of the world and share with us in the same human need."

The Conference passed resolutions appealing for the renunciation of war as an instrument of international policy and the avoidance of those attitudes and practices which constitute the roots of war.

But a Jerusalem despatch of recent date states that the Arabs regarded the activities of the International Missionary Council and the Christian missionary movement as anti-Islamic, and adopted the slogan of "Down with the missionaries."

We hope that the Christian missionaries would cease to act as "agents of Imperialists" and give up the practice of religious Imperialism.

T. D.

—

No Lynching in America

A New York despatch to the *Morning Post* (London) states :—

The first four months of 1928 passed without a single lynching being reported from anywhere in the United States.

This announcement was made to-day by the Secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People. He added that it was the first time that this had been the case *for the last forty years*.—Reuter

The Negroes in the United States to-day number more than ten million people, forming about one-tenth of the population of the country. They are yet regarded as the "untouchables" of the United States.

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However, during the last few years, very remarkable progress has been made by the Negroes of the United States. There are thousands of Negro women, not to speak of men, who are now studying in American Universities; and every year scores of Negro scholars are taking higher degress from the best of American educational institutions.

The National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People is mainly officered by the new Negro; and it receives support primarily from Negroes (although a few Americans show genuine interest in its activities). This organization, among other things, has been advocating that the United States Congress pass an "anti-lynching law." American statesmen, so far, have refused to pass such a measure. The Negroes of the United States, specially their leaders, are to be congratulated on keeping up the agitation against the practice of lynching, which, during the last forty years, has taken a toll of the lives of numerous Negroes.

The lot of the Negroes in the United States is not much better than that of the untouchables of India, although the New Negro is much more alert and active to better the lot of his race, than the average people of India who may belong to the so-called higher castes. More than seventy percent of the Negroes of the United States can read and write to-day. In India more than ninety percent of the inhabitants cannot read and write. A little over sixty years ago, the Negroes of the United States were not only chattel-slaves, but they were not allowed, by law, to be taught to read and write. What a tremendous progress! Furthermore, the Negroes in the United States are thinking internationally, and they not only believe in education for themselves, but they feel that the future of Africa and the Negroes of the world depends upon education, which will change the outlook of life for the oppressed and the downtrodden.

T. D.

—

Indian Leaders and International Contacts

Some time ago a well-known Indian nationlist wrote to us from Genoa (Italy):—

"I notice that some Bengal leaders are opposed to members of the Indian Legislative Council visiting Canada, during the British Empire Parliamentary Union meeting. It seems so silly and childish. Indian leaders should go abroad to establish international contacts.

"When Ireland was fighting the hardest against the British, the best Irish representatives were carrying on International work. Jaghlul Pasha wanted to be in Paris for the development of international relations of Egypt, while asking his followers to carry on the nationalist work.

"I can give hundreds of instances of the importance of the leaders visiting foreign countries. If India is so poor in leadership that becau three leaders are going to be out of India for a few months, the nationalist movement may collapse, then there is something wrong with the programme and method of working of the Indian nationalists."

Our opinion has always been that India should not live in mental or geographical isolation. Not only for Indians but for the other peoples of the world as well, intellectual and other kinds of contact and intercourse with the peoples of the earth are necessary.

When Pandit Motilal Nehru and two other nationalists allowed themselves to be elected delegates to Canada, we wrote in favour of their visiting that country—unless, of course, there were work in India for all or any of them which no other Indians could do quite satisfactarily. We do not think there was any such work. We do not know why the Pandit has resigned his office of delegate. Perhaps because he is most likely to be elcted to preside over the next session of the Indian National Congress. But while his perfect fitness for that office cannot for the least be questioned, can it either be asserted that there are not other leaders in the country who can worthily fill the presidential chair of the Congress?

If possible the ablest Indians should be sent for representing India abroad.

—

Pan Indian and Provincial Patriotism

There is no necessary conflict between pan-Indian and provincial patriotism. Really is it true that the man who cannot deeply and strongly love the region where he was born or where he is settled can scarcely have any profound love for a wider unit. In India if a man fights against the unjust treatment or neglect of his province, he is likely to be looked down upon as parochial and anti-national in views. But in our opinion so long as a man does not seek to injure any other province and so long as he does not work against Indian unity but rather

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it, he should not be required to agree to provincial 'self-effacement.' He must be allowed and expected to stand up for his province if need be.

Germany is a much smaller country with a much smaller population than India. German is the language of all the German states and the cultural difference between state and state there is not pronounced, wihch is not the case in India. Yet in Germany protests are heard against centralization and Berlinization. Take, for instance, the following description of a Bavarian manifesto, published in *The New York Times* :—

Munich.—A manifesto protesting against the "Berlinization" of Germany and signed by numerous prominent Bavarians, was issued to-day in the Bavarian capital. Among the signatories best known outside of this country is Siegfried Wagner, son of the world-renowned composer, Richard Wagner. Others include Professor von Muller, director of the Munich University, and Baron von Cramer-Klett, President of the Munich Academy of Music.

Special significance attaches to the manifesto because it appears on the eve of the next week's meeting here of the heads of various local governments to discuss plans for the further centralization of the German administrative machinery.

Bavaria has always been the main stronghold of anti-centralistic feeling in Germany, and the appearance of this protest, signed by many distinguished Bavarians, just before the meeting of local authorities is proof of a widespread fear in Bavaria that a triumph for the centralization champions next week will mean placing more power in the hands of Prussia and its capital, Berlin with a corresponding weakening of the rest of Germany.

The Bavarians only too evidently foresee that such a result will simply mean a continuance of the work of Bismark, who, when he formed the German Empire in 1871, created a uniform Germany by depriving the lesser of the German states of most of their local autonomy, while at the same time enormously increasing the power and importance of Prussia and her capital, Berlin.

Today's manifesto shows Bavarian restiveness at what Bavarians deem to be the undue favour shown to Prussia by the present German Government. The complaint is made, for instance, that Bavaria, which has always been a cultural centre, is handicapped in its cultural development because of funds which should be spent on the furtherance of Bavarian science, music art and business. Berlin University, it is pointed out, is superior to Munich University because the latter is unable to employ a sufficient number of professors and instructors.

Another complaint is that recently the German Government at Berlin issued a guidebook for the purpose of attracting foreign tourists to Germany without even mentioning Bavaria and other South German regions, including Wurttemberg, Bavaria's next-door neighbour.

In business also the manifesto declares, all sorts of favors are shown to Prussia and Berlin to the detriment of South Germany and especially Bavaria. Banking and general business is becoming constantly more centralized in Berlin. it is alleged, owing to a growing Prussian bias by the present German Gevernment and the same is declared to be true of all governmental administration. In conclusion, the manfesto says :

We Bavarians wish to be citizens of a state within the German Union and not of a province controlled by the Berlin centralistic government. Only through such a conception of the idea of a German unitary state can there be genuine German solidarity and national unity.

In India there is no risk of "Delhi-ization" of the provinces, nor of the over-development of the culture and business of Delhi at the expense of those of the other provinces. But the total revenues of India are so divided between the Central Government and the different provinces that some provinces receive too little money for their cultural, industrial and agricultural development and for their medical and sanitary requirements. For this and other reasons, it is necessary for the provinces to fight against the greed and extravagance of the Central Government.

—

Handling of Labour Conflicts in other Countries

India is passing through labour conflicts in many provinces. While labour has undoubtedly many grievances, it would be wrong to assume that in every such dispute labour has been right and capital wrong. Each case should be considered on its merits. Government generally allows things to drift, which is not right. Such a policy not only entails great suffering on the workers and involves the employers in pecuniary loss, but also endangers public safety, as the diabolical acts of sabotage in various places show.

According to an article in the *Sunday Times* of London by Sir John Foster Fraser, in Italy neither strikes nor lock-outs are allowed.

The law is that there must be no strikes under any pretext whatever. Trade Unions, disturbing the welfare of the nation to obtain what they want, are prohibited. It is not the demands of the workers that Mussolini is against, but the methods formerly practised.

Nor will he permit lock-outs. He holds that the nation consists of all the people, that for their material and spiritual welfare they must be taught co-operation; that it is madness to have civi war during the industrial crisis of the world Italy is a crowded country, and if there is to be

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economic salvation there must be increased production. Whether we approve his methods or not, Italy has turned its face towards prosperity since Mussolini took charge. In a population of forty millions there are fewer than 100,000 out of work.

How has this been brought about ?

Councils have been established of workers and employers and an independent nominee of the Government to consider trade differences. Private enterprise is encouraged as a necessary incentive, but in disputes all cards must be on the table so the men may exactly know the economic situation.

The two sides must meet in conference ; there can be no lightning strikes, no downing of tools, no threat that if one side does not have its desire trade will be disorganised and other workers, to give a helping hand in discommoding the public, become idle as a sign of sympathy. When a collective agreement has been made, the law is to descend with a heavy fist on the party which breaks the contract.

According to Sir John Foster Fraser, in Italy syndicalism means something different from what it does elsewhere.

Syndicalism outside Italy has meant the conquering of economic interests by the proletariat. Inside Italy it means that the classes representing capital, intellectual labour and manual labour shall be one indissoluble body, meaning the State. No class must usurp power to dictate. Everybody has to get it not only into the mind, but into the heart, that the moral and material welfare of the country is one and the same thing.

The Syndical Law which was placed on the statute book on March 11, 1926, is in operation. I learn that already nearly four million people—employers and employed, manufacturers and artisans, bankers and clerks, lawyers, peasants, journalists, architects, farmers, teachers, high and low, representing all sections of industry—have formed themselves into syndicates.

All categories of people, whether professional men, municipal employees, post office, telegraph, tramway workers, all grades on the railways, are speedily being organised. Within the next few months it is not likely that any man, professional manufacturer, or simple workman, will be outside the syndicate that deals with his position in life.

But disputes between capital and labour cannot be entirely prevented—they are inevitable.

So special courts are established, called the "Magistracy of Labour," consisting of three Judges of the Court of Appeal with two expert advisers, specialists on the particular or industry matter in dispute. These courts are commanded, when arriving at their decision, not to consider the interests of the syndicate or syndicates first, but to keep in the forefront of their thought the benefit to the nation collectively.

This Magistracy of Labour is the final court of arbitration. There is no appeal from its decision. *During a dispute there must be continuity of production.* Lock-outs or strikes are crime, and, whilst the penalties are graded, they are especially severe if the strike is in any public service or services of utility. Further, no employer can give notice of reduction of wages without consent of the employed and approval of the syndicate. Thus the law, the State, is greater than any section of the community, and, through the syndicates, all workers are part of the State. That is the new syndicalism.

In Norway there is compulsory arbitration in labour conflicts. The Norwegian Act concerning compulsory arbitration procedure in labour conflicts has," says *The Guardian*, "given rise to a conflict which is perhaps not very widespread, but has taken on a somewhat singular form." What has happened is thus described in the same paper.

According to the new Act, the authorities may, if they consider that it is necessary in the public interests, submit any and every dispute to arbitration for settlement. The renewal of the collective agreements which expired this spring was referred to an arbitration court, and the award pronounced for a wage reduction of 8 per cent., although the fall in the cost of living figures only warranted a cut of 8 per cent. The award therefore aroused great indignation among the workers, and the building workers of several large towns, numbering about 3,000 in all, decided not to recognise this award, and downed tools at the end of May. Later, about a thousand printing operatives and book-binders joined them.

Under the Act, however, every labour conflict which aims at establishing working conditions other than those fixed in the Award is illegal and an offence against the law. In order that they might not be sentenced to pay damages or to undergo imprisonment both the national centre and the unions in question were compelled to warn their members not to take part in the strike. They themselves were also forced to refrain from participation in it. The conflict was therefore managed by a Committee of Action appointed by the strikers. It is also an offence against the law to aid the strikers in any way. This has made it impossible for the trade unions to grant any money for this purpose, so that the attempt was made to collect money for this purpose by voluntary collections from Norwegian workers. But no individual may legally give such collections. Many of the leading comrades, therefore, have been fined from 50 to 700 Kroner by the magistrates.

The whole of the machinery of Government has thus been mobilised against the workers, so that their struggle is by no means an easy one.

It is not suggested that the methods adopted in any other country to deal with strikes and lock-outs should be bodily transferred to India. What is suggested is that the policy of drift at present in vogue should be given up by the Government and the people.

It will not do to keep in view only increased production and big dividends. Every effort must also be made to provide work, adequate wages and wholesome life

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conditions for all skilled and unskilled workers.

—

Bardoli Satyagraha

Gandhiji has said that, if Government wants to do justice at all, and if a compromise should be arrived at, the following should be its minimum terms :—

(1) All Satyagrahis sent to jail from Bardoli should be immediately released.
(2) All confiscated lands, sold or unsold, should be returned to the original owners.
(3) Buffaloes, utensils, etc., which have been sold for a song should be compensated for in kind at the market value.
(4) All Patels and Talatis who have either resigned or been dismissed should be taken on in service.
(5) All other sentences imposed on account of Satyagraha should be remitted.

These terms are all reasonable. It is also reasonable to ask that the fresh enquiry demanded by the Bardoli cultivators should be a judicial one, not one conducted by revenue officials, because it is against the settlement made by the latter that the Bardoli people are struggling to obtain justice.

The condition laid down by the Bombay Government that, before an enquiry can be started, either the Bardoli men or some one on their behalf must deposit the amount realizable from them according to the revised settlement, does not do credit to either the head or the heart of the persons who constitute that Government. The Bardoli people have been undergoing untold sufferings, privations and insults in their effort to remain true to their plighted word. It is foolish to assume that, should the award of a committee of enquiry, by which such persons had promised to abide, go against them, they would prove false to their promise. But supposing such an unlikely thing happened, a Government which can feel itself strong enough to threaten to crush the Satyagrahis, would surely be strong enough to recoup the loss caused by non-payment of rent.

In the opinion of Sir Leslie Wilson, the Bardoli Satyagraha is a case of civil disobedience and is a lawless movement. In our opinion it is not exactly civil disobedience, as the Bardoli men are perfectly law-abiding except in the single matter of paying the increased assessment. Moreover, they do not say that they would not pay enhanced rent under any circumstance. They would be perfectly willing to pay enhanced rent, should the decision of the committee of enquiry asked for by them *and to be appointed by the Government itself* result in such increase. This Satyagraha is perfectly constitutional. Civil disobedience is also constitutional.

In the House of Commons, replying to questions, Earl Winterton said, 'If the conditions mentioned by Sir Leslie Wilson in the Bombay Legislative Council to-day as regards Bardoli, are not satisfied, the Bombay Government have the full support of the Government of India and his Majesty's Government in enforcing compliance with the law and crushing the movement, which would clearly then be exposed as one directed to coercing the Government and not representing reasonable grievances."

Mr. Wellock asked whether, in view of the fact that in this area, as well as in a greater part of India, peasants were going more and more under the control of the money-lenders, the request to pay the old assessment until the Committee of Enquiry had been esatblished was a reasonable one.

Earl Winterton replied that he did not think anything of the sort. He said whenever any resettlement of a District was made, if people were to refuse to pay taxes on the ground that the resettlement was not a proper one, all constitutional Government would end.

It cannot be that Earl Winterton or his chief, Lord Birkenhead, are unaware of the lessons of history. History furnishes numerous instances of popular movements based on right and justice triumphing over the obstinacy of autocracy. But like many other men in power who have gone before them, the British rulers of India think more of their own prestige than of the need for convincing those under their charge that they are being justly dealt with. These men in power also appear to think that the failure of some previous attempts to crush popular movements in foreign countries was due to the comparative strength of the people and the comparative weakness of the rulers concerned, but that the British Government is very much stronger and the Indian people very much weaker than the parties concerned in other similar struggles abroad recorded in history. Such overestimation of one's own strength and underestimation of the opponents' strength, is, however, no new thing in history. Earl Winterton and those who think with him may, therefore, rest assured that even in India no popular movement based on justice can be finally crushed.

People do not refuse to pay taxes lightheartedly, for the fun of the thing. Such refusal always means much misery and may mean ruin. Therefore, the vision, conjured up

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by him, of people refusing to pay taxes *whenever* any resettlement of a district was made, on the ground that the resettlement was not a proper one, was a figment, pure and simple, of Lord Winterton's imagination. But should no-tax campaigns cease to be rare, that would mean that the rulers of the people had become utterly careless or lost to all sense of justice, and in that case what would end would not be "all constitutional government," but *all despotic government.*

—

Babu Jagat Narain Lal's Conviction

The appeal made by Babu Jagat Narain Lal to the Patna High Court against his conviction by a magistrate under section 124-A of the Indian Penal Code has been rejected and the subordinate court's sentence has been upheld. We have not read the article which has led to his imprisonment and mulcting in the sum of Rs 1000. Lala Lajpat Rai writes in the *People* that he has. The gist of the article, says he, was that the Government's attitude towards Hindus was not one of impartiality and fairness. We have also read somewhere that the article contains statements or suggestions to the effect that the Government follows the policy of "Divide and Rule." Now, allegations like these have become quite hackneyed by repetition in the Indian press, both Hindu and Mussalman. Similar statements have been made by British authors and speakers also. What is the use then of singling out a particular Indian journalist for punishment for such statements?

One object of punishment is to convince the man punished and others of his class that what the accused did was wrong. It would be a hard task to discover the Indian journalist who sincerely thought that Babu Jagat Narain Lal published statements which were false. Perhaps it would be safe to say that the task would be equally difficult if the whole class of educated men and women were to be searched for such a really sincere believer in the impartiality and fairness of the bureaucracy. The ovation which the Bihar publicist received before going to jail shows that thousands upon thousands in Patna think that the statements for which he has been punished are quite true; and there are reasons to think that larger numbers of his countrymen, who are not residents of that city, think so, too. One object of punishment has, therefore, failed.

Another object is said to be deterrent. We do not think this, either, will be gained, so far as the "prisoner" and large members of his countrymen are concerned.

Punishment is not the way to put a stop to the impugnment of Government's impartiality and fairness. The impugners are open to conviction. If they be wrong, Government should try to convince them by unmistakeable proofs of its unimpeachability.

—

Music Within Mosque

A special committee of the University of Stamboul has recommended some radical reforms to the eccesiastical authorities of Angora. Some of the reforms proposed are:

Better provision for the upkeep of mosques.
Installation of seats and cloak-rooms.
Sermons and prayers to be in Turkish.
Music to be introduced in mosques.

Many unexpected things have happened in Turkey. So music may be introduced in mosques there. It would be a far harder task, though not an impossible one, to introduce the innovation in India. Some of the greatest musicians in India, living and dead, have been Muslims, and some of them have been famous for their devotional songs. There can be no harm in songs being sung in mosques. But even if we do not have music in Indian mosques, let us hope Turkey's example will soften the Indian Moslem's objection to music outside mosques on public roads and in the private houses of Hindus.

—

Muslim League Famine Relief Fund

It is a pleasure to find that this fund, raised to relieve distress in the famine-striken districts of Bengal, now amounts to about Rs. 1,500. Now that the Muhammadans have awakened to the needs of their fellow-believers, it is hoped that in the not distant future their charity will disregard creed. *The Mussalman* writes:

We are glad to say that contributions to the Muslim League Famine Relief Fund are coming every day, though so far the amount contributed and collected is negligible. We hope more will be forthcoming within a short time if the public realise the urgency of relief work. The Delhi

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merchants of Colootola (Calcutta) were, as the reader may remember, approached by members of the Famine Relief Committee and they promised help. A few days ago some of these merchants themselves went to Balurghat, visited some of the affected areas and distributed Rs. 3000 (three thousand) among the sufferers.

—

Pacifism and Justice

We are not lovers of war. We are pacifists by inclination—and some by compulsion, too, we must confess. As lovers of peace we would welcome the Kellogg proposals for the prevention of war.

But while the prevention of war may meet the requirements of independent and free peoples, people who are not independent and free and are politically downtrodden and economicaly exploited, require something more than pacifism. They want justice, they want freedom. If they cannot have it by peaceful methods, they should have the option to win freedom by fighting, if they like and can. Prevention of war would not be quite a blessing in their case. The United States of America started the present pacifist proposals, and the British "Home" Government, Dominions and Indian Government have shown their readiness to accept the modified form of the multilateral pact for the prevention of war. But the question is, will the U. S. A. government allow the Filipinos to be free without fighting? Will the British Government, the Dominion Governments and the Government of India agree to India becoming free without fighting?

Though a free man himself, Mr. H. N. Brailsford must have felt for the disinherited peoples of the earth when he wrote in the *New Republic* of America:

> What is to happen if a power announces that a dispute in which it is concerned is not suitable for settlement by any of the usual means which the other party may propose? If the power in question holds the stake in the controversy, war cannot occur, but will the world see justice? That may not seem a serious objection to citizens of satisfied powers. The world is very well as we find it. Our lot could hardly be better even by a victorious war. No iniquitious frontier galls us; no conqueror is engaged in crushing the national consciousuess of our kinsmen; we sigh for no wide changes in the structure of a world which has brought in wealth, power and opportunity. Cradled in good fortune, one may readily suppose that the whole problem is to avoid war.
>
> "But to peoples who lived in the shadow, it may seem that change is the first essential. War is the last resort of an ambitious or downtrodden people which, by long brooding over its unheeded cry for change, or redress or opportunity, has convinced itself that it will stifle if it does not strike. To the people in that case, Mr. Kellogg's treaty forbids war, but there is no positive promise of redress by peaceful means, nor is any organisation created which can bring about salutary changes in the world when changes are due.

—

Muslim Nationalism and Pan-Islamism

Sardar Ikbal Ali Shah, "the well-known writer and traveller," author of *Afghanistan and the Afghans*, has given his impressions of the new political outlook of the Islamic world in an article in *Foreign Affairs*, London, reproduced in the *People*. Here are the concluding passages:—

> The clergy, even in such important Shiad centres as Ispahan and Qoom, have awakened to the truth that all Moslems are brothers—Shiads. Sunnia, black, brown or white—and that nationalism does not take precedence of Pan-Islamism.
>
> Throughout the entire belt of the Islamic East there is, nevertheless, a distinct feeling of nationalism; but nationalism is defined in a particularly Eastern way. Every man is proud of his nationality but he does not necessarily divorce Islam as the great binding factor between all the Islamic countries. The Revivalists of the present-day Islam are endeavouring to prove that healthy nationalism, in place of being contrary to the teaching of Islam, is the very essence of it. But their attitude towards nationalism as understood in Europe is quite different.
>
> In the East, nationalism is a means to an end, the end being the unity of all Islam. It is argued that this conception is better than the Western conception of nationalism, for the reason that the further the nationalistic impulse develops the greater the fear of war, and the larger the breach in international goodwill. In Aleppo, whilst talking to some friends, I was fascinated by an old son of the Syrian desert. He had never been in a town before, and his first visit to Aleppo failed to thrill him; and yet he knew all about the world politics. His views of the League of Nations will, perhaps, illustrate what I mean more than anything else. "They have a League now," he said, "but we in Islam have had it for 1,300 years, the only difference being that we subordinate our nationalism to one great aim of Islamic unity, while they find it impossible to remain intensely nationalist and yet think internationally." Essentially the solidarity of Islam is not shaken. All that has happened is that the domination of the clergy is receiving a legitimate set-back, and Europeans, having got used to seeing Moslems in the grip of the priests, seem amazed at the turn Moslem Asia has taken; whereas the truth is that the Moslems are now, more than at any time in the past, striving to achieve the real purpose of Islam, which is the union of all Islamic countries into one federation of nations.

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New Constitution for Ceylon

At the census of 1921 the population of Ceylon was 4,497,854—less than that of the Bengal district of Mymensingh. According to the new constitution proposed to be given to the island there are to be ten ministers! This appears to be a rather top-heavy arrangement. Is it meant therby to stop the mouths of aspiring Ceylonese politicians? It is to be a sort of dyarchy, though somewhat better than the Indian variety, because the ministers are to be responsible to the council.

What is most commendable in the report of the special commission on constitution for Ceylon is its finding that communal representation is wholly pernicious in its effect on the social structure of the island. It creates, the report says, an ever-widening gulf between the communities and tends to obscure national interests in the clash of rival races and religions. Accordingly the commission has recommended that the system of communal representation should be abolished,

It should be abolished in India also.

It is satisfactory to find that, in view of the large powers which are now to be transferred to the elected representatives of the people, the commission thinks a substantial extension of the franchise is necessary. The commissioners recommend manhood suffrage and also consider that women's right to vote should be admitted. But in view of the necessity for keeping the number of votes within reasonable limits the extension of the franchise should in their opinion at present be confined to women over 30 years of age. Are men of 21 maturer in their judgment than women of of 21 or of 29? Applicants for votes should be required to show that they had resided in the island for 5 years.

We dislike the increasing and strengthening of the reserve powers of the Governor, as indicated in the following paragraph in Reuter's summary of the commission's report :—

> The Commission assign supervisory 'rather than executive role to the Governor, but recommend that as his executive powers have been diminished, his reserve powers should be strenghtened. In all executive as in legislative matters, the Governor's formal ratification of the Council's decisions should be required before any action can be taken on them and he should be charged by Royal instructions to refuse or reserve assent to all measures infringing certain clearly defined principles.

—

"How Ruling India Injures England"

An article recently contributed by Dr. Sunderland to *The Modern Review* shows how ruling India injures England. He quotes many distinguished British writers and authorities to show that England's rule in India has had a disastrous moral effect on Britishers in India and at "home". The article cannot possibly be pleasant reading to any average native of Great Britain. So at the last Indian Civil Service dinner in London Lord Ronaldshay, ex-Governor of Bengal, said in the course of his speech that, "because of the criticism to which British dominion in India is subjected at the present moment," he repeated that the Indian Civil Service "is always of incalculable value to Great Britain and India." He added :—

> A typical example is to be seen in the May issue of the *Modern Review*, an important Indian periodical published in Calcutta, which has wide circulation, not only in India, but beyond its borders. The article is written by a Dr. Sunderland, whoever he may be, and his argument is that British rule in India is a source of grave moral injury not only to India herself but to Great Britain also. We are familiar enough with the argument that British rule in India is an iniustice to India, but the argument that it is also an injustice to Great Britain is a somewhat novel one.—(Laughter). The gist of his argument is that as soon as Englighmen are placed in a position of authority in India they lose all their finer feelings, becoming selfish, despotic and morally 'callous.

The argument might have been "novel" to Lord Ronaldshay and his audience, but the fact is indisputable and was not unknown to many distinguished Englishmen of the last and present centuries, as Dr. Sunderland's article itself partly shows. In addition to the many testimonies quoted by Dr. Sunderland, many times more proofs of the same damaging character may be adduced. A very recent one, quoted by the *Indian Daily Mail*, is subjoined. Miss Evelyn M. Bunting contributes her "Surface Impressions of India" to the current number of the *Contemporary Review*. Her impressions are not limited to Indian life. She has something to say about Europeans also.

> Miss Bunting notes with regret the prevalence of the caste-system among her countrymen in India. "In an Indian city where there are few English in proportion to the vast population of natives, it seems strange that two women belonging to the same town and educated in the same High School in England cannot meet out there because one is the wife of an Indian civil servant and the other is only a teacher!" She

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shocked to see the way in which the English spoke to and of their Indian servants. They dare not treat servants in England as they do in this country. Miss Bunting satisfies herself by saying that this unhealthy practice has come down from the Moghuls; it is, she says in italics, not English! She tells an interesting story of a little English boy whose parents were criticised by their neighbours for allowing him to play with a little Indian boy. "You never know," they said, "What they'll pick up." One of these same neighbours, passing one day, called Kenneth to her, "Kenneth, does that little boy talk English?" "No, he does'nt", was the reply, "except a few bad words—and those are what I taught him."

—

Social Reform in Afghanistan

In addition to the blow struck at purdah by the Queen of Afghanistan dining in her own country with men not related to her without veiling herself, other steps are being taken to introduce social reform in that country.

According to the "Aman-i-Afghan", the newspaper of Kabul, King Amanullah announced at a gathering of officials that a Jirga of the representatives of the nation would be held shortly. It will not be attended by Government servants, who, if they are elected representatives, should resign the service. The King further said that polygamy was one of the chief causes of corruption, and in future any government servant taking a second wife should tender his resignation. With regard to people already having more than one wife, an announcement will be made after the Jirga. His Majesty advised his officials and subjects not to copy such bad customs and habits as drinking, and dwelt on the necessity of sports for good health.

—

Sir J. C. Bose at Vienna

As cabled by Reuter, the recent scientific mission of Sir J. C. Bose to Vienna was a great success. What greatly contributed to that result was the fact, mentioned in a private letter written by an Indian gentleman who was at Vienna at the time of Professor Bose's visit, that the scientist explained the parts and construction of his apparatus and instruments. It is to be hoped that in Vienna at any rate scientists would henceforth cease to have a suspicion that Dr. Bose is a magician of some sort!

As Vienna is one of the most important centres of medical research in the West, Dr. Bose's success there has a special significance of its own.

—

Brahmo Somaj Centenary and the Muslims

In view of the Brahmo Samaj Centenary celebrations which begin this month, a Muhammadan gentleman has written us the following letter from Asansol :—

"In view of the ensuing Brahmo Samaj Centenary celebration, I, as one who believes in the unity of God in the Islamic sense of the word,—as one who respects others' religious teachers and their shrines,—and as one who treats others with toleration and human feelings, as the Holy Quran requires of a Muslim, beg to request my co-religionists—especially the English educated ones, through your journal to participate in the above celebration, and for the following reasons :

"A careful reader of the history of India since the British occupation must admit that modern India owes much to the Brahmo Samaj founded by Raja Ram Mohun Roy in 1828. Truly speaking, the real founder of modern India is Raja Ram Mohun Roy. He was the forerunner of the leaders of the present-day socio-religious movements, such as the removal of untouchability and caste distinction, female education, and national unity between the different communities, etc. So the Brahmo Samaj Centenary, associated with the sacred memory of Raja Ram Mohun Roy, should be celebrated in a fitting manner by his countrymen, irrespective of caste, creed and religion, when it completes its hundredth year in next August. Be it noted here that the Brahmo Samaj is a nearer approach to Islam than any other religion. There are no idolatrous practices or rites in the Brahmo Samaj. It is not aggressive in its attitude towards Islam like the Arya Samaj.

"His Highness the Maharaja Gaekwad of Baroda in the course of his presidential address at the last Philosophical Congress held at Bombay, said :—'An actual study of the sources reveals how Islam and Christianity had a share in leading to the type of thought found in the Brahmo Samaj.' A great thinker of Bengal, Mr. Bepin Chandra Pal, admits in the course of an article in the "Englishman" that: '... Ram Mohun really was the last product of the contact of the Hindu mind with the virile culture of Islam. The Brahmo Samaj in its earliest phase was more the product of this union than of English education.' Therefore, the Indian Muslims should make it a point to join the centenary

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celebration of the Brahmo Samaj, which is purely monotheistic in its aspect, and thus show their catholicity towards a sister community. Further, remember what Prof. Jadunath Sarkar, C. I. E., has written in his "History of Aurangzeb" :—'A Muslim missionary cannot be indifferent to the welfare of his neighbour's soul.'

"In the end, I venture to make one suggestion to the Secretary of the Centenary Committee to invite the following Muslim thinkers to the celebration, such as Khwaja Kamalud-Din of Woking fame, Maulana Mohammed Ali, M.A., LL.B, of Lahore, Moulvi Yakub Hasan of Madras and Maulana Md. Akram Khan, the celebrated author of *Mustafa Charit*, and to ask them to read papers on comparative Islam and mutual toleration, which in a way will remove the misconceptions prevailing among non-Moslems about Islam."

Asansol. Md. Azhar.

—

Agitation against Child-marriage

One of the chief causes of the intellectual and physical degeneration of the Indian people, of both sexes, is child-marriage, with its consequence, in most cases, of premature maternity. Both men and women have suffered from it, but women more, and more directly. It is only natural, therefore, that those Indian women who can think for themselves and who do not observe purdah should join in the agitation against this injurious custom and in favour of Mr. Sarda's Bill as amended by the select committee of the Legislative Assembly. Even in Bengal, where the other day Babu Syamsundar Chakrabarti played the role of quick-change artist at the Albert Hall meeting in support of child-marriage and some hired and unhired goondas assaulted its opponents, some Indian ladies have held a meeting in support of Mr. Sarda's Bill.

According to an Associated Press report, a largely attended meeting was held last month at Simla under the auspices of the Child-Marriage Prohibition League which gave a warm support to Rai Saheb Har Bilas Sarda's Bill, as amended by the Select Committee of the Legislative Assembly. The meeting was held at the premises of the Indian Association, Phagli (Simla), and was attended among others by several lady doctors and European and Indian ladies. A lively debate ensued on the speeches of the two principal spokesmen in favour of the Bill. The Rani Sahib of Mandi, one of the states where child-marriage has been prohibited, and the President of the League, who was to have initiated the debate, were unavoidably absent. Mrs. P. Rama Rao, starting the discussion, put in a vigorous plea for a whole-hearted support to the measure, which she described as very essential, if the country was to be rid of the evils of child-marriage, such as the appallingly large number of widows, physically defective mothers and puny and weak children. She declared that there was nothing in the Vedas or Puranas to support the argument that the Bill was an interference with the religious practices or was an assault on the sacred marriage system of the Hindus, and pointed out that in the Vedic and Puranic ages girls got married after arriving at maturity. Moreover, questions connected with health precautions, child mortality and maternity welfare were fast getting out of the scope of religion from day to day. Continuing she said : "If ever India was to be a physically strong nation, no time should be lost in placing on the Statute Book a measure which was an efficctive weapon for preventing the existing evil. Raising the Age of Consent was only a flank attack on the evil, but the Bill before the Assembly was a direct attack, and was brought forward none too soon for British India when it was remembered that Indian States like Kashmir, Baroda, Bharatpur, Mysore and Rajkot had already made definite progress in that direction. Mrs. Rama Rao also appealed to Government to place restrictions on the youth of the country by refusing admission into colleges and schools of married boys and by refusing clerkships to those married, say, before twenty. The enormity of the evil, she added, could be realised from the fact that, according to the collected statistics, there were in 1921 in British India no less than 612 widows under 12 months, 493 between one and two years of age, 1280 between two and three, 2,863 between three and four and 6,758 between four and five, that is a total of 12,011 under five years. The number of widows between five and ten was 88,580 and those between ten and fifteen was 233,533.

Sir Moropant Joshi, Chairman of the Age of Consent Committee, explained the present law and the proposed legislation and pointed out that opinion was slowly veering

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round in favour of raising the marriageable age of boys and girls. He pointed out that legislation was the only remedy, and not propaganda, as was suggested in some quarters. Did not the King of Japan order one night the removal of the tuft of hair from the head of his subjects? The next morning Japanese were tuftless. Did not the British Government abolish the cruel system of Sati with a single stroke of the pen? Now cases of Sati were practically unknown. If the orthodox opposition was going to endanger the passage of the Sarda Bill through the Assembly, then he was inclined to suggest the adoption of Satyagraha.

We do not know whether the speaker explained how Satyagraha was to be adopted. So it is not possible to commeut on his suggestion. But no one can fail to be impressed with his earnestness.

The Simla meeting carried unanimously a resolution in support of the Sarda Bill with an appeal to the Governor-General to nominate ladies to the Central Legislature when the bill comes up for consideration.

—

A Grievance of the Hindu Community in Bhopal

We have received a memorial addressed to "His Gracious Highness the Ruler of Bhopal State," signed by Siva Narayan Vaidya, Secretary, Brahmin Sabha, Bhopal. Some extracts from this petition are printed below.

Sire, for a very long time the Sabha has been painfully realising and noticing the incessant exodus of innumerable young Hindu females and young Hindu children from their society, who, leaving their kinsmen and relations, their caste and creed and without having any knowledge either of their own religion or of Islam, are being assisted to get their names registered in the office of the Qazi Sahib and are thus for ever alienated and cut off from their families and their faith and kin, and in after years, even if they discover their mistake and foolishness or are freed from the compulsion or threat which caused them to abandon their ancestral religion, the existing Apostacy Law of Bhopal holds them back from claiming boldly that their former nominal conversion was due to seduction, worldly allurements and temptations, threat or want of sound judgment, thus the woeful tale of the presence of the ever-increasing number of the new-Muslim female degraded found over-crowding the streets of the Bhopal town and districts sadly reveals their plight and degradedness.

Sire, on the one side we read Khalifas and other Muslim personages of old flogging, even to death, not only ordinary culprits but even their friends and relations found guilty of committing the crime of adultery, while on the other, we see Muslim Gundas professing to be the followers of that world-renowned faith (Islam) seducing from their hearth and home, young and inexperienced Hindu females by temptations and allurements, threats and physical force and seeking shelter under the Qazi's register to escape the penalty of their crime. It is indeed hard to reconcile the two.

Just as by issuing ordinances for the prohibition of wine for the Muslims, Your Highness has tried too keep up the purity of the principles of Islam amongst its followers, in the same way we trust that by enacting necessary laws for penalising illegal conversions of the type mentioned above Your Highness will on the one hand reduce adultery to a minimum and on the other save our hearth and home from utter ruin and destruction.

The Sabha further begs to request that a complete liberty of conscience be allowed to all of your Highness' subjects, with the reservation that all conversion cases be dealt with by a special bench consisting of Muslim and non-Muslim, official and non-official members, which should satisfy itself that the change of religion is not due to any compulsion or threat, or for any worldly gain or temptations but only for the spiritual uplift of the person concerned and that he or she has got sufficient knowledge of the relative religions to enable him or her to discriminate between them.

—

Increase of Outrages on Muslim Women in Bengal

We have no recent statistics before us, but the impression produced on our mind by the perusal of Bengali newspapers is that, while cases of outrage on and abduction of Hindu girls and women have not decreased in number, cases of outrage on and abduction of Muslim girls and women by Muslim men have of late multiplied. Have Muslim publicists noticed this fact? If so, how do they explain the phenomenon?

—

Harindranath Chattopadhyaya

The Inquirer OF LONDON WRITES:—

Mr. Chottopadhyaya, the yonng Indian poet, a volume of whose "Poems and Plays" has just been published in England, is a brother of Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, the Indian poet and politician, formerly President of the Indian National Congress. Mr. Laurence Binyon has described him as one of the race of true poets, with a singularly rich vein of inspiration, a gift for music, and a feeling for the value of English words," while Mr. C. F. Andrews regards him as "the rising dawn of a new vision of India" just as the golden sun of Rabindranath Tagore is setting.

The appearence of new luminaries in the poetic firmament of India should undoubtedly be welcomed.

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As for Rabindranath Tagore, though in years he has passed the meridian of life, his genius continues to shine with ever new effulgence. So we are not yet thinking of his sun setting, though set it must some day in the physical plane.

—

The Anti-purdah Movement in Bihar

What augurs well for the success of the anti-purdah movement in Bihar, with its repercussions in other purdah-ridden provinces, is not so much the fact that many leading Bihari men have taken part in it as the fact that many orthodox Hindu women have given *practical* support to it by tearing down the purdah as well as by speaking against it. According to Mahatma Gandhi, writing in *Young India*, a reasoned appeal signed by many most influential people of Bihar and almost an equal number of ladies of that province, advising the total abolition of the purdah, has been issued in Bihar. It is worthy of note says Mr. Gandhi, that the ladies, numbering more than fifty, who have signed the appeal are not of the anglicised type but are orthodox Hindus. It definitely states:

"We want that the women of our province should be as free to move about and take their legitimate part in the life of the community in all particulars as their sisters in Karnatak, Maharashtra and Madras in essentially Indian ways, avoiding all attempts at Europeanisation; for while we hold that change from enforced seclusion to a complete anglicization would be like dropping from the frying pan into the fire, we feel that *purdah* must go, if we want our women to develop along Indian ideals. If we want them to add grace and beauty to our social life and raise its moral tone, if we want them to be excellent managers at home, helpful companions of their husbands and useful members of the community, then the *purdah* as it now exists must go. In fact no serious steps for their welfare can be taken unless the veil is torn down and it is our conviction that if once the energy of half of our population that has been imprisoned artificially is released it will create a force which, if properly guided, will be of immeasurable good to our Province."

The movement, says Mahatma Gandhi, has a curious origin.

Babu Ramanandan Mishra, a Khadi worker, was desirous of rescuing his wife from the oppression of the *purdah*. As his people would not let the girl come to the Ashram, he took two girls from the Ashram to be companions to his wife. One of them, Radhabehn, Maganlal Gandhi's daughter, was to be the tutor. She was accompanied by the late Dalbahadur Giri's daughter Durgadevi. The parents of the girl wife resented the attempt of the Ashram girls to wean young Mrs. Mishra from the *purdah*. The girls braved difficulties. Meanwhile, Maganlal Gandhi went see his daughter and steel her against all odds persist in her efforts. He took ill in the vil where Radhabehn was doing her work and died Patna. The Bihar friends, therefore, made it point of honour to wage war against the *purd* Radhabehn brought her charge to the Ashra Her coming to the Ashram created additional st and obliged the husband, who was already pr pared for it, to throw himself in the strugg with greater zeal. Thus the movement having personal touch promises to be carried on wi energy. At its head is that seasoned soldier Bihar, the hero of many battles, Babu Brijkish Prasad. I do not remember his having headed movement that has been allowed to die.

—

Prof. Molisch and the Bose Institute

As a result of Sir J. C. Bose's visit Vienna, Professor Molisch, the eminent plan physiologist and pro-Rector of the Vienn University, will join the Bose Institute Calcutta, in the middle of November nex in order to become acquainted with ne methods in biological science.

—

Festival of the Rains at Visva-bharati

Season festivals are a special feature o Visva-bharati. They are not dead ceremonial of a formal and conventional character, but are instinct with the joy and inspiratio of the particular seasons they celebrate. I the open uplands of Santiniketan there is distinct feel in the air, a play of colours i the sky, a combination of sights and sound characteristic of each season. These ar caught and transformed by Rabindrana Tagore's genius in his songs, poems an dramatic pieces.

July witnessed the celebration of th festival of the rainy season at Santiniketa and Sriniketan. On the first day, just a evening was about to set in, the poet pe formed the ceremony of tree-planting. pavilion had been erected for the purpos in front of the little boys' hostel. The st students of Santiniketan came to the sp from their hostel in procession, wearin beautiful costumes appropriate to th occasion, singing songs. With them came two young men carrying in 'flower-palanquin' the sapling to be plante On reaching the pavilion, where the poet wa seated, they stood in two rows on two side First some appropriate Sanskrit verses were recited. There were then recitations of poems

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the poet, followed by the girls, who appeared to impersonate the Earth, Water, Energy (in the form of light and heat), Wind and Sky. The young tree was then lowered into the pit dug for it. In conclusion the poet recited an 'auspicious' (*mangalika*) prayer in verse for the sapling.

The gathering now moved on to a tent nearby, where the poet read a short story which he had composed for the occasion. The sorrows of a boy, a tree-lover, who instinctly sympathised with plant life, formed its motif. As the poet said afterwards, the boy was no other than himself when he was young in years. The reading of the story over, many songs suited to the rainy season, composed by the poet, were sung to the accompaniment of appropriate instrumental music.

The next day, there was the festival of tilling the soil at Sriniketan, the Institute for Rural Reconstruction at Surul. Pandit Vidhusekhar Sastri, who officiated as priest on the occasion, said that this was known in ancient times as *Sita-Yajna* or the Plough Sacrifice. Under a beautiful canopy a small plot of land had been cleared of grass and decorated with *alpana* (ceremonial drawings) in many simple colours. In front of it sat the Pandit. He recited the Vedic mantras proper to the occasion. Three pairs of well-fed bullocks, which had been decked with garlands, sandal-paste on the forehead, and circular spots of ochre colour all over the body, were then given luscious food, which they enjoyed. They were then yoked to a decorated plough. The poet now literally put his hand to the plough and started ploughing the painted soil. The ploughing was finished by Mr. Santosh Bihari Basu, the agricultural expert of the Institute. This was followed then by singing in chorus of the song in *Achalayatan*, "In joy we till the soil," by the boys of the school. There was also another song. In the beginning of the ceremony, a song was sung by the poet himself. At the close the poet delivered an impromptu speech, in which he, among other things, dwelt on the necessity and value of going back to the soil, not merely for material sustenance and wealth but for being in touch with nature and the enrichment of our inner life. He spoke not only of taking from the earth what it can give us but also of giving to it what man can give it with his science, and of investing it with the poetry of his soul.

—

Vidyasagar Memorial Columns

To-day (July 30) many villages and towns will celebrate the anniversary of the death of Pandit Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar, the illustrious educationist, litterateur, and philanthropist who, in modern times, started the movement for the marriage of widows. The memorial columns erected in his honour by his Hindu countrymen are reproduced below —one for Bengal, where he was born, lived and worked, and another for the whole of India.

CENSUS OF INDIA, 1921.

Number of Hindu Widows at Different Ages

Bengal.		India.	
Age.	Number.	Age.	Number.
0-1	45	0-1	597
1-2	25	1-2	494
2-3	120	2-3	1257
3-4	319	3-4	2837
4-5	895	4-5	6707
5-10	8470	5-10	85037
10-15	35428	10-15	232147
15-20	93713	15-20	396172
20-25	146600	20-25	742820
25-30	223865	25-30	1163720

—

Prof. Raman Honoured

New India reports that under the presidency of Dewan Bahadur T. Rangachariar, the Indian Cultural Association presented at the Y. M. C. A. Auditorium a purse and an address to Professor C. V. Raman, Palit Professor of Physics in the Calcutta University, who delivered a series of three lectures last week, under the auspices of the Association.

In the course of his preliminary remarks Mr. Rangachariar referred to the great services rendered by Professor Raman in the realm of science. Professor Raman, he said, had brought credit not only to himself but also to the province to which he belonged. Therefore, the credit earned by him all over the world belonged also to the province of his birth. Madras had reason to be distinctly proud of him.

Mr. T. Rangachariar, in the course of his concluding remarks, said that Prof. Raman had sacrificed for the cause of science a career in a branch of service which held out

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high prospects. He was glad of the results already achieved by Mr. Raman in his department of work and they showed that more was in store for him. On behalf of the citizens of Madras and of the Presidency, he wished Mr. Raman a very bright future.

—

A Recommendation of the Agricultural Commission

Of the recommendations of the Royal Agricultural Commission the most important is that in which the Commissioners prescribe education for all—young and old, of both sexes. If Government carries out this recommendation at once without imposing an additional burden of taxation on the people, the Commission will not have sat entirely in vain.

—

Ramsay MacDonald's Prophecy

Mr. Ramsay MacDonald has prophesied that within a few months India will attain Dominion status. Performance according to Labour's promise was within his and Labour's power to attempt when he was premier. They made no such attempt then. Now he utters a prophecy for others to fulfil! What hope?

—

"The Best Child's Book for 1927"

Gayneck, a beautiful story of a domesticated pigeon, by Dhan Gopal Mukerji, has won the John Newbury Medal from the American Library Association as the best child's book for 1927.

GLEANINGS



A Head Twister

Police Tricks That Subdue Unruly Prisoners

Massachusetts state police have won wide recognition for their ability to subdue unruly prisoners, and much of their success is due to their skill in executing special locks and holds on their adversaries. Many of these tricks are known to other police organisations and some can be mastered by the layman, after the practice, for his own defense.

A head hold is useful in forcing a man into a cell. The policeman places one of his arms back of the prisoner's head, the other, under the jaw. A twist will usually subdue the most unruly victim.

—

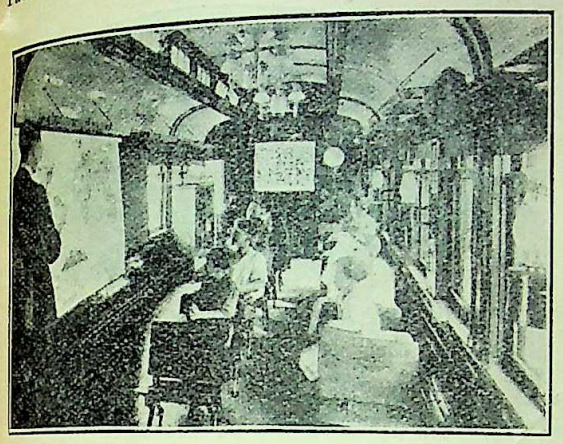
A School that Goes to the Children

The U.S.A. department of education has evolved a plan which will take educational facilities to the children throughout Northern Ontario. To meet the peculiar requirements of these communities, travelling schools have been introduced.

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"Both the Canadian National and Canadian Pacific Railways were requested to co-operate in



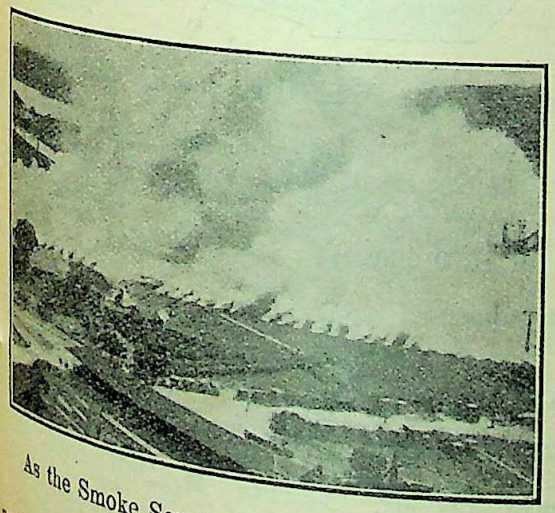
The School House on Wheels

making the plan a succes and they gladly and promptly did so. Under the direction of the Railways two coaches were converted into a schoolroom and living quarters for the teachers combined, and the department supplied all equipment and the teachers. In all his experience, said Dr. Mc Dougall, Chief-inspector of education of the department, he had never seen such attentive an willing classes.

—

Smoke Screen Guards Panama

Man-made fogs of chemical smoke have been devised to protect the locks of the Panama canal



As the Smoke Screen appears from the Air

against attacks from the air. The accompanying official United States photograph shows how the chemical service laid down an almost impenetrable smoke screen during recent manoeuvers, to demonstrate how a protective blanket of fumes could be drawn over the vital sections of the canal in case of an assult by enemy planes.

—

Ireland's Æ

Æ. is the symbol by which George Russell, the Irish poet, patriot, is known. He refused when President Cosgrave of the Irish Free state offered him a seat in the Irish Senate, says Harry Salpeter, representing the New York *World*. "He couldn't take a Senator's income since he could not do a Senator's work." But he does not believe that government belongs wholly



Æ— mystic, poet, painter, editor, publicist.
From a drawing by John Butler Yeats

to politicians : 'Every literary man ought to have some other occupation than his writing so that his thought will have some contact with life.' "The Irish rebellion", he asserts, "was the culmination of various factors. including forms of direct action, economic, industrial, artistic, intellectual."

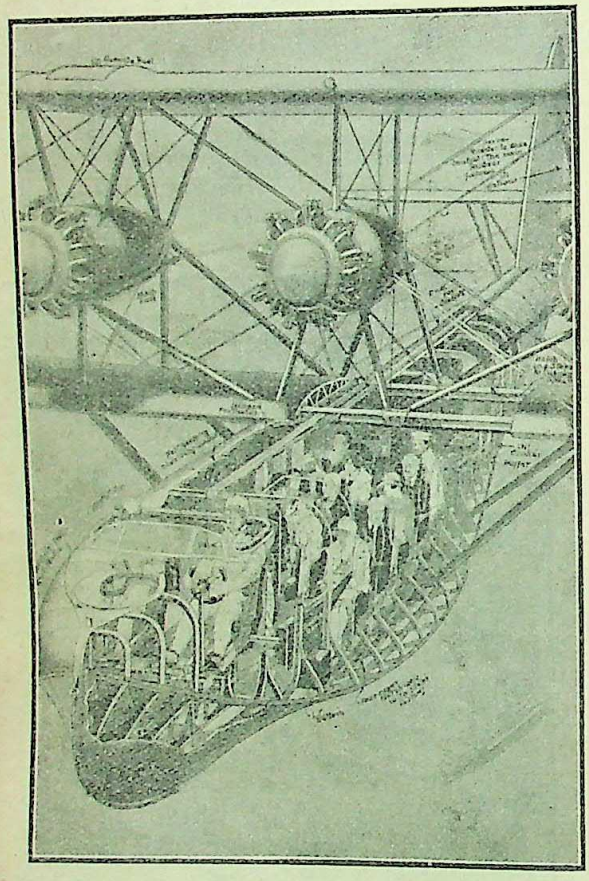
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London-to-India Air Liner

New air liners built for the British Imperial Airways Service from London to India will carry cook-stewards to prepare and serve meals en route. The new planes are to be used on the final stages of the England to India route, crossing Persia and the sea. The flying boats are of all-metal construction with a wing span of ninety-three feet and weigh nine tons loaded. They have seats for fifteen



Passenger Accomodation in New Air Liners for London-to-India Service

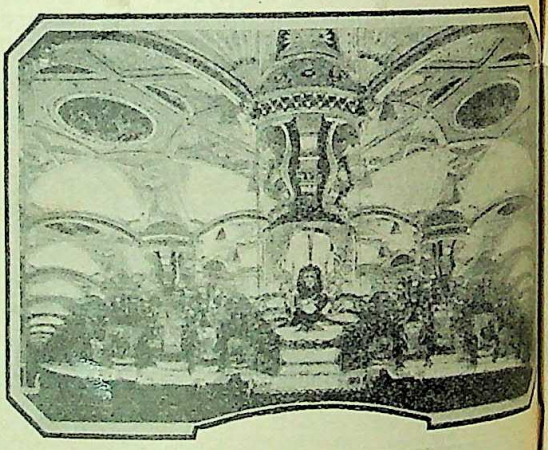
passengers in a roomy cabin and carry a crew of three, including the pilot and a relief pilot. They have a speed of 120 miles an hour with their three engines, totaling 1,500 horse-power, and carry enough gasoline to make 760 miles at cruising speed.



Air-Cushions are Life Preservers

Palace of Mirages

The Palace of Mirages, installed in the Grevin Museum, Paris, is a veritable chateau, of the Thousand and One Nights. Successively the spectator finds himself placed in a Hindu temple, in an Arab palace or in the



The Wonderland of Magic Reflections

midst of a boundless forest plunged in darkness. The electric lighting permits no less than forty-five varied effects, giving place to a multitude of combinations. These effects are obtained by means of 2,500 different coloured lights.

ERRATA

July, Page 87, Col. 1, in place of Hand But of Indian Railway Employees *read* Hard lot of Indian Railway Employees.

August, Page 215, in the title of the picture of Mr. Newton M. Dutt *read* curator for cenator.

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RAJA RAM MOHUN ROY

From the Painting by H. P. Briggs, R.A., in the Bristol Art Gallery.

PRABASI PRESS, CALCUTTA.

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WHY INDIA REJECTED THE "REFORMS" OF 1919 (DYARCHY)

By J. T. SUNDERLAND

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SOON after the close of the Great War in Europe, the British gave to India a "Government Reform Scheme" (called "Dyarchy"), which was proclaimed to the world as a great boon to the Indian people, as something which advanced them far on the road toward freedom and self-rule, and withal, as something which showed the great generosity of the British toward India, and their constant solicitude for her welfare and progress.

Did the Indian people receive the Scheme as a great boon, and were they profoundly thankful for it, as Britain declared they ought to be? No, and for reasons which they thought were of the weightiest possible character.

Of course, *in a sense* they *accepted* the Dyarchy plan, they had to, it was forced upon them without their consent. A few thought that it was perhaps better than nothing, and so they said: "Let us make the most of it until we can get something more satisfactory." But it is not an overstatement to affirm that all India was deeply disappointed and hurt by it. Absolutely all parties, the most moderate and conservative as well as the most advanced, united in declaring that it was not what they desired or expected or deserved, and that it was not worthy of England.

Why were practically all the important leaders of India disappointed, grieved and pained? The reason which immediately presented itself and which would not down, was: The Scheme seemed to them little or nothing but a "smoke-screen" to hide Britain's real mind and purpose. With the most careful and eager examination of it that they could make, they were unable to discover in it even the slightest evidence that their British masters intended to give them real freedom or real self-rule then or ever. It made a great show, a great pretense of advancing them far on the road to full attainment of both. But as a matter of fact, it gave them no advancement and no new freedom that amounted to anything; and it really promised nothing. All it did was to grant them a few new offices (some of them it is true with quite flattering salaries) and some new or enlarged legislatures, both national and provincial, in which they might talk and talk, discuss and discuss, and even vote and vote but only upon such questions and subjects as the British graciously permitted them to vote or speak upon: in no case were they granted any *real power*: they were allowed

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to *control nothing* ; "(Mock Parliaments" was the name given to the legislatures by an eminent Englishman). The real objects of the scheme seemed to be two, namely, to quiet the growing unrest of the Indian people by making them think they were getting something important (when they were not), and to produce a favourable impression upon the public opinion of the world by spreading the idea that the British were generous to India and were leading her as fast as seemed wise toward her desired goal of freedom and self-rule.

It is important to know the facts connected with the origin of the Reform Scheme.

When the great war of 1914 broke out in Europe, England found herself in a serious plight. In order to do her part in withstanding the German attack on France, she was compelled to send for almost her entire Indian army, which was the first foreign contingent to arrive on the field of conflict, and without whose invaluable help the German advance could not have been checked and Paris would undoubtedly have fallen.

This sudden withdrawal from India of the military forces which were maintained there to hold her in subjection, naturally suggested to the Indian people that now was a favorable time to throw off the foreign yoke which was so galling to them, and to gain their freedom and independence. And why not? Would any other nation in the world, held in bondage for more than a century and a half, have refrained from taking advantage of such an opportunity?

It is easy to see how great, how tremendous, was the temptation. How did the Indian people meet it? Did they say: "Now is the auspicious time; let us rise and be free?" On the contrary, the vast majority of them said: "England is in sore distress ; she is fighting virtually for life. To take advantage of her helplessness, to strike her when she is down, would be dishonorable, cowardly. We shall not do it. Although she has robbed us of our nationhood, we will not turn on her in her time of peril. Until her danger is past, we will stand by her, we will be loyal—nay, we will even help her in her struggle." And they did. With insignificant exceptions they were absolutely loyal throughout the war. Largely they laid aside for the time being the political agitation for freedom which they had been carrying on for many years. India rendered to Great Britain great and invaluable aid both in men and money. It was amazing. It was almost incredible that a subject people longing for freedom should take such a course. It was unselfish, chivalrous, noble beyond words. I am not able to recall in all history a national act, a national course of conduct, so magnanimous or so noble.

The Indian people believed and I think all the world believed, that when the war was over and England was safe, she would show appreciation of their marvellous loyalty and magnanimity, by treating them far better than she had done in the past, by righting their wrongs and, if not by granting them at once full and complete home-rule like that of Canada, which was India's desire, at least by setting them far on the way toward it, and by giving them a definite promise of its complete realization in the very near future.

Did England do this? No! Unbelievable as it seems, instead of meeting the magnanimity of the Indian people with a like magnanimity, instead of showing appreciation of their astonishing loyalty and their invaluable aid in her time of distress, instead of being even just to them, she proceeded to treat them with a degree of suspicion, oppression and cruelty beyond anything in the past, culminating in the Punjab atrocities and the infamous Rowlatt Act, which virtually deprived India of even the protection of civil law. Of course, this was a terrible shock to the Indian people. It was a disappointment about as great as it is possible for any nation to experience.

But did Great Britain offer to the Indian people no return of any kind for what they had done? Yes, she offered them this so-called "Reform Scheme" (or Dyarchy) for government. This and only this was England's reward for India's amazing service and devotion.

Let us examine the Scheme a little more fully, so as to see exactly what were some of the more important reasons for India's dissatisfaction with it.

(I) The first disappointment, injustice, hardly less than insult, that India saw in the scheme, was Britain's spirit of high-handedness and arrogance, in claiming for herself all rights in the matter, and allowing India none; in setting out from the first to make the Scheme not what the Indian people had a right to ask

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wanted, or what would have been just and acceptable to all parties concerned ; but solely what she (Britain) wanted, and then thrusting it upon India.

The Scheme, to have been just, to have been anything that India could honorably accept, should have been mutual, something framed by India and Great Britain together, each recognising the other's rights. But it was nothing of the kind. It was something designed to be a compact between two parties, but framed by one party alone and imposed upon the other. There was nothing mutual about it. It was a dictation ; it was a command ; it was the voice of a master to slaves. Britain, standing above, handed it down to the Indian people below. They must receive it on their knees. She owned India. She would manage it as she chose. She owned the Indian people. They must obey her.

Is it any wonder that a scheme framed and offered in such a spirit and with such aims, was not welcome to the Indian people ? Is it any wonder that they found in it nothing to right their wrongs, nothing to set their feet upon a path leading to self-government ?

Let me not be misunderstood when I speak of the Scheme as formed by Great Britain alone. I am quite aware that Mr. Montagu, the British Secretary of State for India, before formulating his plan went to India and consulted—candidly and honestly, I have no doubt—the various interested parties there ;—on the one hand, the Indian leaders and on the other, the British rulers. That was fair so far as it went, but what a little way it went ! What followed was that Mr. Montagu and other representatives of Great Britain proceeded themselves alone to draw up a plan for India's government, without associating with themselves in this great and serious task any representatives chosen by India ; that is, without giving India any real part or power in the matter. That was unfair ; that was dishonorable. Such a one-sided body of men could not possibly produce a scheme that would be just to India or that India could accept. What ought to have been done was the creation of a Joint Commission with an equal number of British and Indian members, the Indian members being elected by the Indian people and therefore empowered really to represent them ; and this Joint Commission should have been instructed to draw up, and should have drawn up, such a scheme as seemed just and wise in their united judgment. That would have been fair both to England and India. And to a scheme thus created, the Indian people would gladly have given their assent.

(2) The second thing to be said about this so-called Reform Scheme is that, in its very nature, it was self-contradictory, and therefore impossible.

The Scheme was given the very unusual name of "Dyarchy," which properly means the joint rule of two monarchs, as William and Mary in England. But in the present case it was supposed to signify the joint rule of the British and the Indians through an arrangement by which some matters connected with the Government were "transferred" or committed (under severe limitations) to Indian management, while others were "reserved" or kept wholly under British control. Exactly described, it was a plan which put side by side two radically different, two antagonistic forms of government ; one, self-rule, the other, arbitrary rule from the outside ; one, democracy, the other, absolute autocracy or absolute monarchy (in the form of an alien bureaucracy) ; and expected them to work in harmony. It was an attempt to mix oil and water ; or to ride two horses going in opposite directions. Abraham Lincoln said : "A nation cannot endure half free and half slave." The British ought to have known that neither can a nation be successfully ruled by means of governmental machinery, half formed for ends of freedom and half for ends of oppression. That is exactly what this scheme was and is.

What Great Britain ought to have done, instead of concocting such an impossible, misshapen, mongrel plan, is clear. She should have listened to India's just demands, and given her a government framed distinctly and honestly for ends of self-rule ; a government responsible, at least in all home matters, to the Indian people ; a real democracy essentially like that of Canada or South Africa, but of course adapted to the special needs and conditions of India. That would have been sane. It would have been straightforward and honest. It would have been practicable and to the infinite advantage of all concerned. On the one hand, it would have made India content, and on the other, it would have removed all cause for anxiety or alarm on the part of Great Britain. It would have resulted in India's becoming

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as loyal a part of the Empire (or Commonwealth) as South Africa or Canada or Australia. That the very opposite state of things now exists, is the result of Britain's blind and arbitrary refusal to give to the Indian people what they so earnestly asked for, and what was their right; and thrusting on them, instead, this impossible, self-contradictory, vicious plan of "Dyarchy."

(3) A fundamental defect of the Reform Scheme or Dyarchy was the startling fact that it contained no Bill of Rights, no constitutional guaranty of any kind securing the Indian people against possible future injustices and tyrannies on the part of the Government. In view of the many wrongs that they had suffered in the past, this defect was fatal, something which alone, as they believed, was sufficient reason for rejecting the Scheme. They realized that without a bill of rights, or a constitutional guaranty of justice, they could not have sure protection, they would be at the mercy of their foreign rulers, liable at any time to have wrongs and cruelties inflicted upon them as great as any they had ever suffered. The British at home, in England, would on no consideration give up the protection which for hundreds of years they have received from their *Magna Charta*, which has shielded them by its great words: "No freeman shall be arrested or detained in prison.... or in any way molested... unless by the lawful judgment of his peers and by the law of the land."

We Americans could not possibly be induced to surrender the guaranteed protection which we possess in our Declaration of Independence, and especially in our National Constitution, which declares:

"Congress shall make no law abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

"The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers and effects against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated.

"Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.

"No State or province within the nation shall deprive any person of life, liberty or property without due process of law, nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws."

Such charters of rights, such guarantees of protection, are regarded by Englishmen, by Americans, and by all other free peoples, as absolutely indispensable in their own cases. Why did not Great Britain grant such protection to India?

What are the facts bearing on the case? They are startling enough. Within the last few years reports have come from the most trustworthy sources, of brutalities committed by British officials against the Indian people, which have shocked the world—houses searched without proper warrant; men seized and imprisoned without trial; men and women peacefully working in the field bombed from the sky; all the inhabitants in a certain street in a city forbidden to go along the street even to get water or buy food except by their crawling on their hands and knees; a great peaceful gathering assembled in a public garden on a religious festival day, fired on without warning, by troops, and the firing continued until the ammunition of the soldiers was exhausted, and 379 dead and 1,200 wounded men, women and children lay heaped on the bloody ground;* prisoners confined in a luggage van without ventilation, and in spite of their frantic cries for air kept there until more than 70 were dead; and many other brutalities and crimes almost as shocking. * * * *

If the new Government Scheme for India was to be of any value at all, ought it not to have guranteed the people against such outrages in the future? Yet incredible, almost monstrous, as the fact seems, it did not.

The fact alone that the military forces of the country and the police were both wholly under British control—neither being responsible in any degree to the Indian people—made the recurrence of injustices and atrocities as bad as any of these, possible at any future time. The Scheme gave no guaranty whatever against the coming at any time of other Governor O'Dwyers, and General Dyers, and Jalianwala Baghs, and Moplah suffocations, and the rest. It

* The Hunter Committee appointed to investigate the Punjab atrocities reported the number killed in the Amritsar (Jalianwala Bagh) massacre as 379, and the number wounded as about three times as many. These numbers, however, are very much the lowest given by any authority. The Investigation Commission appointed by the authorities of the Indian National Congress, whose researches were far more thorough, reported that they found unimpeachable evidence that the number shot to death was approximately 1,200 and the number wounded approximately 3,600.

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provided protection for the British rulers of the land, but for nobody else. It did not guarantee to the Indian people public protection, or military protection, or civil protection; it did not insure to them freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of trial in open court; or the privilege of *habeas corpus* or any other of the essential rights and privileges which are the foundations and indispensable guarantees of liberty, justice and law. Is it any wonder that India rejected the Scheme? Is it not amazing that any nation calling itself civilized and Christian, in this age of the world, could have proposed such a Scheme?

(4) In the so-called "Reform Plan" offered to India in 1919, the British kept in their own hands not only all other kinds of power, but also all real legislative power. India was allowed no effective voice whatever in legislation. This statement applies to legislation in the Provinces, and it applies still more fully and seriously to national legislation. It is true that the Scheme gave to India both national legislative bodies and provincial legislative bodies, which looked like real parliaments, endowed with power to enact real laws. But on looking deeper, it was soon seen that this appearance was deceptive. They were not real parliaments or real legislatures at all as these words are understood in Europe and America. They were all under external control. Whatever they did could be overthrown.

In the national government, the Reform Scheme allowed Indians to hold a few more places than they formerly did. For example, in the National Legislative Assembly there were an increased number of Indians, enough to guard India's rights if they had possessed any real power. But they did not. As has been said, they were allowed to vote on some things, but not on all; on some they were not permitted even to speak. Matters were so arranged that in no case could they disturb the plans of the Government. Whatever legislation the British rulers desired, they enacted, whether the Indians favored it or not.

In the Provinces, the situation was similar. Each Provincial Legislative Assembly contained a majority of Indians, but here again they could legislate only upon such matters as the British rulers permitted; and even regarding these they had no final power; whatever laws they enacted could be overturned by the Governor in Council, or by the Governor-General in Council, or both. Even if a legislature voted unanimously for a measure, the Government might disallow it.

Is it said that even in democratic America the enactments of State Legislatures may be vetoed by Governors, and those of the National Congress, by Presidents? Yes, but these vetoes are not final. An American State Legislature can pass anything it desires over the Governor's veto, and the American National Congress can pass anything it pleases over the veto of the President. In India nothing of this kind is possible. There, all final legislative authority, all real legislative power, whether national or provincial, is in the hands of the executive. Notwithstanding the increased number of so-called legislators under the new Government Scheme, the British are still, just as before, the supreme, and really the sole, law-makers.

Of course, the fact that the dyarchal plan granted to members of legislatures considerable liberty of discussion, was not without value. It gave to the British overlords a better knowledge than they would otherwise have had of the feelings and wants of the people, and thus to some extent it may have influenced legislation for the better. And yet, one cannot help wondering how much. A prominent member of the British Indian Government said to an American: "Oh yes! we listen to these Indian fellows, these natives, in our legislatures—to their talk, their discussions, their pleas for this and that, their demands for what they call their 'rights' for 'home-rule' and the rest—we listen to them, they like it, and then—*we do as we damned please!*"

This is a cynical declaration; but it describes exactly the amount of power possessed by the people of India under Dyarchy as regards enacting legislation on all subjects of highest importance, and in shaping all the really vital affairs of their own nation.*

* It may be claimed that the Dyarchal Scheme placed some vital matters, for example, education and public sanitation in the hands of Indians, and hence, if any failures were found there the responsibility was with them. The claim is superficial. The truth is the public revenue of the nation remained under dyarchy where it had always been, in the sole control of the British, who always use first of all as much of it as they want for their own military and imperialistic purposes and for other British interests

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The fact is, the Government of India continued just as autocratic and absolute after the introduction of the new plan of things as it was before. The power of "Certification" given to the Viceroy made him virtually an absolute monarch, and placed all the Indian legislatures and all India virtually under his feet. It enabled him to defeat any legislation that he did not like by "certifying" that it was against the safety or interests of India (meaning the British Empire), and to enact any law desired by him by "certifying" that it was necessary for the interests or safety of India (the British Empire). As for the apparent check placed upon his certifications by the provision that they must lie two months before the British Parliament, before becoming operative, everybody knew from the beginning that that was meant only as a form.

The helplessness of the Indian legislatures under Dyarchy has been described in emphatic words by an eminent Englishman. In the winter of 1925-26, Dr. V. H. Rutherford, a member of Parliament and a prominent leader in the Labour Party, made an extended visit to India for the purpose of examining on the ground the working of the "Reforms."

The *Amrita Bazar Patrika* of Calcutta, in its issue of February 2nd, 1926, published an interview with Dr. Rutherford, who is reported to have said :

* * *

"At Madras, Lahore and elsewhere in the Provinces, I have seen in action the Legislative Councils and Assemblies created by the Reform Scheme. My disappointment on account of the feeble powers which Great Britain has conferred upon them is boundless, as also is my indignation. My greatest disappointment and indignation, however, have been reserved for Delhi, the Capital, and the National Government there. The National Legislature is supposed to be the crowning piece of the anatomy of the Montagu-Chelmford Reforms ; and on close inspection I have found it to be a mere make-believe, a mere pretense, mockery, a legislative body in name but without power to form a government, or to displace a government in which it has no confidence ; without power to appoint or dismiss ministers ; without power of purse ; without power to shift a nail or screw in the "steel frame' of bureaucratic control set up by the British ; without the least shred or iota of control over the Viceroy, who can defy and damn at his pleasure all the representatives of the people, and who has, in fact, defied them again and again, 'certifying' the Finance Bill over their heads, locking up thousands of them in prison in disregard of all law, and doing whatever else he liked. Never in the history of the world was such a hoax perpetrated upon a great people as England perpetrated upon India, when in return for India's invaluable service during the war, she gave to the Indian nation such a discreditable, disgraceful, undemocratic, tyrannical constitution. No political party in Great Britain would tolerate these iniquitous semblances of parliamentary institutions for a single week."

Let it be borne in mind that these strong words were not spoken by an Indian, but by a Member of the British Perliament. In the light of such statements coming from such a source, is it any wonder that India indignantly rejects the so-called "boon" of Dyarchy, as worthless and worse than worthless, and demands instead something incomparably better ?

(5) A very prominent and evil feature of the Dyarchy Scheme which should not go unmentioned, is the fact that its whole spirit was one of negations, negations. From first to last, its constant aim was to forbid, to forbid. Its most outstanding characteristic was its careful, specific and multiplied specifications and descriptions of privileges, rights, liberties and powers which the Indian people *were not permitted to have.* At every point where the Indian people came upon anything of first class importance, anything that would give any real power to India, there at once they were met with "reservations," "reservations." And the reservations were always in the interest of England, never of India. Even the "transferred" subjects "had strings to them." The great thing that the scheme constantly guarded against, was not India's danger, the danger that India might fail to get her rights, but the imagined danger that at some point or other England might suffer some loss of prestige, or privilege, or power. The scheme gave no evidence of being something prompted in any degree by a desire to right India's age-long and terrible wrongs; indeed, it contained no real recognition of the existence, then or in the past, of any such wrongs. Everything in it and about it showed that it was simply an effort on the part of Great Britain to *retain her grip on India at a trying time.* The scheme was an unintentional but clear acknowledgment

(paying the high salaries and pensions of of British officials, etc.), and Indian interests, however vital, whether education and sanitation or others, have to put up with what they can get from the small remainder, This is the prime reason why education makes so little progress and public sanitation and hygiene are so neglected.

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that a great new spirit of freedom and independence had come into the world, and that India was feeling it mightily. This *alarmed England.* She saw that the Indian people were thinking, were rising from their knees to their feet, were becoming indignant at being held in subjection, were feeling humiliated and outraged beyond measure by the fact that they, who for so many centuries had been a great nation among the nations of the world, were now not thought of as nation at all, but were regarded as a mere appendage, a mere possession of a nation six or seven thousand miles away.

It was distinctly with this in view, and because of this, that the new Government Scheme was offered to India. The Scheme was England's attempt to counteract all this, to quiet the unrest of the Indian people, to allay their humiliation, to soothe their wounded pride, to administer to them an opiate, to induce them to lay aside their dangerous ambition and be willing to continue loyal still to Great Britain, by offering them something which they were told was a great boon, something which England assured them meant increasing freedom, more and more privileges, more and more participation in the Government, an advance, with more and more advances to follow, on the road leading toward self-rule.

But alas ! these promises, when examined, when really looked into, when probed to the bottom, when tested, were seen to mean nothing of value to India. Their real purpose was not at all India's advancement, but her pacification, and England's security. They offered India no boon whatever. They merely promised her a pot of gold at the end of a rainbow.

(6) This brings me to a final indictment which remains to be made against Great Britain's new Government Scheme for India. The Scheme fixed no time. It left everything uncertain. Whatever promises it made, or was supposed to make, of new rights or privileges, or of advances toward self-rule, were only to be fulfilled "some time," in an unknown future, and at the option of the British rulers.

This was fatal. It made the promises absolutely worthless. It is well-understood in law that if I give a man a note promising to pay him a sum of money, but without mentioning any time, my note is of no value. Nobody can collect anything on it. Or if I make my note payable at such a time in the future as I may then elect, still it is valueless. My promise to pay must state when the payment is due, in order to be of any worth. It is exactly the same with the supposed promise made in this Reform Scheme of future self-government to India. There was no date fixed. The fulfilment could be put off and put off until the end of time. It was no promise at all.

The fact is not to be escaped, that Great Britain did not in her so-called Reform Scheme, pledge to the Indian people anything whatever except that if they would cease their (to her) disgreeable agitations for reforms, freedom, self-government, and be dumb and docile, and do what she commanded (like good children, or rather, like slaves) and caused her no trouble, she would be kind and motherly to them, and at such time or times in the future as, in her superior wisdom, she might see fit, she might perhaps condescend graciously to grant them such limited new liberties as she might then consider safe, and such gradual advances towards some very far-off goal of self-government (Dominion status or some other) as she might then deem it best for them to receive.

To put the case in a word, this Scheme which has been heralded abroad and praised as offering so much to India, and as setting her feet securely on the road to self-rule, particularly to Dominion status like that of Canada, as a matter of fact *gave her no assurance of being granted such a status, or any form of self-determination in a thousand years.*

Can a great nation, with a proud history of three or four milleniums, be satisfied with such mockery? Said the great and honored American, Patrick Henry, "Give me liberty, or give me death." Said the great and honored Indian, Raja Ram Mohun Roy, "I want to be free, or "I do not want to be at all."

In conclusion what are the lessons that Great Britain should learn from India's rejection of Dyarchy? There are two which are clear as the light, if she will open her eyes to them.

One is that India refuses longer to accept stones for bread. She is fast waking up. All her leaders are awake now, and her people are fast following. She sees the world becoming free; she sees Asia becoming free. Under such conditions she can no more be held in bondage than the rising tide of the ocean can be stayed.

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The other leason is that if Britain persists in further treatment of India in the high-handed spirit of the dyarchy Scheme, if she attempts to force upon the Indian people another constitution as autocratic, as tyrannical, as defiant of their wishes and rights as the dyarchy Scheme was, she must be prepared for disaster,—the result certainly will be, acute, growing and probably permanent bitterness and resentment toward Britain on the part of India, and alienation between the two nations so deep that it probably cannot be healed. Why does not Great Britain recognize all this?

Indeed, why was she not wise enough, brave enough, and noble enough at the close of the Great War in Europe, even if not earlier than that, to extend to India the same warm, strong hand of friendship, confidence, trust, comradeship, co-operation and real partnership in the Empire, which at the end of the Boer War she extended to South Africa? That would have saved everything in India as it did in South Africa.

Will she do it yet? Will she do it before it is too late?

A SONG OF FIDELITY

By SAROJINI NAIDU

I

Love o'er the rose-white alleys
That flower in dim desert sands,
Love thro' the rose-red valleys
That burgeon in soft south lands,
In cities agleam with pleasure
On the edge of a foam-kiss'd clime,
Or mountains whose still caves treasure
The temples of moon-crowned time,

On errands of joy of duty.
Wherever the ways, you tread,
A carpet of ageless beauty,
Is my heart for your feet out-spread.

II

Love whether Life betray you
And the malice of black-winged Fate
Strive in blind wrath to slay you
With talons of fear and hate,
Or whether yours the story
Of triumph and loneliest fame,
And the stars inscribe your glory
In lyric and legend of flame.,

By the chance winds that break or bless you
Unchallenged, my soul doth shine,
O King, who dare dispossess you
Of your fortress and throne and shrine. ?

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THE GARDEN CREEPER

By SAMYUKTA DEVI

(3)

THERE was a garden, behind Shiveswar's house in Bhowanipore. The gold-mohur trees in it were in flower, and presented a blaze of colour to the beholders' eyes. The Oriya gardener was busy plucking the red bunches with the help of a bamboo, and placing them in a basket. A little girl of about seven or eight was swinging, with evident enjoyment, in a swing suspended from a mango-tree. Her anklets tinkled and the end of her striped *saree*, floated behind her like a veil. Her mop of unruly hair was giving her much trouble. Her two hands were engaged with the ropes of the swing. If she let go, she would fall, but the hair lashing across her eyes made her highly nervous. Suddenly, a bright idea seemed to strike her and she cried out excitedly, "Mali *, oh Mali, please give me the strings in your basket."

The Oriya flung down the bamboo, and baring his reddish teeth, asked with a laugh, "What do you want it for, little miss ?"

The small lady took offence, and cried out sharply : "First bring them. I have no time to listen to your babblings."

The man made a pretence of being highly dismayed and brought two pieces of string. "Tie me to the swing with one," directed his little mistress, "and with the second one, tie up my hair in a tight knot."

The Oriya was bursting with silent laughter. "But won't grandmother scold me ?" he managed to ask ; "why do you say such things ?"

The little woman tried to be very grave and stern. "Do what I say," she said. "If grandma is angry, she will scold me, not you. So you need not be afraid."

The gardener had to obey perforce. He made fast the small lady to the swing with the first string, and with the second one, tied up her unruly curly hair in a tight and cruel knot. She was highly pleased. "I will give you sweets," she declared to her obedient servant ; "now give me a good swing."

The man obeyed with alacrity and gave the swing a mighty push. It shot up like a rocket and touched the topmost branch of the tree. The mango-blossoms fell in a shower on and about the child and the small branches struck her like so many whips. Her face paled with fear and she sobbed out aloud in alarm, "Oh dear, oh dear, this rascal of a Mali is killing me."

The man was alarmed, lest the cry should reach the real mistress and catching hold of the swing, he made it stop and took down the child from it.

But he was just a bit too late. A widowed lady, of about fifty years of age, rushed out of the house and called out sternly, "Mukta, you naughty thing ! So you are out in this blazing sun ! What a tom-boy you are, to be sure. Did not any other time suit you ? You must come out in the full noon. Come here, at once. And Mali, what sort of a man are you ? She is a child and thoughtless. But you are not in your dotage yet. Why did you put her in a swing, in this terrible heat ? And why did she get frightened ? If she falls ill of fright ?"

The Oriya gave some sort of a lame excuse, and escaped. Mukti came and stood by her grand-mother, with a sullen expression. The state of her hair made the old lady nearly faint.

"You naughty girl," she cried again, "you make me run nearly a mile every day, before I can touch your hair and comb it. And now what have you been doing to it ? Does it not look like a crow's nest ? And you have put on a tiara of coir string ? What a beauty ! The Governor is coming down to take you away, as his son's bride ! Throw the string away, at once. I never saw the like of it ! It will take me the rest of the day to put you to rights again."

Mokshada Devi, Shiveswar's mother, had to come out of her retirement, when her daughter-in-law died, leaving her baby girl behind. Mokshada gave up her

* Gardener.

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country house and her worship of the family-god and came over to Calcutta to look after her son's household and his baby. Though he was a heretic, still he was her own son. She could not leave his child to the tender mercies of the be-skirted Ayah. Her son had already become an ascetic at this age. So there was small chance of his bringing a second wife home. Even a step-mother, if she happened to be of good family, would not have neglected such a sweet baby. But who can withstand fate? So Mukti's grandmother had to take the place of her mother. Mukti called her "mother" generally and "grandma" very rarely.

Mukti was quite up-to-date regarding, the prevailing female fashions. So she had a good laugh at her grand-mother's antiquated ideas and sat down to put her in the right. She pushed away the old lady's hand from her head and said, "You don't know anything, mother. Girls now-a-days don't tie up their hair in braided coils. And neither do they put oil in their hair. They tie up their hair with strings, as I did. Haven't you seen? Bela came day before yesterday. How nice her hair looked, tied with a red string! You don't give me any nice things; so I have to use these ugly strings."

"All right, all right, you wise old woman," her grandmother said. "I own that I don't know anything and you know everything. So you have taken a fancy to Bela and her Christian manners? Your father has spoilt you completely. I don't see why girls should wear red ribbons, bows and belts, like the *durwans* of the Judge Sahib. These are new-fangled ideas. In our times, girls put oil in their hair and put them up decently. But if I want to do that for her, she will rend the very heavens with her shrieks. And now look at the state of her hair! It is worse than that of a *Bhairabi*".*

The old lady jerked the strings off her grand-daughter's hair and dress. Mukti gave her an angry push and sat down to sulk in a corner of the room.

She was a spoilt child, and her sulks used to last a long time as well as her crying spells. So her grandmother made haste to negotiate for peace. She took up the child in her arms, wiped her eyes and said, "Don't cry; there's a darling. Let us go and dress up. We shall go to Kartik Babu's house to see the new bride. I have put out many Benarasi *sarees* and ornaments. You choose whatever you like to wear. Hurry up, as we shall be late."

Mukti rubbed off her tears with the back of her doubled up fists and broke into a smile, even before her tears had dried.

The house, which stood behind the garden was in festive attire to-day. From the morning, the sounds of an Indian band had been proclaiming to the neighbourhood the advent of a bride in it. All the children of the quarter had congregated there to listen to this music and to stare at the puffed out cheeks of the flute-players. The small folk were richly dressed, some in sailor suits and gold-braided caps, some in frocks of velvet and loud tinkling anklets. Some also had befeathered caps stuck on their coils of braided hair. They had given up all thoughts of food and drink, in their enthusiasm for the music. Some babies also were present in total or partial undress, whom their elders had dragged off to the place of entertainment, even before they had finished their toilette.

Mukti had hitherto paid scant attention to the music, being too much engrossed in the flowers of the gold-mohur and the suring. But as her grandmother reminded her of it, her mind felt the call of the music; and like a most obedient little girl she washed her face and sat down to make her choice of the gaudy *sarees* and glittering jewellery, her grand-mother had borrowed for her.

Shiveswar did not want his child to dress in the orthodox fashion or to wear antiquated ornaments. He thought jewellery ridiculous for small children. But Mukti sided with her grandmother in this matter. As she had no jewellery of her own, her grandmother had to borrow from the neighbours, whenever an occasion presented itself.

Mukti took the jewel case in her lap and selected two heavy anklets, a huge gold necklace, which hung in seven rows, a tiara and too large bracelets. Mokshada had pierced Mukti's ears, in secret, because her son hated all these barbarous practices, as he called them. But Mukti was too wild to allow the secret to be kept. Her ears soon became swollen and red and brought down the attention of Shiveswar upon them. There was an angry dispute, which made mother and son go without food the whole day. But Mukti had forgotten the deep insult received on the occasion, and chose a pair

* Female ascetic.

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ear-rings as well, for her small ears. A jacket made of green velvet and profusely decorated with black lace, and a red Benarasi *saree*, which Mukti's mother had worn as a bride, completed her outfit.

Mokshada set herself to the ponderous task of decorating her grand-daughter. She brought a bottle of scented hair oil, two or three combs, hair-pins of various colour, make and design, some false hair and even some nails. Mukti did not object to anything now. She had already put on the gold necklace, and was busily scanning her face in the round mirror, which used to stand on her father's dressing table. Her head was pulled back frequently, as her grandmother strove to comb her knotted hair smooth, and she held up the mirror higher and higher in order to have an uninterrupted view of her face. She had fallen in love with it, like Narcissus of old.

Mukti's grandmother oiled her curly hair profusely and combed them straight. Then she plaited them into separate braids, with the help of the false hair and constructed a huge affair on the back of Mukti's small head. It looked like a large pancake, and was so made fast to her head with innumerable hair-pins and nails that it would not have come down even if her head had. It was the first time within the year, that Mukti had sat so docile, under her grandmother's hand, while the old lady did her hair. But the matter did not give the small lady unmixed satisfaction. She bore it somehow, being too eager to put on the tiara and ear-rings.

After finishing with her hair, the old lady sent for a maid-servant. She came up and cried out, enchanted at the sight of Mukti's hair. "Oh dear, has not little miss done her hair in grand style! How beautiful she looks! Girls do not look well, when their hair looks like crow's nests."

But the old lady cut her short. "Go, go, wash her neck and face properly. We don't want your gassing now."

Mukti went willingly enough with the maid. Mokshada sat, cleaning the combs and thinking, when suddenly her son entered. "What are you thinking of, mother?" he asked. "About Mukti, I suppose. She is getting quite big. Don't you think it high time to engage a private tutor for her?"

Mokshada agreed to her son's proposal and said, "Yes, she is getting big. We must think about her now. If you want to engage a private tutor, do so. I don't know much about these matters. I was thinking of another matter. Do you remember, I spoke to you about a daughter of Nidhu Bhattacharya? The girl is quite grown-up now. She must be quite fourteen by this month. She had been married to Bishnu, Kartik Babu's son. A very fine girl! Only a fortunate man gets such a jewel of a wife. But you never listened to me. Now see. Bishnu is no younger than you, he is considerably older. He was six years of age and got admitted into school, and you were not even born then. He has already got four sons, too. Now, if he could marry the girl, why could not you? You thought yourself extremely old and unsuitable, being the father of one child. You said, you could not marry a cry-baby. Now go and see, whether she is crying or not. She is more likely to take over complete charge of her household from to-day, and pension off her old mother-in-law.''

Shiveswar was rather taken aback, at this sudden attack. "But what is the use of talking about that now," he said; "you won't get her now, even if I agree to marry again."

"Why don't you say so?" cried out his mother, even before he had finished. "I promise to get a bride for you, who would be twice as beautiful and quite grown-up. Just say the word and leave the rest to me. Bishnu's bride won't be fit to hold a candle to her."

Shiveswar jumped up in alarm, saying, "No, no, I did not mean that. I am not pining away for marriage. I want to know, what you are thinking about Mukti."

His mother sighed and said, "Then why did you hold out false hopes to your old mother? It was foolish of me to believe you at all. Don't I know quite well, that you are not one to obey your mother and to marry according to her wishes?"

Shiveswar was in a fix. "Good lord," he cried, "there you go again. I want to talk about Mukti. What do you think would be best for her?"

His mother flared up at once, "I don't know and I don't care," she said angrily. "Do whatever you like." Then, as suddenly, she calmed down.

"You have heard, have not you, that Kartik Babu is celebrating the home-coming of the bride. Many people are invited. They are arranging a good feast. Bishnu's

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eldest son, by his first wife, is an extremely intelligent boy. He is only fifeteen, but has nearly completed his school course. Only a month ago, he was sent up into a new class. Two years hence, he is going to appear at a great examination and join a college. The boy is good-looking, too. So what I say is this. Let me take Mukti to the feast. She may find favour in their eyes ; she is pretty enough. Then we shall be sure of a very good match."

Shiveswar lost his temper completely. He jumped up from his seat, crying, "Certainly not I won't allow my daughter to go about like a sample of merchandise. Good match indeed ! The boy is already fifteen and still at school ! And it is going to take two more years for him to get into college. Very brilliant ! Many such boys would fall at the feet of my daughter yet. Mukti is but a baby now. Don't put such horrid ideas into her head now, or you will spoil her future completely. It would be very hard to educate her then."

"Oh indeed !" said his mother. "The girl has passed eight already. Now you want to educate her, leaving the all important question shelved. Then when she has become an old maid and completely Anglicised, you will think about her marriage. But no good orthodox Brahmin boy would touch such a girl then."

"Much I care," said Shiveswar, still in a temper, "Even if they solicit me on their bended knees, I won't give my daughter to a Brahmin boy."

"What frightful nonsense are you talking ?" cried out his mother in alarm.

Just at this moment Mukti entered, accompanied by the maid-servant. She was dressed in her rainbow-coloured garments and completely covered with heavy jewellery. These glittered and tinkled as the child walked. Her dress could have accommodated two other girls like her very easily.

The sight of Mukti, enraged her father still more. He got up from the bed on which he had been sitting and cried out, "What have you been doing, mother ? Shame, shame, just look at the child's appearance ! A good training she is getting. Even a maid-servant would have done better by her. What have you been doing with her hair ? They seem about to be rooted up, off her head. And what's the use of exposing her forehead like this ?"

His mother was almost in tears by this time. "I know, I know," she said, "even the low caste Ayahs are better to you than your mother. You are flesh of my flesh, that's why I keep on hanging to you leaving my own hearth and home. But I shall go home this very day. Engage one of those skirt-wearing brazen females, you are so fond of."

Shiveswar scented danger ahead. So he climbed down a bit and said, "You know mother, how my temper runs away with me. You need not take my ravings to be gospel truth. The child would certainly have died, unless you had taken care of her. Who else could have managed a baby, barely a week old ? But to tell you the truth, mother, she will get completely spoilt if she remains at home, and you indulge all her absurd whims. Even a private tutor would not help much. I shall put her into a boarding school. To-morrow is Monday, I shall take her then."

This sentence of banishment was too much for Mukti. She flung herself down, dressed as she was, on her grandmother's lap, and began to sob loudly. She would not stop, but went on crying and shrieking, "I won't go to school, I won't. I won't leave mother, I shall stay with her."

Tears ran down her face, and stained her silk clothes. "What can I do, my dear ?", said her grandmother, trying to comfort her. "Your father thinks I am ruining your future. You won't get a proper training, if you stay here. He wants you to become a Mem Sahib. I am an old-fashioned, ignorant woman, I know none of the modern ways and manners." Mokshada took up Mukti in her arms and her jewels fell down in a shower at her feet. But the child was too much upset to care about these. She buried her face in her grandmother's shoulder and went on sobbing.

Tears started even to Shivewar's eyes. Poor little, motherless child ! She knew no other mother than this one ; how could he tear her away from these loving arms ? But all the while he felt that he was right. If he left the child with his mother much longer, she would get quite impossible. He would not be able to train her and educate her as he wanted to. So he must put her away, though

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it would be a fearful wrench for himself, too.

Shiveswar went out of the room and called his bearer, Krishna. "Call a *gharri* at once," he said. "I am going to the New Market. My carriage has not been brought home from the workshop yet. Look up those people and tell them to hurry. To-morrow I am going to take little miss to school, and I want the carriage for that."

His mother heard every word from her room where she was sitting with Mukti. Tears began to drop from her eyes and fall on Mukti's head, but she wiped them away in a hurry, lest evil befall her granddaughter. But she could not reconcile herself in any way to the fact that Mukti, the baby, whom she had reared up from almost the time of her birth, was to be taken away from her. When her husband died, she had given up the world in her grief and taken the stone image of her god to be her all. But a child had drawn her away from the god and cast such a net round her heart, that she found it impossible to liberate herself.

Mukti had thrown off her silk dress, her jewels, her hair pins and flowers in anger and had now sobbed herself to sleep in her grandmother's arms. The music from the house, next door, sounded louder and louder. The sound of laughter and talking could be heard from here. But the inmates of this house were too heavy of heart to pay any attention to these sounds. Mokshada had forgotten all about Bishnu's beautiful bride and his over-intelligent son. She could only think of Mukti's banishment. Poor little motherless thing! Perhaps she will make herself sick with crying, falling into the clutches of those horrible masculine schoolmistresses.

Mukti was dreaming then. She thought, she saw her father snatching away her jewels and she ran off to her grandmother.

All this time, Shiveswar was going the round of the New Market shops, with a coolie following close behind. From every shop, shouts greeted him as he passed, "Come on, sir, very good essence." "Here you are sir, fine silk stockings," "We sell the finest stuff, come in and see for yourself."

Shiveswar was in no mood to listen to them. Any other day, he would have accepted the offers of many of them and would have purchased a lot of unnecessary things. But to-day he went on towards his favourite shop, disregarding all these greetings and calls. One of the disappointed shopmen, laughed derisively, saying, "Is not he a big Sahib? I don't think he is worth more than three pice and dines off shrimp cutlets. He could not afford to come into our shop."

The coolie, who followed Shiveswar, soon had his huge basket filled to overflowing. Shiveswar had finished for the day, and drove off with his numerous purchases, all wrapt in brown paper. These bundles contained ready-made silk frocks, lace, stockings, embroidered handkerchiefs, many-coloured ribbons, white and pink toilette powder, high-heeled boots and heelless slippers, pinafores, school bags, biscuits, chocolates and many other dainty edibles which small ladies favour. The sobbing of his child still rang in his ears. How should he live without her? She was the single tie which bound him to the world. If she were gone, the house would become quite desolate. Still duty was duty.

Shiveswar got down from his carriage and entered his mother's room. She was lying down, with Mukti by her side. The servants came and went before her door, but went away without receiving any orders; they dared not ask her anything. As Shiveswar came in, his mother sat up, putting down the sleeping child, whom she had kept in her arms all this while.

"I bought all these for Mukti," Shiveswar said. "I shall take her to school to-morrow. I shall bring her home every Friday for the week end. So you need not be too sad about it."

Mokshada did not say anything. After all, Mukti was his child, and he had a perfect right to do whatever he wished with her. Who was she to interfere? Shiveswar saw that she was in no mood for a talk, so he left her room and retired for the night.

All the three members of the family slept badly that night. They dreamed all night of separation and started in their sleep. Festive sounds from next door broke in again and again upon their sleep.

(4)

Shiveswar woke up even before the rosy light of the dawn had entered his room through the window. His sense of duty was weighing on his heart like a load of stone, and he could not shake off this feeling of

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oppression. The memory of the day his wife died came continually to his mind. The week-old baby had been his only solace then, she had saved him from complete hopelessness. He could not weep then, because of the baby. But now that he was sending her away, his eyes filled again and again with tears. If Hemnalini had been alive, her child would not have been banished like this.

Both Mukti and her grandmother had got up very early too. The old lady was still in a temper with her son and determined to have nothing to do with his child. So she had entered the store room as soon as she had got up and refused to come out of it on any pretext. She had not even given Mukti her breakfast of a large bowl of milk but had ordered the cook to do it for her. Mukti had as much objection to taking her milk as she had to having her hair combed. She would not come before her grandmother in the morning if she could help it. She knew that there was very little chance of her escaping grandma's clutches, without taking that huge bowlful of milk. The old lady would coax, cajole and scold, she would tell entrancing fairy stories, and Mukti would suddenly find that she had swallowed the milk, together with the tale.

But to-day Mukti did not feel any of the joys of deliverance, from this cruel oppression of her grandmother. Grandma had left her in the bed without calling her. Mukti had lain awake for a long time. She resolved that she would not answer at all, when her grandmother came to call her. She would remain with eyes closed, no matter how much grandmother called her. But the sun rose higher and higher in the heavens, the room filled with light, still no grandma. Instead of her one of the maid-servants came and told her to get up. Mukti threw a pillow at her, and turned round with a bolster clasped tightly in her arms.

Just at this time, the cook entered with the bowl of milk. This added fuel to the fire. The bowl was flung to the floor, with a crash, the milk rolled along in a white stream, the cook left the room with a good many scratches on the arm and Mukti began to sob again. From last evening, her heart had been full to overflowing with anger and sorrow ; all came out now in a flood. But it is an ill wind which blows nobody good. Mukti's pet kitten profited by the sorrow of her mistress. She ran up, with her tail in the air, and began to lap up the milk with evident satisfaction. But Mukti's grandma had steeled her heart to-day. The sound of the bowl falling and the entrance of the cook with loud complaints failed to move her at all. She went on cutting up vegetables with the same stern face. The maid-servant, Moti, ran to her a bit officiously, and asked, "Shall I go and buy some sweet-meats for the little miss ?"

"Go and ask your master," replied the old lady.

This seemed such an awful innovation to the maid-servant, that she went away, silenced very effectively.

But Mukti's loud grief was not a complete failure. Shiveswar was probably coming this way ; the uproar in Mukti's room brought him all the sooner. Mukti was still sobbing. Shiveswar came up to the bed and took her up in his arms. "What has happened to my little mother ?" he asked.

It was a difficult question, and Mukti had no answer ready. So she remained silent, with her face buried in her father's shoulder. Shiveswar understood well enough what the matter was. "Let us go and see the things, I bought for you yesterday," he said. Mukti's head came out of its cover at once.

The things were still reposing in their brown paper covers in Shiveswar's room. But as soon as their small owner appeared, they were dragged down, their wrappings torn off, and scattered all over the floor. Good heavens, what an amazing heap of treasures ! The little woman forgot all her sorrows and complaints in an instant. What beautiful frocks of various colours, what wonderful little shoes ! The ribbon took her fancy most of all. What a beautiful string ! It was better and brighter than the string Bela had. She wound it round her head at once, in the shape of a turban. Her father took it off, hastily, saying, "Not that way, darling. First wash and comb your hair clean, then tie them with it. If you put it on now, the oil in your hair will spoil it."

Mukti was ready to wash her hair there and then. She did not want any delay, she wanted to get dressed at once in her new things. The bearer went and called the maid-servant, who acted as lady's maid to the small lady. With her mouth full of chocolates Mukti went to her bath. She felt very independent of her grandma now. She did not care if grandma did not

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give her her bath. She would bathe herself, she would. She would not show grandma any of her new things.

After she had been bathed and dried, Mukti ran to her father's room again. She found him sitting silent amidst all the finery that strewed the floor. A servant was busy, picking and folding those wonderful garments and putting them inside a very big box. Their carriage was waiting outside, it had just come from the workshop.

Mukti frisked inside, like a gust of the playful south wind, and asked, "Where are we going father? Shall we go in the carriage? But we won't take mother, she is very naughty."

"I shall take you to the school, darling," replied her father.

That dreadful name again! All at once, her eyes filled with tears, her red lips pouted and a sob was about to break out. Shiveswar took her up in her arms and said, "Don't, there's a darling. You will learn to read and write there. Did not you see that day, how nicely Bela read from an English book and you could not do it? If you go to school, you will learn to read more nicely than Bela. I shall go to see you everyday, and bring you home every Friday, for the week end. If you are good, I shall buy you lots of dolls and toys and everything you ask for."

Mukti had perforce to take comfort. The bribe offered was too great. So she sat down to superintend the packing.

It was time to go. According to her father's request, Mukti went and had her breakfast. Then began the onerous task of dressing herself. Father and daughter were in a fix now. Their combined efforts at last achieved something, which could by no means be called artistic. But Mukti was quite satisfied, she had got the much-coveted red ribbon in her hair.

"Come darling," said Shiveswar, "and say good-bye to grandma."

Both went inside the store-room, and found Mokshada still busy with her duties there. Mukti threw herself upon her, crying, "Mother, I am going to see a school."

Grandma pushed her off hastily, saying "Goodness, so you must come and throw yourself upon me, with your shoes and stockings on?"

Shiveswar's face grew stern. He drew away Mukti and strode out of the room. As they went out, the old lady ran into her room and locked the door. Then she threw herself down on the floor and began to weep.

The carriage containing Mukti and father, drove out. The carriage went on and on and Mukti poked her father every now and then, asking, "How far is the school yet, father?"

"We are quite close to it," Shiveswar would answer.

At last, when Mukti had already begun to nod with drowsiness, the carriage drove up in front of a big building, with very big round pillars, and came to a standstill. Shiveswar got out and took down Mukti. A *durwan* came and showed them into a small room. Mukti was a bit surprised and asked, "Why father, where are the other little girls?"

Before her father could answer, a lady drew aside the curtain and entered. Mukti felt her heart sinking as she gazed with dismay at the enormous lady and her spectacled face. The lady saluted her father courteously and sat down in the chair facing him. They began to talk. Mukti stared at them with open mouth. What kind of a talk was this? She could not understand a word of it.

Suddenly the lady looked at her and asked, "What's your name, baby?"

Mukti edged closer to her father and answered timidly, "Mukti".

They all stood up and Shiveswar walked out of the room. Mukti ran to him and clasped one of his hands, saying, "Father, let's go home."

"You won't go home now, darling," Shiveswar said; "you will live here. After four or five days, I shall take you home. I am going now, you go and play with the other little girls."

Shiveswar advanced towards his carriage and the teacher drew Mukti towards herself. Mukti had not felt up to now the awfulness of her banishment. But as soon as she saw her father getting into his carriage, she cried out loudly, "Take me with you, father, I won't stay here."

"Drive, quick," ordered Shiveswar to the coachman. Tears were trickling down his face. The coachman whipped up his horses and the carriage was out of sight in a moment.

Mukti was still sobbing. She had not noticed that a large bell had just rung. Suddenly, she saw a crowd of girls coming out of the rooms on all sides. There were

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quite big girls, girls only a bit older than herself and girls, as small as herself; some were wearing *sarees*, some were wearing frocks. Some wore lots of ornaments, some had no other finery on than a ribbon in the hair. But most of them avoided these two extremes, and tried a middle course. They had rings in their ears and noses, which were quite orthodox, but had paid a tribute to modernism in adopting stockings and shoes and even ribbons, which looked incongruous on their well-oiled locks.

Some of the girls had tiffin boxes of aluminium in their hands and some carried round boxes of tin, in which they had stuffed their food. These girls took shelter under the stairs, or behind the large folding door and began to eat. Those who took no tiffin, began playing and shouting in the large quadrangular space, which occupied the middle of the building.

Two girls took hold of a big rope by its two ends and began whirling it round and round swiftly. Four or five girls jumped to and fro over the rope, keeping up a sort of rhythm. What sort of a play was this? Mukti's tears dried up in amusement. In the meanwhile, the teacher, who had received Mukti, called a dark and slender girl, and handed over Mukti to her.

"Keep her with you now, Molina," she said. "But after the tiffin hour is over, go and put her in the gallery class. Tell Miss Nag that I sent her." Molina took Mukti by the hand, and led her around. Mukti began to feel more at ease, with this gentle-mannered girl. She seemed like one's own people. She clasped Molina's hand confidently and walked along by her side.

"Will you play with these girls?" asked Molina. Mukti shook her small head vigorously,

She was walking in the garden with Molina and picking flowers, when another bell rang. All the girls left off playing and eating and ran inside the class rooms. Molina took Mukti inside one of these rooms, This room contained something like a huge wooden staircase, and many girls were sitting on the stairs. A big woman sat in a chair, in front of the staircase.

Molina whispered something to this lady, and left after placing Mukti on one of those stairs. The little girls around her giggled and whispered. Mukti felt like crying again. She did not understand why Molina had left her with these cruel little girls.

How long she sat there, she had no idea. At last a bell rang loudly and all the little girls ran out, taking their books and slates with them. Molina came up to Mukti, and took her away.

Long carriages stood in the drive in front of the building. The girls began to get into these carriages. Mukti did not know how many girls got into each carriage. She had never seen so many girls together. She tried but failed to count them. Molina took her away from the place after a time.

They came inside a big, long room. It contained huge wardrobes, and big mirrors mounted on chests of drawers. Mukti found here her own trunk, too. Molina opened it and took a new frock. She washed Mukti's face carefully, brushed her hair, then took her to another room. Many girls sat there in front of large tables, and ate from plates. Mukti was placed on a high stool, with her feet dangling in the air. She managed to finish her dinner in that position.

Then came playtime. Molina took Mukti to a large green lawn and said, "Now, play with the little girls." Mukti shook her head in violent dissent, saying, "No, I won't. They are naughty. They laughed at me. I shall stay with you. But what shall I call you?"

The big girl laughed and said, "Call me Molina-di.*"

Many girls had crowded around. A girl of about seventeen or eighteen suddenly picked up Mukti in her arms and said, "What a doll! We shall call you Dolly."

Mukti stared at her in amazement and said, "No, my name is Mukti."

The girl was very beautiful. She was extremely fair, had big eyes, blue as pieces of sapphire and pink cheeks. Mukti continued staring at her and asked at last, "How did you make your cheeks, so red?"

The girl laughed outright, saying, "Don't you know? Every night before going to bed, I put red ink on my cheeks. So they look red in the morning. I shall put red ink on your cheeks, too, to-night, and you will get lovely red cheeks in the morning."

Mukti was very much surprised. Molina slapped the other girl on the back, saying, "Go on, Susie. Don't tease the little thing like this."

Two or three smaller girls had also ventured near. They seemed eager to make friends with Mukti. One of them approached

* "di" is short for "didi", elder sister.

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close to Mukti and whispered, "I have got a big waxen doll. Would you like to see it? It has a real silk dress on."

Mukti could not refrain from making friends now. After a while, Molina looked around to find them engrossed completely in the silk-clad doll. Mukti was talking now, quite glibly. Nobody would have believed now, that this very little girl had nearly rent the skies with her shrieks only two hours ago, when taken away from her father.

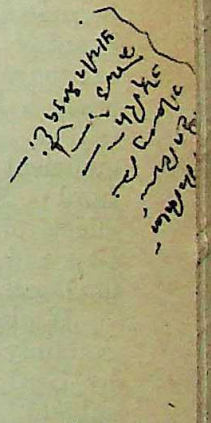
Shiveswar did not come to see Mukti that day. Perhaps the Lady Principal had forbidden him to do so. After a day or two he called. As soon as he had taken his seat in the small visitor's room, Mukti rushed in upon him like a little tornado. She threw herself into his arms and babbled on. The amazed Shiveswar found most of it incomprehensible, but understood so far that his daughter had got friends, Aparna, Sushila, Bimala and Krishnadasi by name, and most of them possessed wonderful treasures. One had a very beautiful ribbon, another had gold bracelets, some one else had got a superb dress of pure silk. Mukti wanted all these things—she must have them. Besides these things, she wanted a very big doll, dressed in real red silk.

Shiveswar had expected and feared Mukti to be pining away in her exile at the boarding-school. It was hard to tell whether he was relieved or disappointed at the real state of affairs. He ought to have been glad at her being so cheerful, but, strange to say, he felta bit hurt at this.

He came again on Friday and took Mukti home. She sent grandma nearly wild with her description of the little girls at the boarding school, their beauty, their accomplishments and the wonderful treasures they possessed. She could hardly wait to get down from the carriage, but shouted at her, "Grandma," from the carriage, "do you know, Ma, Susie-di at the boarding-schooi, is far better-looking than Bela."

Next Monday, she had to return to the boarding-school. She made another row then. But Shiveswar had learnt diplomacy. He went and bought her all the things she coveted in her fellow boarders. Mukti got reconciled to her lot. What would be her life worth, if she could not show these treasures to Aparna, Bimala and others? So she clasped the brown paper parcels in her arms and got into the carriage which was to take her to the schoo.

(*To be continued*)



CAUSES OF THE SECOND AFGHAN WAR

By MAJOR B. D. BASU, I. M. S. (*Retd.*)

III

It was because the Russians fully believed in the feasibility of the programme, that the Governor-General of Russian Turkestan tried to contract an alliance with the Ameer of Afghanistan.

Nor can we blame the Ameer for receiving the Russian Mission. He was likened to "the earthen pipkin between two iron pots." One iron pot desired to crush him, the other iron pot had not as yet declared its intention one way or the other. Was it any wonder that the earthen pipkin should be anxious to know the intention of the Russian iron pot towards him? The English had deserted the Ameer, had withdrawn their Agent from his Court. What else was he to do but try and see if Russia was willing to stretch the hand of friendship and protection to him? The esteem in which the Russians were held by the people of Afghanistan was not the same in which the English were. In Sher Ali's time no Englishman's life would have been worth a month's purchase in Cabul. The English had ravaged Afghanistan with fire and sword within the memory of the living generation. Many a man was still living who remembered how the English soldiers had brought desolation and ruin to

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his country. "Revenge is sweet" is an English saw; similarly the Italian proverb says, "Vengeance sleeps long but never dies." The Afghan code of honor demands blood for blood and an eye for an eye. Amongst the Afghans, one would be looked upon as lacking in manliness, if he did not avenge the murder or disgrace of any one of his relations or friends. Hence blood feuds are so common in Afghanistan. What the European newspapers report as "Ghazi outrages" is another name for and synonymous with blood feuds. The writer has travelled in Afghanistan and he has been assured by intelligent and well-informed Afghans that the victims of the Ghazi outrages are always and invariably English people. There are many Hindus living in the villages of Afghanistan, but they are never victims of fanatic Ghazis. The Hindus are worse infidels in the eyes of devout Mahomedans than the English, who, as Christians, are one of the peoples of their Book, i.e., the Koran. Some relation or friend of the perpetrator of a Ghazi outrage must have been killed in action in one of the Afghan wars or frontier expeditions, by some English officer or soldier. Hence he has taken the vow of depriving some Englishman of his life and become a Ghazi. The administration of the Frontier Law is also accountable for the existence of many Ghazis. Under that law many a Pathan has been hanged or transported or disgraced for life, without sufficient evidence. The assassination of Lord Mayo illustrates the mischievous effects of the administration of the Frontier Law and bringing into existence a number of Ghazis.

While the people of Afghanistan were certainly hostile to the English, as admitted by Lord Northbrook, whose opinion on the subject of the despatch of an English Resident to the Court of Kabul has already been quoted, they had no reason to harbor hostile feelings against the Russians. Hence the members of the Russian Mission met with hospitality in every part of Afghanistan they passed through.

The Ameer did not invite the Russians to send any mission to him. But when the Governor-General of Russian Turkestan proposed the despatch of the Mission and asked his permission, he was thrown into great perplexity. Had Lord Lytton maintained the native agent at his court, the Ameer would have consulted the Government of India before permitting the Russian Mission to enter his territory. Besides, he had pledged himself to hold no intercourse with Russia.

In the understanding between England and Russia, it was the latter who agreed to consider Afghanistan as lying beyond the sphere of her influence. Russia agreed not to meddle in Afghan politics.

From the parliamentary papers it appears that the Ameer consulted all the leading chiefs of Afghanistan before permitting the Russian Mission to enter his dominion. It further appears that after consultation with the leading chiefs, the Ameer declined to enter into a treaty of amity with Russia.

When the rumor of the arrival of the Russian Mission in Kabul reached Lord Lytton, he telegraphed to the Secretary of State for India for instructions. By this time the Marquis of Salisbury had been succeeded in the office of Secretary of State for India by Lord Cranbrook. Lord Lytton wished to know whether the Russian Mission would be treated by Her Majesty's Government as an Imperial question, or as a matter between the Ameer and the Government of India. In the latter case he proposed, with the approval of the Home Government, to insist on the immediate reception of a European British Mission. Lord Lytton concluded the telegram by saying:

"The alternative would be continued policy of complete inaction, difficult to maintain, and very injurious to our position in India."

Lord Cranbrook telegraphed to Lord Lytton to make certain of the facts before insisting on the reception of a British envoy. But the Viceroy of India, instead of making certain of facts, telegraphed again, urging immediate action.

It appears to us that the question should have been treated as an Imperial one between England and Russia. The Congress of Berlin held on the 13th June 1878, although it was a piece of pompous and empty ceremonial, gave to Russia all she wanted. The despatch of the Mission to Kabul by Russia came to the knowledge of the Viceroy of India and the Home Government in England a few weeks after the Treaty of Berlin had been ratified. If Russia wanted to violate the treaty, the matter should have been dealt with by the Imperial Government, for Russia had no business to

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interfere with Afghanistan, which was recognised to be under the British sphere of influence.

Lord Cranbrook, while considering the question to be an Imperial one, unfortunately was persuaded by Lord Lytton to approve of the Viceroy's policy in peremptorily demanding the Ameer to receive a European British Mission at Kabul. At the same time remonstrances were addressed to Russia by the foreign office in England. The Foreign Minister of Russia informed the British Ambassador at St. Petersburg, on the 14th August 1878, that Russia claimed the right to take both military and diplomatic precautions against the importation of Indian troops, by England, to Malta, and that 'the political as well as military precautions had been stopped.'

On September 8, 1878, the Russian Foreign Minister again wrote to the British, ambassador that the mission to Kabul, which had been avowedly sent in prospect of a war with England, was now, in consequence of the pacific result of the Congress at Berlin, 'of a provisional nature and one of simple courtesy.' It was also asserted on the part of the Czar

'that the Emperor could never forego his right of sending complimentary missions to any foreign sovereigns or neighbouring princes.'

Even Lord Beaconsfield, the then Prime Minister of England, declared in his speech in the House of Lords on the 10th December, 1878, that Russia was justified under the circumstances in all that she had done.

The Secretary of State for India, Lord Cranbrook, approved of Lord Lytton's plan of peremptorily demanding the Ameer to receive a British Mission in Cabul. The Viceroy did not consider it proper to inquire of the Ameer if such a mission would be acceptable to him. Lord Lytton thought it beneath his dignity to show any courtesy to the "earthen pipkin." Sir Neville Chamberlain, the then Commander-in-Chief of the Madras Army, was appointed envoy to Cabul. He was provided with an escort which was so numerous as to look like an army. A native Agent, not Ata Mahomed, but his predecessor in office, named Nawab Ghulam Hussain Khan, was sent on ahead with Lord Lytton's letter to announce the coming of the Embassy to the Ameer. No worse selection for this important post could have been made. Nawab Ghulam Hussain Khan, while British agent at Cabul, had made himself obnoxious to the Ameer. The letter which the Nawab carried to the Ameer was written by the Viceroy at Simla, on the 14th August, 1878. In this letter Lord Lytton wrote:—

It is asked that your Highness may be pleased to issue commands to your Sirdars and to all other authorities in Afghanistan upon the route between Peshawar and Cabul, that they shall make without any delay whatever arrangements are necessary and proper, for effectively securing to my envoy, the representative of a friendly power, due safe conduct and suitable accommodations according to his dignity, while passing with his retinue through the dominions of your Highness."

At the same time attempts of the most hostile nature were made by Lord Lytton's orders to tamper with several of the Governors of the Afghan outposts.

Misfortunes seldom come single. While Sher Ali was being badgered and bullied by the British 'iron pot' in India, he was at the same time stricken with grief at the death of his favorite son. Abdullah Jan, whom Sher Ali had designated as his heir, died on the 17th August, 1878. It was during the period that the Ameer was still in mourning, for forty days had not yet passed since the death of his son, that Nawab Ghulam Hussain, whose very sight was hateful to the Ameer, had a private interview with him and presented the letters from the Viceroy. On 8th September Lord Lytton reports that he had ordered the Ameer's officers to be informed that Sir N. Chamberlain's Mission would leave Peshawar about the 16th, 'that its objects are friendly but that a refusal of free passage and safe-conduct will be considered an act of open hostility'.

On September 17, Sir N. Chamberlain, being then at Peshawar, communicated to the Viceroy a report of Ghulam Hussain's operations. He wrote:—

"Ameer was very much displeased, objected to the harsh words, and said: 'It is as if they were come by force. I do not agree to the Mission coming in this manner, and until my officers have received orders from me, how can the Mission come? It is as if they wish to disgrace me; it is not proper to use pressure in this way; it will tend to a complete rupture and breach of friendship. I am a friend as before and entertain no ill-will. The Russian Envoy has come, and has come with my permission. I am still afflicted with grief at the loss of my son, and have had no time to think over the matter. If I get time, whatever I consider advisable will be acted upon. Under these circumstances, they can do as they like."

But the British Viceroy was not overflowing with the milk of human sympathy and kindness for the grief-stricken father on

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the death of his favorite son. He must have been glad in his heart of hearts that the long wished-for hour had come. The grief-stricken father asked for time, but the British Viceroy considered the 'earthen pipkin' had insulted the might and majesty of the power of which he was the representative by declaring that the Russian Mission had come into Afghanistan with his permission. Lord Lytton was bent on bringing things to a head. From Colonel Hanna's book we learn that Lord Lytton disregarded the advice of his Commander-in-Chief but leant for advice and guidance on three officers, named Colonel Colley, Major Roberts and Major Cavagnari. On their advice and guidance Lord Lytton ordered, on the 19th September 1878, Sir N. Chamberlain to leave Peshawar for Kabul. On the 21st Sir N. Chamberlain went from Peshawar to Jumrood; Major Cavagnari with a small escort went forward as far as Ali Musjid. But he was not allowed to proceed further by the Ameer's Commandant of troops there. The Commandant in a most courteous manner told Cavagnari that he should await the Ameer's orders, which were expected. This repulse precipitated matters; war now became inevitable. Lord Lytton was drunk with the sight of power and so were his British colleagues. He approved of a treacherous *coup de main* on Ali Musjid which Cavagnari had projected. It was said that this should impress the tribesmen. But the secret leaked out and therefore this was abandoned. An immediate concentration of troops on the Frontier was ordered. Intrigues were set afoot amongst the Afridis and other tribesmen of the Khyber Pass and they were bribed, intimidated and seduced from their allegiance to the Ameer. Lord Lytton and his advisers had trapped their game and were careful to prevent it from escaping. Their chief fear was that the Amir might yet apologise. The Viceroy's Private Secretary, Colonel Colley, wrote:—

"Our principal anxiety now is lest the Ameer should send in an apology and the Home Government interfere."

On resuming business after forty days' mourning, the Ameer Sher Ali, on the 6th October 1878, replied to Lord Lytton's letters. The Ameer's reply is so important that it should be given in full. He tried all the time to amicably settle the matter, for he being the 'earthen pipkin' was afraid of coming into collision with the British 'iron pot' on his Indian Frontier. The Ameer wrote:—

"Be it known to your Excellency (*Janab*) that your Excellency's friendly letter, which was sent by the hands of the highly-honoured Nawab Ghulam Hussain Khan, and which contained the news of the deputation of a friendly Mission, namely, Mission from the British Government, has been perused by me, and on perusal I have fully informed myself of its contents. But the above-named Nawab had not yet been honoured with an interview, and your Excellency's friendly letter had not yet been seen by me, when a letter addressed by Major Waterfield, Commissioner of Peshawar, to Mirza Habibulla Khan, an official of this God-granted Government, having arrived here, was perused by this supplicant before the throne of God. And great surprise and astonishment was caused by the writing of the officer above mentioned—that is the Commissioner. What can be the result, meaning and advantage of such a vehement * communication to an ally and friend, and of advancing by force a friendly Mission in this manner?

"Subsequently three more letters from the same officer, in the same tone and style, to the address of the officials of this God-granted Government, were seen. These were not free from harsh and rough words and expressions, which are inconsistent with the forms of courtesy and civility and contrary to the mode of friendship and sympathy.

"In consequence of the attack of grief and affliction which has befallen me by the decree of God, great distraction has seized the mind of this supplicant at God's threshold. The trusted officers of the British Government, therefore, ought to have observed patience, and to have stayed, at such a time, and this would have been the most commendable and appropriate course. Your Excellency should be pleased to have regard to *mulhaza farmayaund*, this harsh (style) of address and provocation, as well as to the altercation with such anger with my officials. How inconsistent is this with the sublime way of friendship and alliance! In any case, the officials of this God-granted Government, notwithstanding the threatening communications of the officials of the British Government, which communications are still in the possession of the officers of this Government, will not evince any hostility or opposition to the British Government. Moreover, they do not entertain any hostile or antagonistic feelings toward any Government whatever. But should any Government entertain without cause any hostile and inimical feelings towards this God-granted Government, I commit all my affairs to the merciful God upon whose will and intention all matters depends. He alone suffices for us, and he is the best to be trusted. †

"The highly honoured Nawab Gholam Hussain Khan, who is the bearer of this friendly letter, has in accordance with the instructions received from the officers of the British Government, asked leave to return and the requisite permission has been granted."

* 'Literally, 'blustering' or 'full of noise.'
† Literally, 'the best Vakeel.'

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There was nothing offensive or improper in the tone of the Ameer's letter. But the British Viceroy thought otherwise. He communicated with the Home Government. Disraeli *alias* Lord Beaconsfield was glad that the long prayed-for contingency to absorb Afghanistan had arisen. On 31st October 1878, Lord Lytton sent an ultimatum to the Ameer. He wrote:—

"I despatched by a trusted messenger a letter informing you that the Mission accredited to you was of a friendly character; that its business was urgent, and that it must proceed without delay.

"Nevertheless, you, having received my letter, did not hesitate to instruct your authorities on the frontier to repel the Mission by force. For this act of enmity and indignity to the Empress of India in the person of her envoy, your letter affords no explanation or apology, nor does it contain any answer to my proposal for full and frank understanding between our two Governments.

"In consequence of this hostile action on your part I have assembled Her Majesty's forces on your frontier, but I desire to give you a last opportunity of averting the calamities of war.

"For this it is necessary that a full and suitable apology be offered by you in writing, and tendered in British territory by an officer of sufficient rank.

"Furthermore, as it has been found impossible to maintain satisfactory relations between the two states unless the British Government is adequately represented in Afghanistan, it will be necessary that you should consent to receive a permanent British Mission within your territory.

"It is further essential that you should undertake that no injury shall be done by you to the tribes who acted as guides to my mission and that reparation shall be made for any damage they have suffered from you; and if any injury be done by you to them, the British Government will at once take steps to protect them.

"Unless these conditions are accepted fully and plainly by you, and your acceptance received by me not later than November 20, I shall be compelled to consider your intentions as hostile and to treat you as a declared enemy of the British Government."

This letter from the British Viceroy was treated by the Ameer with that contempt which it fully merited. The 20th November arrived but Lord Lytton did not receive any reply. This circumstance gladdened the hearts of Lord Lytton and his advisers, whose principal anxiety was lest the Ameer should send in an apology. The 'earthen pipkin' knew that he was no match for the enraged British 'iron pot'. But we must give him credit for not accepting the disgraceful terms of the British Viceroy. The Ameer acted up to the principle of death before dishonor.

The die was now cast. On November 21, 1878, war was formally declared by Lord Lytton. Soldiers led by British officers were poured into the Ameer's dominion. The British Government was found guilty of 'breach of faith'; for the Afghan people had been assured that so long as they were not excited by their Ruler or others to acts of aggression upon the territories or friends of the British Government, no British soldier would ever be permitted to enter Afghanistan. But what did the Afghan people see? They were not guilty of any acts of aggression. They did not invite any British soldier to Afghanistan. They saw British officers and men invade their country, slay their countrymen and wantonly destroy their property. No British historian has ever been able to justify this war of aggression and ambition.

THE CASE FOR AN INDIAN MERCANTILE MARINE

By J. M. GANGULI, M.SC., LL.B.

ONE of the saddest things in modern Indian history has been the decline of the Indian Marine, which may be said to have set in after the first quarter of the last century and which ended in the virtual extinction of the Indian Marine not long after the assumption of the Government of the land by the British Crown. And yet Indian shipping has had a great and a glorious past. Even leaving the Vedic period, when also mention of vessels and of merchants going out on voyage for trade is found, evidences, direct and indirect, are available which show that as far back as

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about 1,000 B. C. India had developed trade relations with countries far and near, like Arabia, Egypt, Palestine, Assyria, Rome, Greece, Turkey and later on with Holland, England, Portugal and other countries. Her culture and civilisation, her fine arts, her skill in handicrafts, her vast recources, and her variety of products, both raw and finished, had attracted the interest and attention of peoples of different lands with which she had sea-borne trade and communication. Even much later on in the modern times after the advent of the English in India, the Indians had not lost their former skill in the art of ship-building. In 1811 a French traveller, F. Baltzar Soloyns, wrote that,

"in ancient times the Indians excelled in the art of constructing vessels, and the present Hindus can in this still offer models to Europe—so much so that the English, attentive to everything which relates to naval architecture have borrowed from the Hindus many improvements which they have adopted with success to their own shipping."

Under the British also the head builders in the Bombay Government Dockyard were all Indians from 1736 up to 1837.

"In 1802 the Admiralty ordered men-of-war for the King's Navy to be constructed at this spot (the Bombay Dockyard) They intended to have sent out an European builder, but the merits of Jamshetjee being made known to their lordships, they ordered him to continue as master-builder."

This is all past history which reads like romance to-day. How the change came or was brought about, how interests clashed between England and India leading to the furtherance of the one and the dying out of the other—are known to every close reader of modern history and have also been at times referred to and dwelt upon by several speakers and writers in recent years. We can, therefore, at once come to the conditions existing to-day.

Mr. Sarabhai N. Haji, M.L.A., of Bombay, to whom the gratitude of the country is due for having zealously devoted himself to the cause of Indian shipping, has rightly said of India,

"A country set like a pendant among the vast continents of the Old World, with a coast line of four thousand miles and with a productiveness of numerous articles of great use, unsurpassed elsewhere, is by nature meant to be a sea-faring country."

But that is not the case to-day.

Mr. Haji continues :

"If you look at the map of India", "it will show that long railway journeys are, in some cases, necessary to travel between two points which could be more easily reached within a few hours by means of water transport."

But this water transport is lacking, nor are the ports necessary for the purpose developed. Though this has been to the serious disadvantage of India, whose commercial and industrial prosperity has suffered, the relegating of the numerous smaller Indian ports to the destructive effects of Nature has been of much benefit to non-Indian interests. It is easy to see how the absence of water transport has been profitable to the Indian Railways, which are either British-owned or controlled by the Indian Government, which is a subordinate branch of the British Government. It has helped the Indian Railways to monopolise the carrying trade, to be immune from the danger of competition in the matter of the fixing of rates, and, as has been so often complained by the Indian traders and industrialists, to be free, by preferential treatment, to further the interests of British business and to correspondingly hamper those of Indian business. The possibility of indigenous competition in the event of the development of smaller ports has also induced the foreign shipping companies to be "content to make large profits by catering for big ports and to leave the small ports to the mercies of natural forces". These foreign companies also materially help their respective nationals in the exploitation of the country by facilitating the export of raw materials and the import of finished products. Besides, as was pointed out by Lala Harkishan Lal in his evidence before the Fiscal Commission, these steamship companies by giving preferential treatment to foreign exporting houses as against the Indian ones dissuade the latter from this important branch of business. How Indian industries have suffered can be seen from the following single example given by Mr. Haji—

"Cement from Porbander was allowed to be sent to Madras and Calcutta only after transhipment at Bombay, thus adding about Rs. 6 to the price of cement per ton."

If Britannia rules the waves, the British shipping companies rule the large seaboard of India. And strongly consolidated in their position as they are, they are determined, under the connivance of the Government and with the patronage of some of the Indian railways, which "grant low or preferential rates on condition that the goods are shipped

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by a particular non-Indian line of steamers" and of the several powerful British traders in India, to maintain the *status quo*. Any Indian enterprise that may venture to come in their way is strangled to death by the operation of the most pernicious system of the deferred rebates and by the initiation of a most unscrupulous rates-war. Describing his personal experience, the late Mr. T. V. Seshagiri Ayyar once said :

"When I was a young vakil, a company was formed to run ships between Tuticorin and Colombo. As soon as the company started business the British India Steam Navigation Company lowered their rates for passengers from Rs. 12 to Rs. 9. The new company tried to keep pace with this. The British India Steam Navigation Company reduced the rate to Rs. 6 and from Rs. 6 to Rs. 3. My friend Mr. Cotelingam, who is sitting at the other end of the table, says that they even carried passengers free. After having done this, after finding that the new company was not able to compete with them in this rate-war and after having effectively killed the new venture, they again returned to the old rates. It did not affect them very seriously, because for years they had accumulated capital and they could fall back upon that capital. But the poor new concern came to grief. It is to prevent a repetition of this that I want a minimum rate to be fixed."

The system of the deferred rebates also operates most seriously against new companies. According to this a percentage of the freight paid by a shipper is returned to him after twelve months if during that period he continued to ship his goods by the same company and not by any other. Thus the shippers are held in perpetual bondage, and the new companies cannot consequently secure business. This system has been declared illegal in America, Australia and South Africa and also in some respects in Germany, France and Austria. If the system was found dangerous in those self-governing countries with national governments, how very ruinous it must be in a politically dependent country like India? Within the last thirty years about twenty shipping companies have been formed with an aggregate capital of about ten crores of rupees, but most of them have met with untimely death, being as they were, as Mr. Haji has pointed out,

"unaided by Government, directly or indirectly, sometimes even positively hampered by various Government agencies, without the moral support of legislative enactments and in face of colossal opposition organised *solely* with a view to destroy."

The two or three that have survived and persisted are not yet in a convincing position of security and stability. But to add insult to injury, inspite of this most daring spirit of enterprise shown by the Indian capilalists and businessmen in entering and investing in this business against all heavy odds, even the mildest protest against the existing conditions calls forth from the established foreign concerns the angry retort that Indian capital is shy and so if they were to withdraw from their welfare work in this country its industrial interests would suffer. How India's interests are being furthered now may be understood from the fact that over fifty crores of rupees are year after year drained away from the country on account of the shipping trade being in the hands of the foreigners. It may be added in passing, that inspite of their huge profits the foreign shipping companies had been till lately left outside the operation of the income-tax laws of India. Even now the assessment of the income-tax is very difficult on account of these companies being registered abroad.

Another way in which India has been suffering through an absence of a national mercantile marine is that an important field of work has been closed to her nationals. As subordinate sea-men and lashkars, of course, Indians have in large numbers found employment on account of their docility and low wages in the British companies, but the high and responsible posts are not for them. Indians have thus remained excluded from a field where, as the romance of sea-voyages shows, there is a great scope for adventure, enterprise and courage, all of which redound to the credit of a nation. The absence of an Indian marine has also led to the neglect or rather the omission of marine, which is a most useful and fascinating subject of study, by the Indian Universities from their courses of study.

Such are the conditions to-day, and so they are likely to remain unless a spirited and a determined effort is made to improve them.

Following an agitation which has at last been started to some extent in the country over the question, the Government of India appointed a few years back a committee called the Indian Marcantile Marine Committee to recommend how to develop an Indian mercantile marine. The Committee submitted its report in 1924, making some very important recommendations, which have however remained very conveniently ignored by the Government. Among other things in recommending the repeal of the Indian

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Coasting Trade Act of 1850 this committee, which was presided over by Capt. E. J. Headlam, CMG, D.S.O, ADC., RIM, Director, Royal Indian Marine, and which had as a member Sir John Biles, KCIE., LLD. D.SC., Consulting Naval Architect to the India office, observed :

"We are of opinion that in the interests of the growth of an Indian Mercontile Marine it is necessary to close the coasting trade of this country to ships belonging to the subjects of foreign nations."

Many of those who are interested in the continuance of the present state of affairs urged before the Committee that Indian officers and engineers were not available for the Indian Marine and so all that was wanted were facilities for their training. But to this often-repeated suggestion for an unending period of training and apprenticeship the firm answer of the Committee is :

"It is our considered opinion that the provision of facilities for the training of Indian officers and engineers alone is not sufficient to meet the requirements of the case and that some further steps are required to achieve the object in view. These further steps, we recommend, should be in the form of the eventual reservation of the Indian coasting trade for ships the ownership and controlling interests in which are predominantly Indian."

The Committee added that for the fulfillment of those conditions a ship should conform to the following conditions:

(1) registered in India

(2) owned and managed by an individual Indian or by a Joint Stock Company (public or private) which is registered in India with rupee capital, with a majority of Indians on the Directorate and with a majority of its shares held by Indians.

(3) management of such company is predominantly in the hand of Indians.

The Committee observed:

"It is not possible at present to provide that the officers and crews should be completely Indian, because it will take some time under our training scheme to produce the requisite number of Indian officers and engineers, but in our coastal trade regulations which follow provision has been made for the compulsory Indianisation of the personnel. Nor is it possible at present to provide that the ships applying for licenses should have been built in India, because no ship-building yards capable of constructing ocean-going steam vessels exist in the country, but we hope that in course of time it will be found practicable to add both these desiderata to the conditions of the license."

It is significant to note here that the recommendations of the committee were unanimous but for the feeble dissentient voice of Sir Arthur Froom, a member of the Committee and a partner of Messrs Mackinnon Mackenzie & Co.—a British shipping company which would be vitally affected by the policy of coastal reservation. Sir Arthur felt the unconvincing nature of his assertion that "reservation will lead to an inefficient service and also high freights due to the absence of any fear of competition," and appealed imploringly at the end "that the carriage of the trade should be left free at any rate to all British-owned ships, with which I include Indian-owned, flying the British flag."

In order to give effect to the policy of reservation Mr. Sarabhai. N. Haji, M. L. A., has recently put forward a proposal in the form of a Bill, which will shortly come before the Legislative Assembly and which, though modest, is a very practical and comprehensive one. The Bill says that for a company to get the license for coastal trade a proportion of not less than 20 per cent of the tonnage licensed for the first year, not less than 40 per cent of the tonnage licensed for the second year, not less than 60 per cent of the tonnage licensed for the third yoar, not less than 80 per cent of the tonnage for the fourth year, and all the tonnage licensed for the fifth and subsequent years shall have the controlling interest therein vested in British Indian subjects.

As could have been expected, the Bill has raised a storm of angry outbursts from the vested interests and it has indeed stirred up waters in the European commercial circles to an unprecedented extent. Arguments like—it is a measure aimed at expropriation; it will be a breach of international agreements to which India (of course, official India) is a signatory; it will bring unrestricted competition or will result in a shipping ring with exorbitant rates; it will mean loss of foreign tonnage to India; it will be uneconomical in operation; and the like, have been brought forward one after the other in one breath. Even Government officers have forgotten their position in excitement and joined in the uproar. Mr. D. H. Boulton, I C. S, indeed felt no hesitation in presiding over a meeting of the Tuticorin Port Trust in which the Bill was criticised and denounced.

Yet it s the Indian Mercantile Marine Committee itself which has emphatically observed that "the coastal trade of a country is regarded universally as a domestic trade in which foreign flags cannot engage as a

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matter of right but to which they may be admitted as an act of grace." It may be added that, even leaving aside the several other countries where the policy of reservation has been adopted, so far as the British Dominions themselves are concerned the important principle has been admitted that the policy regarding their coasting trade was only to be guided by local interests, and that Australia has not been slow to take advantage of this recognised principle in resorting to reservation, even thereby violating the spirit of the British Merchant Shipping Act. Even Great Britain herself, before she had attained her present supremacy, had to resort to a similar policy by enacting her well-known Navigation Laws. Other countries like America, France, Italy, Japan and Turkey have enforced this principle of reservation in their coastal trade.

Apart from the question of principle, none of the criticisms advanced against the Bill is seen to hold water on unprejudiced examination. Sir George Rainy, the Commerce Member of the Government of India, having nothing better to say, took pains to show that by including the French and Portuguese ports in the Indian coastline the proposed measure would involve a breach of the international convention of maritime ports to which India is a signatory and that in the alternative their exclusion from the act would lead to a diversion of trade to those foreign ports. But as has been pointed out by the Bengal National Chamber of Commerce,

"In the first place, the Maritime Ports Convention does not apply to the question tackled by the Bill. Even if it be otherwise, the French and the Portuguese have no rival interests to be affected by the passage of the Bill. They have themselves reserved their coastal trade for their own vessels; and it should not be difficult for the Government on the above grounds to come to a working arrangement with them. If, however, they prove to be recalcitrant, it is open to the Government of India to retaliate with a land customs cordon raised round their possessions in British India. Even if we are obliged to drop the French and the Portuguese ports out of the scope of the Bill, the diversion of trade is only an imaginary danger, as there is no reason to apprehend that reservation would lead to monopoly and such rise in freight as to make it more than profitable to send goods through their ports."

It may be further submitted in this connection that the international convention referred to relates merely to the access and use of the facilities provided by ports, and then again it provides exceptions in the case of reciprocity and coastal reservation.

Mr. Haji has indeed torn to pieces each and all of the howling criticisms hurled against the proposal, but the most painful thing to notice is that India should be told by a set of selfish and interested people, who owe in fact all their wealth, power and position to the ungrudging hospitality and generosity of this land, that she should be careful to begin by getting a few of her nationals trained at a time year after year, of course under the kind patronage and with the sympathetic goodwill of the present traders, and then, after thus having at command an army of officers sufficient to man the entire mercantile fleet necessary for the Indian coastal trade, to think ambitiously of having a mercantile marine of her own. And all this she is told barefacedly on her merely making a modest proposal—modest, because she asks for nothing else—for the progressive, not immediate, enforcement of a policy of reservation in her coastal trade, a policy which has the sanction of international history and usage. Other countries have, however, not considered the reservation of coastal trade sufficient for the purposes of developing a national mercantile marine. France, for instance, which has a much smaller sea-board than India, pays over rupees fifty lacs to her national shipping in subventions and subsidies in the form of construction bounties, navigation bounties, equipment bounties, fishing bounties, mail subventions, payment of Suez Canal dues, construction loans, and preferential railway rates. By means of a liberal grant of constructive bounties, navigation bounties, mail subventions and the like, in addition to the policy of reservation of the coastal trade, the Japanese Government have not only succeeded in making Japan the third naval power in the world as recognised by the recent Washington Agreement, but have also helped the development of the mercantile marine from a fleet strength of hardly two scores of steamships owned and run by two companies struggling for existence about the year 1870 to a fleet strength of 3561 steamships with a gross tonnage of 4,010,381 tons and of 14,902 sailing vessels of 899,233 tons in the year of grace 1927 in the course of about half a century. And what about Great Britain herself? Till not very long ago her Navigation Act of 1651—which was repealed in 1854 after she had attained an undisputed supremacy in the sea had kept

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her coastal trade reserved. And besides, British Shipping has received and still receives state-aid in various forms, like—appropriation of Naval Reserves, Admiralty subventions, Government loans at low rates of interest, Mail subventions, Colonial subventions, Indian subventions, etc. Thus in different forms state-aid amounts to over a million pounds in the year, to which the Indian exchequer has also to contribute.

As a last stroke of inspiration it has been pointed out to the obstinate Indian agitators that considering the small profit available in the shipping business Indian capitalists would not take to it. To this again the obstinate agitators would say that already crores of rupees of Indian capital have been invested and lost in securing a footing in this business which is in the firm grip of some powerful monopolistic foreign concerns. And besides it would seem that the British shipping companies engaged in the Indian coastal trade have been doing pretty well for themselves. The British India Steam Navigation Company have been paying for the last 25 years on the average a dividend of 9 per cent per annum, besides absorbing another 9 per cent in reserves.

But then India is India and what other countries may have done or may be doing she need not necessarily do—is the angry retort ; and the Indian agitators are bluntly reminded that "the brutal truth is that, on such an issue. Argument is subordinate to Power. The Legislative Assembly may pass Mr. Haji's Bill. The Council of State, almost certainly, will throw it out." Why not add that the Government of India in any case under the thumping domination of the Imperial Government must necessarily reject it ?

But poor Mr. Haji would still persist in reminding his countrymen that

"At this very moment there is going on along the Indian coasts, a tragic drama in which rates are cut, hindrances organised, agencies withdrawn and intimidation employed, all with a view to reach immediately the climax in the final extinction of the Indian competitor. To prevent the tragedy being played to its very end it is absolutely essential that, in view of the indifference of the Government of India, the Indian Legislature should come forward to succour the weak who are their kith and kin."

RAJA RAM MOHUN ROY AT RANGPUR

By JYOTIRMOY DAS GUPTA

RAJA Ram Mohun Roy spent some part of his life at Rangpur. But unfortunately even up to this time nothing is known in detail about his sojourn there. In fact, inspite of the continued efforts of the Brahmo Somaj, the early life history of the Raja is not known in any detail, and some of the facts which are known are still uncertain for want of sufficient proofs. It is only after he settled in Calcutta that the life history of this great reformer is known with sufficient accuracy. It is a well-known fact that Raja Ram Mohun Roy took service under the East India Company, who were the rulers of the country at that time. But in what capacity he began to serve the Company and how long he was in their service, is still unknown. Every one interested in his life knows that he took service under Mr. Digby who served as collector in Rangpur and in other places as well, but nothing is known about his first appointment in the Company's service and nothing particular is known about this period of his life. In more than one book I have found that Raja Ram Mohun Roy was at Rangpur for about ten years, but there is no proof of that statement. There is also a tradition that many documents can be found among the old records of the Rangpur Collectorate which may contain important information about the Raja's life. A few months ago, at the request of the Brahmo Somaj, I searched the record room of the Rangpur Collectorate to see whether any document can be found which may unveil a chapter of his life. Here I cannot lose the opportunity of thanking Mr. S. N. Gupta, I. C. S., Magistrate, for having granted me

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permission to search the record room. I was fortunate enough to gather some letters which are published below. From these letters, as well as from other facts, I could gather that Raja Ram Mohun Roy served the East India Company at Rangpur for nearly two years. His name could not be found in the officers' list of Rangpur Fouzdari Court, which was sent to the higher authorities on the 1st May, 1809. So it is certain that he came to Rangpur after that date. It is highly probable that he arrived there at the beginning of September that year. Mr. Digby stated in his letter (*vide* letter No. 2) that Ram Mohun Roy served as *Sheristadar* for a period of three months and we know that he was promoted to the post of Dewan on the 3rd December, 1809 (*vide* letter No. 1.) So it is certain that he came to Rangpur at the beginning of September and served as *Sheristadar* till 3rd December—a period of three months. Whence he came to Rangpur is not known yet. Mr. Digby came to Rangpur from Bhagalpur. The truth of this statement can be established from a travelling bill found among the old records searched. He took charge of the Rangpur Collectorate on the 1st August, 1809 and Ram Mohun Roy soon after joined him there. It is known that Raja Ram Mohun Roy served under Mr. Digby alone. If it be so, then it may be that he too came to Rangpur from Bhagalpur. But there is no mention of the Raja's service at Bhagalpur by Mr. Digby in the letters No. 2 and 4, where he mentioned the name of Jessore only. Here I quote a passage from "The Life and Letters of Raja Ram Mohun Roy", edited by the late Sophia Dobson Collett.

"Now it is at Rangpur that popular tradition chiefly connects the name of Ram Mohun Roy with Mr. Digby; but as Mr. Digby was previously at Ramgurh (1805 to 1808) snd Bhagalpur (1808 to 1809) and Ram Mohun mentions in his evidence in the Burdwan lawsuit having resided at Ramgurh, Bhagalpur, and Rangpur, it is highly probable that he was working under Mr. Digby in the two former localities before he went to Rangpur: although we have no details as to the successive posts which he then occupied."

So we find that this passage is also in favour of his coming to Rangpur from Bhagalpur. If it be a fact, then it is difficult to understand why there is no mention of the Raja's service at Ramgurh and Bhagalpur by Mr. Digby in the letters No. 2 and 4, wherein the service of Ram Mohun Roy as a private *Munshi* in the Jessore Collectorate has been mentioned. So conclusive proof on this point is still lacking. At Rangpur the Raja's name first appears in a letter dated 30th September, 1809 (letter No. 8), which is also published below. His name is found in the officers' list of Rangpur Collectorate on the 30th April, 1810, as Dewan of the court, but in the list of the next year his name could not be found. This fact is a decisive proof of his short sojourn at Rangpur as the Company's servant. He joined his office here in the capacity of a *Sheristadar* but he also served as a *Munshi* under Mr. Digby in the Jessore Collectorate and most probably in this capacity he entered the Company's service. But for this the records of Jessore Collectorate require to be searched. Where he first entered Government service is still unknown.

Perhaps here the readers will be interested to know that the pay of *Sheristadar* was forty sicca rupees a month, while that of a *Munshi* was fourteen sicca rupees. I doubt whether at Rangpur Raja Ram Mohun Roy as *Sheristadar* filled any permament vacancy, for before his arrival as well as after his promotion to the post of Dewan, the name of Pertab Narain Ghose is mentioned as *Sheristadar* in several years' officers' lists. Also in letter No. 3 he was mentioned as "*acting Sheristadar*" by the Board of Revenue. However, leaving apart that question we find that Ram Mohun Roy served as *Sheristadar* at Rangpur for a space of only three months, namely, September, October and November (1809). Meanwhile Golam Shaw, who was acting as Dewan, submitted his resignation and Mr. Digby appointed Ram Mohan Roy in his post subject to confirmatfon by the Board of Revenue. Mr. Digby wrote to Mr. R. Thackeray, Secretary to the Board of Revenue, for his confirmation, but the Board did not consider him fit for the post! Mr. Digby wrote again and in one letter (No. 4) used rather strong language, for which the Board went so far as to censure him. These letters are published below, and I hope that my readers will be much interested to read them. The controversy went on till 16th March, 1810, when the Board sent its final decision to Mr. Digby and ordered him to find some other person fit for the post of Dewan. But on 30th April next Ram Mohun Roy is found to act as Dewan of the Court. About a year later, on the 28th March, 1811, Moonshy Hemaetoollah was recommended to the post of

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Dewan by Mr. Digby and this time the Board confirmed him. However, the office of Dewan was permanantly abolished and the new system came into force in the year 1814. From all these facts we know that Raja Ram Mohun Roy served in the post of Dewan from 3rd December, 1809, to 28th March, 1811—and as *Sheristadar* from the beginning of September to 3rd December, 1809. The office of Dewan was the highest post that an Indian could then secure and the pay of the post was a hundred and fifty sicca ruppees per month.

Some authors state that the Raja settled at Calcutta from Rangpur in the year 1814. If this be true, then I believe that Raja Ram Mohun Roy, having given up his office of Dewan, continued to live there as a private citizen. It is also known that it was at Rangpur that he began to preach his views with enthusiasm. At Rangpur he built a house near Mahiganj at Tamphat about 4 miles off from the Court ; but unfortunately it cannot be traced now. Raja Ram Mohun Roy became well known within a short space of time for his religious views. His talents and religious views soon brought him friends and foes alike. At Rangpur Ram Mohun Roy spent money for public good also. A tradition is still current that the big tank near the Court was dug at his cost. It is a well-known fact that he was a great Persian scholar and at Rangpur he became known as a great Maulvi.*

These are the facts which can be gathered at present about the Raja's sojourn at Rangpur and his service under the East India Company. Though his sojourn at Rangpur was only for a short time, yet he became one of the most prominent citizens of that place.

Letter No, 1.

To

R. Thackeray, Esqr,
Secretary to the Board of Revenue,
Fort William.

Sir,

Having in conformity to the order conveyed in your letter of the 23rd ultimo accepted the resignation of Golam Shaw, late Dewan of this office. I beg leave to acquaint you for the imformatjon of the Board that I have appointed Ram Mohun Roy in his room, a man of very respectable family and excellent education, fully competent to discharge the duties of such an office and from a long acquaintance with him I have reason to suppose that he will acquit himself in the capacity of Dewan with industry, integrity and ability and hope to be favoured with the Board's sanction of this appointment.

Rangpur. I have the honour to be,
Collector's Office. Sir,
The 3rd December, 1809. Your most obedient servant,
(signed) J. Digby,
Collector.

Letter No. 2.

To

R. Thackeray, Esq.,
Secretary to the Board of Revenue,
Fort William.

Sir,

In reply to your letter of the 14th inst. I have the honour to acquaint you for the information of the Board that Ram Mohun Roy, the man whom I have recommended to be appointed a Dewan of the office, acted under me in the capacity of Sheristadar of the Fouzdary Court for the space of three months whilst I officiated as magistrate of the Zilla of Rangpur and from what I saw of his knowledge of the regulations, accounts, etc., during that time and during the term of my acting as Collector of Jessore, as well as from the opinion I have formed of his probity and general qualifications in a five years' acquintance with him, I am convinced that he is well adapted for the situation of Dewan of a Collector's office.

I have also to inform you that Jainarain Sain, the Zamindar of Chochaiah, paying an annual revenue to the amount of Rs. 20935-4-6-2 *kara* and Mirza Abbas Ally, an heir of the late Mirza Mohammed Tuckey, Zamindar of Coolaghaut, etc., paying a revenue of Rs 917-13-3, have come forward as his sureties to the amount of 5000 Rs. A copy of their security I beg leave to transmit enclosed.

Rangpur. I have the honour to be,
Collector's Office, Sir,
The 30th Dec., 1809. Your most obedient servant,
J. Digby,
Collector

Letter No. 3.

To

J. Digby, Esq.

Sir,

I am directed by the Board of Revenue to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 30th December last and to acquaint you that it appears to them essentially necessary that any person appointed to the responsible office of Dewan should have been for some time in the practice of transacting revenue details and also well acquainted with the regulations and the general system adopted for the collection of the revenue.

The Board, therefore, do not consider themselves authorised to confirm the person nominated by you. They observe that the service performed by Ram Mohun Roy as acting Sheristader of the Fouzdary Court cannot be considered by them as rendering him in any degree competent to perform the more important duties of a Dewan, which are in their nature so totally different.

The Board under these circumstances desire that you will nominate some person from which

* Ram Mohun Roy presented two books written by him (in Persian) to a prominent citizen of Rangpur at that time—the grandfather of the present Naib Nazir of the Dewani Court, but unfortunately they cannot be traced new.

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general knowledge in the revenue department, responsibility and other qualifications the duties vested in him may be expected to be performed with accuracy.

The Board are further of opinion that the security of Dewan should not, if it can be avoided, be persons holding lands in the District of which he is Dewan, as they possibly might practise an undue influence in the District.

I am
Rev. Board, Sir,
The 15th January, 1810 etc.,
R. Thackeray.

Letter No. 4.

To R. Thackeray, Esq.,
Secretary to the Board of Revenue,
Fort William.

Sir,

I have to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 15th instant. I am sorry to observe that the Board pay so little deference to my recommendation as to object to my appointing Ram Mohun Roy Dewan of this office after having given him so favourable a character and relating the very superior qualifications he possessed.

It appears by the first paragraph of your letter that the Board assert as a reason for refusing to confirm Ram Mohun Roy in the appointment proposed that in consequence of his inexperience in the transaction of the business attached to the office of Dewan they consider him incompetent to discharge the duties of it. But I imagined that such objection would have been sufficiently obviated by what I mentioned in my letter of the 30th ultimo as to the knowledge he received of the regulations and of the general system to be adopted for the collection of the revenue when with me in the capacity of a private Moonshee during the term of my acting as Collector of the District of Jessore. Moreover, I cannot refrain from observing that in many instances Dewans of Collectors have been confirmed by the Board who had never been employed in any public office.

I beg leave to refer the Board to the principal officer of Sadar Dewany and of the College of Fort William for the character and qualifications of the man I have proposed.

Being thoroughly acquinted with the merits and abilities of Ram Mohun Roy, it would be very repugnant to my feelings to be compelled so far to disgrace him in the eyes of the natives as to remove him from his present employment, in which I have continued him as officiating in the hope that the character which will be given of him by the natives to whom the Board are referred will induce them to confirm him in the appointment of Dewan of my office, for which, I am confident, he is perfectly well qualified.

With respect to securities, I beg leave to inform the Board that he can procure them from other Districts to any amount that may be required.

I have the honour to be,
Rangpur. etc.,
Collector's Office. J. Digby,
31st January, 1810. Collector.

To Letter No 5.

J. Digby. Esq.,

Sir,

I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 31st ultimo and to acquaint you that, as the Board do not perceive any ground contained in it to induce them to alter their former decision respecting the nomination of Ram Mohun Roy to be Dewan of your Zilla, they desire that you will proceed to select some other person for that office conformably to their order of the 15th ultimo.

The Board further desires me to inform you that they greatly disapprove of the style in which you have addressed them upon the present occasion and that, although it would be with much reluctance, the Board would certainly feel themselves compelled to take very serious notice of any repetition of similar disrespect towards them.

The 8th Feb., 1810 I am,
Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
R. Thackeray

Letter No. 6

To
R. Thackeray, Esq.
Secretary to the Board of Revenue,
Fort William.

Sir,

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 8th ultimo on the subject of the proposition submitted by me to nominate Ram Mohun Roy to the situation of Dewan of the Zillah and expressing the displeasure of the Board of Revenue at the style of my address of the 31st of January last.

If under the strong conviction which I felt of the supreme talents, judgment and character of the person whom I recommended to the Board and if under the disappointment I experienced in the rejection by the Board of that person so eminently qualified by talent, knowledge and respectibility of character to promote the public interests connected with my office, I have been betrayed into the adoption of a warmth of expression which could bear the construction of disrespect, I sincerely regret the inadvertency and beg you will assure the Board that, far from entertaining any deliberate intention of disrespect, I meant merely to express in a respectful manner my surprise at the rejection of so intelligent a person and to remind the Board of the existence of precedents which would authorise the appointing of persons less entitled to it ,on the ground of disqualification adverted to by the Board than Ram Mohun Roy.

As the object in the contemplation of the Board is to recommend the [appointment] of an able Dewan, which is essentially in accordance with my own wishes, but at the same time as the Board object to the person I have nominated on the ground of his supposed ignorance of the general system adopted for the collection of the revenue, enforced from his want of practice in the transaction of revenue details, I beg you will do me the honour to submit to the Board the expression of my earnest hope that they will allow me to authorise Ram Mohun Roy to act as Dewan for a few months longer, by which means the Board will be enabled to judge of his real qualifications and of the propriety or impropriety of confirming him in the office of Dewan, though I presume to hope that by adverting to the Toujees and reports of the months of Pous and Magh, in which there was

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only a balance of a few rupees, the Board will already be induced to entertain a favourable opinion of his ta ents and integrity.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
J. Digby,
Collector.

Rangpur,
The 18th March,
1810.

Letter No. 7.

To

J. Digby, Esqr.

Sir,

I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 8th instant and to inform you that the Board are satisfied with the explanation you have given with respect to the style of your former letter of the 31st January.

The Board regret that they cannot with any degree of consistence or propriety make any alteration in their orders of 15th January and 8th February respecting the vacant office of Dewan to your collectorship, and they again direct me to advise that you will nominate some other person to fill that office, subject to the approbation of the Board, instead of Ram Mohun Roy. The Board observe that the punctual realisation of the public revenue is generally deemed a circumstance creditable to the exertion of the Collector, though at the same time they would not be unwilling to deny the possibilities that some share of that credit might be due to the vigilance and attention of the Dewan. But the Board can by no means admit the argument that favourabe Toujees for three months of the year or even for a much longer period alone afford a criterion for judging either of the talents or integrity of the native officer holding that situation.

I am,
Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
J. Thackeray.

Rev. Board,
The 16th March, 1810.

No. 8.

To

A. Stone, Esq.,
Sub-treasurer,
Fort William.

Ten days after sight be pleased to pay to Ram Mohun Roy or order the sum of sicca Rs. three thousand (s. Rs. 3,000), on which sum a premium of one per cent has been paid into this treasury, without further advice from

Sir,
Your most,
etc.,
J. Digby.

Rangpur,
Collector's Office.
30th Sept, 1809.

THE BRITISH EMPIRE AND THE JEWS*

BY DR. TARAKNATH DAS, Ph. D.

BY the Balfour Declaration of 1917, Great Britain agreed to bring into existence, with the aid of the Zionists, a Jewish State in Palestine. Of the many influences which brought about the declaration, perhaps the most significant were, first, the desire of British Imperialists to secure control of Palestine as a strategic protection of Suez Canal; and second, the belief that such a declaration would purchase for the Allies the valuable influence and financial support of the Jews throughout the world.† British statesmen, through secret treaties and later on with the sanction of the League of Nations, secured a Mandate over Palestine, which is virtually a part of the British Empire.

Great Britain has established her supremacy over Palestine not for the interests of the Arabs, Syrian Christians or the Jews, but to promote British Imperial interests. However, among British statesmen there is some divergence of opinion about the policy to be pursued in Palestine. Ardent Christians, especially missionaries, advocate the policy of favoring the native Christians; some prefer to show partiality to the Arabs, who are by far the largest numerically and who have potential strength in the Near East; while others advocate that the British Government should support the Jews in Palestine and ultimately transform it into a Jewish State—the Seventh Dominion—an integral part of the British Commonwealth of Nations.

Colonel Josiah C. Wedgwood, D. S. O., a Labour Member of the British Parliament, in his interesting volume, "The Seventh Dominion," has discussed the new realtions between the Jews and the British Government. "*This book will interest all those who are interested in the growth of the post-war British Empire.*" In the British Parliament there is already a very infiuential pro-Palestine (pro-Jewish) committee of seventy members, with a Jew as secretary, to watch the development of the mandate policy in Palestine. Outside the British Parliament, a powerful and energetic English Committee is at work to remove all obstacles in the way of the establishment of a Jewish State in Palestine, within the British Common-

* This article is primarily based upon Col. Joshiah C. Wedgwood's recent book "The Seventh Dominion" published by Labour Publishing Company Limited, London, 1928.

† Moon, Parker Thomas: Imperialism and World Politics, New York. Macmillan Co. 1927, p. 493

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wealth of Nations. However, Col. Wedgwood thinks that much more is yet to be done in this direction and thus he has written the spirited volume. Therefore, it may be said that the "Seventh Dominion" is frankly propaganda literature in favour of the British Empire as well as the Jewish aspirations for a national home.

Col. Wedgwood does not care, as he says himself, even he be charged with being a British Imperialist. He frankly says that by advocating a policy in favor of a Jewish State in Palestine, Britian has nothing to lose, but much to gain. At the very outset of his book he states his position:—

"There are some fourteen million Jews in existence, well peppered over the world; not more than a million are likely ever to be loyal subjects of King George in Palestine, *but those that remain in America are better to have as friends than enemies. Those who do settle in Palestine are likely to be of real political and commercial service to the Empire, for Palestine is the Clapham Junction of the Commonwealth.* The air routes, as well as the ocean routes, east and west, and south and north, cross here where one flank rests on the Suez Canal and other on the port of Haifa, the natural trade base of Mesopotamia. With pipe-line and railway debouching at Haifa under Carmel, the British fleet can look after the Near East in comfort and safety. Egypt does not want us; we have no friends there, Palestine is emphatically a place where we do want a friendly and efficient population—men on whom we can depend, if only because they depend on us. The Jews depend on us; they also prefer us as the least anti-semitic people of the world *".

Although it is generally asserted by many that the Jews want an independent state. Col. Wedgwood thinks that no responsible Jew will ever object to make Palestine a part of the British Commonwealth, because they know that the protection of the British navy will be of greater value to a small state of Palestine than independence, which might be assailed by various Powers. If Palestine be accorded a real dominion status then it will be really independent and at the same time a source of strength to the British Empire. Col. Wedgwood does not believe that the British Government should confer dominion status now, when the Jews are in the minority in Palestine; but the immediate need is to orient the British policy in Palestine in such a way that the Jews might not prefer the protection of the League of Nations to that of the British Empire. He writes :—

"When the Jews are in a majority in Palestine, and when we confer upon that *colony* Responsible Government (as we are bound to do, mandate or no mandate, sooner or later), are the new rulers of Palestine to look for protection to the British Empire, or to the League of Nations? With this alternative before them one knows that the British people prefer that Palestine should look to the Empire and the Jews should not be black-balled. As plain realists the British have perceived that moral as well as commercial advantages may well repay and balance the risks of protecting Palestine. But let us be under no misapprehension on this matter; it is possible still to throw Palestine into the arms and under the shield of the League of Nations instead of into the British Union. The Syrians and Christians of Jerusalem would naturally prefer for their protection a League of Nations which is so profoundly influenced by the Papal Curia. British officials in Palestine can easily make the Jews prefer the League also, if day after day they show that Palestine and the Jews are not wanted inside the British Empire. †"

After exposing the faults of the existing system of taxation, local self-government, labour legistation, agriculture, education, police adminstration. public works, distribution of crown lands in Palestine, Col. Wedgwood charges that the British officials are in most cases prejudiced against the Jewish rights and interests. He thinks that the only consistent and constructive policy for the British Government in Palestine is to create the "Seventh Dominion". This policy is consistent with the Balfour Declaration, which reads as follows :—

"His Majesty's Government view with favor the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, and will use their best endeavours to facilitate the achievement of this object, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of the existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine."

The very spirit of the Balfour Declaration is also incorporated in the Article 2 of the terms of the Mandate given to the British Government by the League of Nations, which reads as follows :—

"The Mandatory shall be responsible for placing the country under such political, administrative and economic conditions as will secure the establishment of the Jewish National Home...and the development of self-governing institutions, and also for sale-guarding the civil and religious rights of all the inhabitants of Palestine."

One of the first steps towards the creation of a Jewish Seventh Dominion in Palestine, according to Col. Wedgwood, is to create a special Department in the Government of Palestine which will do all that is possible in co-operation with the Zionist organizations to help the settlement and immigration of the Jews. The enthusiastic advocate of the creation of a Jewish State, under the British Empire, regrets that the British Government has not done as much as the Russian Soviet Government has done to encourage settlement of the Russian Jews in agricultural colonies in Ukraine, Crimea region and other parts of the Soviet Republic. He writes :—

"*I am prejudiced against the work of the Russians in settling the Jews in the Ukraine because I want the Jews in Palestine.*...So there are now. at the end of 1926, some 100 Jewish agricultural Soviets, and 60,000 new Jews on the land, planted on from 40 to 50 acres per family of five. The applicants, far from diminishing, now number 30,000 families. Two and half million acres are still available for further settlement if capital for equipment were to hand. Also in 1926 the Government established an autonomous Jewish district in Kherson, of which the population was 85 per cent. Jew...No Englishman, contemplating what the Russian Government has done in this matter, can fail to deplore that his own Government has fallen short even of Russian

* *Seventh Dominion* : pages 2-3.

† *Seventh Dominion*, page 5.

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standards. In Russia assistance has been given, capital from outside has been welcomed, settlement encouraged, land found, schools and training and experimental stations paid for. In Russia these Communists, whom we have been taught to despise, have seen that the settling up of men as free men upon free land is in consonance with the interests of the State. Let us hope that we, too, shall learn that lesson, both in Palestine and in England."*

As an advocate of the Seventh Dominion, Col. Wedgwood thinks that the British Government should not court the friendship of the Arabs in Trans-jordania; on the contrary, the Jews should be allowed to settle there. The Jews are superior to the Arabs and after all they are "White men" and they might be more interested in preserving the British Empire than the Arabs, who may in a critical moment follow an anti-British policy. So the Jews should be encouraged to enter into British defence-forces of the Near East. According to him, "*The Jews, if not merely because they are white men, yet for their very safety's sake, would be undoubtedly reliable and make much better fighters. A leaven of such men would put a steel frame in the machine*† (*of Palestine and Transjordanian Frontier Defence Force*)."

British authorities interested in preserving British supremacy in Palestine are following a method of communal representation in the Civil Government of Palestine. This is a serious mistake, because it may become an obstacle to the creation of a self-governing dominion. In the light of what has happened in Cyrpus, India and other parts of the British Empire where the curse of communal representation has been practised, Col. Wedgwood emphatically suggests that the policy of "divide and rule" through communal representation should not be practised in Palestine. He writes :—

"If we are to make a success of Palestine, the three peoples (Arabs, Christians and the Jews) must grow together, acquiring common interests and a common opinion. Probably the most fatal obstacle in the way of such development, in Palestine as elsewhere, is what is known as communal representation. A national public spirit and communal representation are incompatible."§

In Great Britain, far-sighted statesmen think that it is worthwhile for them to support the Jewish cause.....Zionist movement.....because the support of the Jews scattered all over the world will be a great gain for Britain to further her interests in World Politics. The Jews *must be used* to promote the cause of the British Empire. Wise Col. Wedgwood, a Labour Member of Parliament, keenly alive to promote the interests of the British Empire, writes :—

"*Indeed, though I protest my own disinterestedness, I do conceive that British support for Zionism may not be unconnected with a consciousness that it is useful for Great Britain to have a friendly people just in that corner of the Levant; and, indeed, that it is useful, all around the world, to find in authority men who will probably view English aims and policy with some sympathy. ...Nor is it only men in authority whose help matters. The attitude of friendship of the scattered Jewish race towards England matters, and make a difference to our comfort in the world. The change of attitude towards ourselves, which is going on among the Jews all round the world, from Shanghai to San Francisco, ought not merely to add our comfort but to our use in the world.*" Narrow-minded anti-Semitic and anti-British politicians may not like the British policy of supporting the Jewish cause of Zionism. But all far-sighted statesmen are bound to recognize the fact that British statesmen never neglect to promote their imperial interests by cultivating closer relations with those nations and communities which may be inclined to support British policies. They also exhibit the keen appreciation of the fact that, in international politics no real statesmen can afford to ignore anything which may become a significant factor. The Jews are numerically insignificant, they even do not have a State of their own; but they have a certain economic power and they can help in creating international public opinion. So the British authorities are courting Jewish support internationally, and in return are willing to create a Jewish State... The Seventh Dominion--within the British Empire which will be a source of added strength to it.

All Italics are mine.

* *Seventh Dominion : pages 99-108.*
† *Seventh Dominion : page 76.*
§ *Seventh Dominion*, page 44.

* *Seventh Dominion*, pages 126-127.

"MOTHER INDIA AS SHE REALLY IS"

BY ONE WHO KNOWS

Professor Ernest Wood's Lectures in the United States

PROFESSOR Ernest Wood of England and Madras, India, is one of the best informed and most sympathetic Englishmen who have lectured about India in the United States.

Since his arrival here last winter, he delivered more than two-hundred addresses and lectures to audiences often consisting of more than a thousand people.

Because of the wide publicity given to Katharine Mayo's book, Prof. Wood deemed it an imperative duty to reach as many people as possible with his first-hand knowledge and experience of India, gathered

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during years of residence, travel and study in that land. His remarkable series of lectures covering almost every phase of Hindu life from religion to social and industrial conditions and his most candid and intelligent presentation of the political situation, have brought to the thousands who heard him a broader and more sympathetic conception of India and her people.

Intimacies and incidents of Indian daily life—in the village, among outcastes—among Brahmins, publicists, scholars, and holy men were recounted with a charming directness and sincerity which made a profound impression upon his hearers. Supplemented with interesting slides, illustrating types of people and their activities, these lectures proved most informative.

When the lectures were finished, numerous American and Hindu admirers gave Prof. and Mrs. Wood a testimonial Indian dinner at the Ceylon India Inn.

On this occasion Prof. Wood spoke in feeling terms about India, her present problems, her past and her future. He showed how all through history India had been great when compared with any contemporary country or civilization. This was true with respect to the study of man himself, he pointed out in the mental or moral sciences and also in material progress.

The destruction of the old village communities, indigenous industries and the alienation of the land to moneylenders, he named as the chief causes for the economic depression of India today. Said he:

"The fact is that India has still the old spirit which produced all the material success and prosperity of older times, ready to burst into renewed activity when economic conditions permit."

"India will have to be developed on modern lines by the same means which other parts of the British Empire are adopting, such as Canada and Australia. Sooner or later Britain will have to give internal self-government to India, and put the country on the same basis as other self-governing dominions. It would be better to do it now than to wait for trouble, which will surely come if things are left as they are. The situation is critical. Though the Indians are racially one with the Europeans they are being forced into the arms of their geographical neighbors. If we do not mind we shall be faced with a pan-Asiatic combination from Yokohama to Constantinople, and perhaps even Cairo. The new Turkey is no doubt an object of admiration to Egypt; Japan is no longer a British ally and Britain has made movements of a somewhat agitating character in connection with the Singapore base. Also the Chinese nationalists are at Pekin. Indian feeling is growing very strong as Home Rule is delayed, and a feeling may grow not unlike that which developed in Ireland. India allied with her Eastern and Western neighbours may ultimately form the brain of the biggest combination known to history, and then the day of reckoning for the European in Asia will have come. Let us not drive India to this!"



Professor Ernest Wood and Mrs. Wood

Mrs. Wood, wife of Prof. Wood and his charming collaborator had many interesting statements to make about the Women of India. Speaking to the American women present, she said :—

"I would like to bring a message from the women of India. They have been so misjudged, so much that is untrue has been said about them. It has been said they are behind the veil, that their interests are confied to the home alone. But in India as elsewhere women are coming more and more into the active sphere of the outside world. Recently there was held an all Indian Women's Conference at Poona at which a great number of women from all over the country gathered and

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passed many very important resolutions regarding women's education and child marriage.

"Three times representative bodies of Indian women and men in 1924, 1925, and 1927 have demanded the raising of the age of marriage, and *each time the government of India has turned down the application.*

"The voice of Indian women is heard abroad in clubs and associations she is seen in numbers at many gatherings and she wields a strong hand in moulding the character of the sons and daughters of Mother India in the home. It is due to a large extent to her influence in the stories she relates to her children that the true ethical and religious thought of India is kept alive. For the East was ever a lover of stories and some of these stories Europe has inherited in all the old favourites.

"So the women of India are standing with their men, as in the days of old when it was thought that not even a god or a great angel could have much power without his 'better half' or his 'Shakti'."

Dr. Sunderland, who presided over the testimonial dinner meeting praised Prof. Wood and his wife, saying that if there were only many more Englishmen of the type of Prof. Wood, India's political future would indeed be rosy.

Professor and Mrs. Wood have gone to Australia, but will return again to America. Professor Wood's book on India, covering much of the information brought out at his lectures, is now on the press and it is expected to clear up a great deal of injustice and prejudice in the American mind regarding India. A book on Mother India coming from "*One Who Knows*" as an Englishman, will be especially effective when the facts of thirteen years residence and study, a knowledge of Sanskrit and vernaculars are weighed in the balance against the scant 'four months' evidence offered to America in tabloid form by Katharine Mayo.

On behalf of the Hindustan Association of America Mr. Ramlal B. Bajpai thanked Prof. and Mrs. Wood for their great service they were rendering India in America.

Prof. S. A. Baisey conveyed the appreciations and message of several other organizations. Also Dr. V. R. Kokatnur praised Prof. and Mrs. Wood.

FOUNDATION OF THE BRAHMO SAMAJ

By N. C. GANGULY

[A Chapter from the Author's forthcoming work on Raja Ram Mohun Roy which is to form part of the "Builders of India" eries.]

THE activity of the Unitarian Association was in this year (1827) renewed with increased vigour, like the last glow of a dying flame. Its religious services had been suspended for some time owing to various reasons. In Adam's letters of February and October 1826 it was said that Ram Mohun did not "attend anywhere," meaning his joining in Unitarian worship or the meeting of the Atmiya Sabha which had ceased to operate and exist, but at the same time made in his will provision for Adam's family. The reformer was now free from the vexation of law suits, which ultimately vindicated his son's character, and he had consequently time to devote to he advancement of Unitarian worship. The "One Hundred Arguments for the Unitarian Faith," reprinted in 1826, in the Calcutta Unitarian Press from a copy sent out by the American Unitarian Association, indicated the reformer's unflagging zeal for Unitarianism. He liked it so much that it was published at his own expense and at his own press for free distribution.

Mr. Adam as before acted as the missionary of the Society and conducted his own journal, called the *Calcutta Chronicle.* This periodical was unfortunately suppressed by the Government most unceremoniously some time in 1827. Morning services were resumed in this year, on Sunday, the 3rd August. A room had to be rented for this purpose by the Unitarian Committee in the office of the *Harkara* newspaper and library. Ram Mohun's son Radha Prasad had already offered a site for building a chapel and school near the Anglo-Hindu School. The cost was estimated to be from three to four

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"The Trial of Colonel Brereton" by Miss Rolinda Sharples. The Seated Indian Figure near the left-hand corner is that of Raja Ram Mohun Roy, See "Notes."

thousand rupees, which Mr. Adam thought the reformer would be able to collect from his friends. Before this the British Unitarians had sent about Rs. 15,000 to help the Indian work, but the money was set apart for the proposed building and other expenses, Miss Collet says this was Ram Mohun's second attempt to found the Unitarian Church and that it did not go far will be seen from the incidents of the following year. The fact was that the reformer tried to help every theistic effort or movement to go forward towards that Universal Theism which was his own ideal.

An estimate of his religious faith of this period and connection with Unitarianism is furnished by Adam in two letters to Dr. Tuckerman of Boston. One Mr. Tippin enquired through Dr. Tuckerman if Ram Mohun was really a Christian. Mr. Adam replied—

"He is both a Christian and a Hindu—Christian with Christians and a Hindu with Hindus. And before you say I am contradicting myself, or that he is insincere in his religion, you must candidly weigh all the circumstances in which he is placed...His relinquishment of idolatry is absolute, total, public and uncompromising, while he employs caste property, influence, everything to promote, not the nominal profession merely, but the enlightened belief and salutary influence of Christianity, his claim to be a practical, though not a nominal, Christian would seem to be undoubted. In this point of view Hinduism furnishes the antidote to his own inherent intolerance. The profession of Christianity would identify him in the opinion of the Hindus...with the low, ignorant and depraved converts recently made by the English or long since made by the Portuguese missionaries, and in the opinion of the Mussalmans, who hold him in high esteem, with the Trinitarians generally. In other words the profession of Christianity would, inevitably in the present circumstances of the country, identify him with persons from whom he differs as widely as from those with whom he is now identified.

"You...enquire whether Ram Mohun Roy is a Unitarian Christian or only a Thiest...He permits me to say that failing the male heirs of his own body, of whom there are two, he has bequeathed the whole of his property to our Mission and while he regrets the appearance of ostentation, which this statement may bear, he leaves it to yourself to judge whether he would have been likely to do so, if he did not sincerely embrace

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the Christian religion and ardently desire to extend its blessings to his countrymen."

The complex mind of the reformer was thus a problem to his closest friends in India and abroad and it was not unatural, since few could view things as he did from a vastly comprehensive stand-point. He looked at different faiths from the summit of his own universalism and so far as each had elements of truth he identified himself with it and appeared accordingly Hindu, Mahammadan and Christian. He himself had said just before leaving for England to Nanda Kissore Bose, the father of Late Rajnarayan Bose, that after his death he would be claimed as a Hindu, Mahammadan and Christian by the respective votaries of these religions. It is not new in India for synthetic geniuses to be so claimed, for Kabir is a standing example known far and wide, though in a much smaller measure than Ram Mohun. Miss Collet has significantly remarked, "His impartial attitude towards other faiths was not yet understood by his Unitarian allies". No wonder that a mind of such gigantic calibre and synthetic penetration should be judged like this from the narrow grooves of particular religions, but the truth will ever remain that he rose to that sublime height from which he could easily pick out the universal from the particulars. In the safe estimate of Dr. Macnicol he was the first Indian reformer who betook himself to Christ's teaching. Kabir, Chaitanya, Nanak and Ramananda were not touched by western influence, but Ram Mohun was permeated with the ideal of pure worship in spirit and in truth and an altruistic urge which overleaped the boundaries of race and religion. He found them in his analysis of the gospel of Jesus, partially in the neglected strata of Hindu thought, in fact, in all religions more or less. In him Hinduism, Christianity and Mahammadanism met in an organic unity in order to bring to birth an altogether new conception, viz., the greatest common measure of all religions, which culminated in the Universal Religion formulated by him for the Brahmo Samaj, and it has not been as yet suppressed, nay equalled, by any other human attempt.

Ram Mohun lived among the Hindus like a Hindu, observing externally some rules of the caste system in which he had no faith. The motive was to preserve unimpaired his own usefulness to society which he wanted to serve. In a letter to Dr. Tuckerman, dated June 24, 1827, Mr. Adam gave a description of what the reformer wanted to do in eating and drinking and family rites—

"This is the only remnant of the rules of caste to which he still adheres, and even this remnant I have reason to know he frequently but secretly disregards.....Both in the marriages and deaths that happen within his domestic circle he rigidly abstains in his own person from every approach to the idolatrous rites usually practised on such occasions, although he does not prohibit the other members of his family from engaging in them if they think proper."

Yet it was a known fact that he was against the tyranny and invidious distinctions brought about by the caste system. His whole doctrine of universal religion was a movement to rise above distinctions and consequently to destroy them. It allowed equal spiritual privileges and opportunities—the same type and quality of Brahma-knowledge to everybody; the rest was therefore a natural corollary. Indeed, caste was extremely distasteful to him not only on spiritual grounds but also from consideration of its evil effects. "He considered caste to be one of the gravest of many ills under which his country laboured." In one of his own letters he expressed his mind clearly and emphatically on this social question.

"I agree with you that in point of vices the Hindus are not worse than the generality of Christians in Europe and America, but I regret to say that the present system of religion adhered to by the Hindus is not well-caculated to promote their political interest. The distinction of castes introducing innumerable divisions and subdivisions among them has entirely deprived them of patriotic feeling, and the multitude of religious rites and ceremonies and the laws of purification have totally disqualified them from undertaking any difficult enterprise...It is, I think, necessary that some change should take place in their religion, at least for the sake of their political advantage and social comfort. I fully agree with you that there is nothing so sublime as the precepts taught by Christ and there is nothing equal to the simple doctrines he inculcated.

This conviction against caste on the part of the reformer was based on the most comprehensive vision of his nation's future. Again it is not simply spiritual as demonstrated in his "Pursuit of Beatitude Independent of Brahmanical Observances"; its implications embraced political and social philosophy. He was the first Indian to point out its disintegrating tendencies viewed from the standard of modern national organisation. He tried first of all to destroy its roots by

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means of a spiritual democracy embodied in the Brahmo Samaj and founded on the best teachings of the greatest ancient seers of the nation itself. His effort to infuse Christian idealism into Hindu life and society was one of the strongest desires of his own life, not for the purpose of turning Hindus nominally into Christians, but for conforming life in general to the highest known truth wherever it might have expressed itself. And truth being one, it was only natural for him to look back to those olden times, when India was free from caste and idolatry and those ills of recent growth which he wanted to counteract by means of a synthesis of Eastern and Western idealism.

The true reason for his keeping some vestige of caste in his own life is explained conclusively by J. Young who was a friend of Jeremy Bentham and was in India for some time. It is found in a letter of introduction to the English philosopher bearing the date, 14 Nov. 1830, the year in which Ram Mohun sailed for England. Young said that :—

"He (Ram Mohun) has externally maintained so much, and no more of Hindu custom, as his profound knowledge of their sacred books enabled him to justify, relaxing however little by little, yet never enough to justify his being out of the pale. I need to say that in private it is otherwise, and that prejudices of all sorts are duly condemned by our philosopher."

This means that the reformer stood for a steady, firm and continuous progress in this matter, being aware, as he was, of its hold on the people. His programme for his nation was essentially constructive and there might have been in his mind a lurking suspicion of destructive forces being let loose all at once. His criticism of caste was in itself destructive enough in the realm of theory.

His publication of a translation of an ancient Buddhist work in Sanskrit, *Bajra Suchi* by Mrityunjayacharya indicates Ram Mohun's keeness on the caste question. It was published by the reformer in 1827 with the original and its translation and it showed the futility of the caste system. The object of printing a work of this character was evidently to prove that the attitude of the ancients was similar to the reform movement inaugurated by him. It gave him support from the past as well as connection with it and showed that his was not a destructive propaganda against the existing social organisation and subversive of the accepted beliefs of the people. It was only reviving what had been lost in course of time. Further, it illustrates anew Ram Mohun's readiness to borrow thoughts and arguments and even books from any religion, Mahammadan, Buddhist or Christian if only thereby he might purify Hinduism.

Yet he was not a mere eclectic, for he was fired with the vision of an organic unity of all truth, religious, political and social and of the whole body of human knowledge which made it. He looked at everything from all points of view and through all its



Portrait of Ram Mohun Roy in the Picture of the Trial of Colonel Brereton

ramifications, that led him to examine and adopt what was suitable to the building up of an ideal society as far as possible.

In the same year he brought out his pamphlet on the *Gayatri*, the most ancient theistic formula of the Hindus, under the title of "*Divine Worship by means of Gyuttree*," in which the very essence of worship is laid down based on this hoary text. Those who have considered him a simple Deist and nothing more may find fresh materials in this small treatise for the

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revision of their hasty judgment. Dr. Farquhar is one of those who also have made this mistake, through inadequate acquaintance with the writings of the reformer. This mistake is also unfortunately of the same type as Mr. Parekh's confusion pointed out elsewhere and indicates a tendency which often interferes with scholarly interpretation of truth. To the following year (1828) belongs "*The Answer of a Hindoo to the Question*; why you frequent a Unitarian place of worship instead of....the Established Churches?" It was on the line of the "*Answer to Four Questions* of 1822, yet positive in its arguments and bears the mark of dissatisfaction with polemics as well as the close of his polemical writings. A sentence in it shows, like one in the Brahmanical Magazine, that he was mentally soaring far above the narrow ruts of religious and sectarian differences and distinctions. The negative side of the cross-questionings directed to him from time to time made him say—"I feel weary of the doctrine of God-man and Man-God, frequently inculcated by Brahmans in pursuance of their corrupt traditions: the same doctrine of Man-God, though preached by another body of priests, better dressed, better provided for and eminently elevated by virtue of conquest, cannot effectually tend to excite my anxiety or curiosity to listen to it." In fact, priests, whether the destitute Brahmanical or the well-groomed Christian, had little attraction for him nor had the doctrines on which they lived. But his own criticism did not end with this assertion. He took it up in his own words—"ideas in the Western and Eastern heathen mythology—and showed the parallelisms in Divine appearance "in the form of a party-coloured kite" and "on another occasion in the bodily shape of a dove." It tended according to him "to bring the Deity into ridicule under the shield of religion". Similarly Christian Trinity and Hindu Tri-Theism called Trinity by him were both rejected. He said "the mind which rejects the latter as a production of fancy cannot be reasonably expected to adopt the former".

His main reason in attending Unitarian worship is given below—

"Because the Unitarians reject polytheism and idolatry under any sophistical modification and thereby discountenance all the evil consequences resulting from them. Because Unitarians profess and inculcate the doctrine of Divine Unity—a doctrine which I find firmly maintained both by the Christian scriptures and our most ancient writings commonly called the Vedas".

Miss Collet observes that "the *Answer* simply amounted to saying that in a Unitarian place of worship he heard nothing of incarnation, union of two natures, or Trinity both doctrines which he regarded as only a variant of anthropomorphic and polytheistic mythology of popular Hinduism". And indeed he made no secret of it in the Brahmanical Magazine which after the three *Appeals* sets forth his theological views on these points. It is a wonder that in the face of such statements, innumerably as they were scattered all over his writings, there were efforts made to prove him a Christian or a Hindu after the particular bias of the writer. Ram Mohun left no point undiscussed in regard to which there could be the least doubt or misunderstanding as to his estimate of Hinduism and Christianity.

In the meantime a Unitarian service in English was begun in the hope of increasing and strengthening the Unitarian Committee and its life and work. This move in August 1827 did not produce the desired result. In November of the same year an evening service on similar lines was tried and proved a failure. Both were very indifferently attended and had little practical support from avowed Unitarians. The evening attendance fell from 80 to almost nothing in a short time. The proposal to erect a chapel for regular service in the Bengali language similarly failed, as was bound to be the case in the face of such lukewarm sympathy from those who were supposed to be supporters of Unitarianism. There was strong sentimental objection to the very idea of conducting services in Bengali instead of English. The vernacular was unfortunately considered unfit for any respectable use and in Adam's own words their plea was that "anything said or written in the Bengali tongue will be degraded and despised in consequence of the medium through which it is conveyed." Only classical languages, such as Sanskrit and Persian, could command respect in the eyes of the people together with English, the language of the rulers. Yet the Brahmo Samaj services succeeded quickly, and almost at once, probably because of the tincture of Sanskrit scripture reading. This tendency on the part of the educated people, illustrated in a positive comtempt for the current dialect, revealed the significance of Ram Mohun's efforts to

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encourage the use of the spoken language and to raise it to a literary status which the "panditic" adaptations and the "sahebi" translations of the Fort William College would not give to it. It was in reality a landmark in the History of Bengali Literature which has found a new career opened before it ever since the days of the greatest Indian reformer.

Mr. Adam was now forced to take to a different method of rallying round him the loose combination of the Unitarians that was gradually dwindling into nothingness. Its cohesiveness required strengthening and deepening by some means at this critical juncture. On the 30th December, 1827, he asked the Unitarian Committee to re-organise themselves into a more comprehensive body by connecting their association with the Unitarians in England and America. His proposal was somewhat of an affiliation, so to speak, "intended to deepen the esprit de corps" and to bring about a closer unity of all Unitarians in the world. The "more complete organisation"—to use Adam's own language—was called the British Indian Unitarian Association. It was probably under the auspices of this body that he started fresh lectures on the First Principles of Religion in order to make up for the lack of attendance at the regular services. This too did not fare well, though the discourses were given "for the exclusive benefit of the natives... in the native part of the city", i. e., in the Anglo-Hindu School of Ram Mohun. He used to have about twelve to twenty-five to hear him and after some time scarcely even one. The reformer himself could never attend because of pressure of multifarious duties. This sorry state of things discouraged Adam to such an extent that he proposed that he should be sent to Madras on a missionary tour. Ram Mohun had to oppose it on consideration of available funds and the importance of Adam's presence in Calcutta, which led the Committee to stop it as the only possible alternative.

There was perhaps some suspicion, if not doubt, about Christian connection with Unitarianism or whether the name Christian could go along with the word Unitarian, and this may account for the next step taken by Mr. Adam in resuscitating his declining congregation. A separate group, described as Hindu Unitarians, was being formed to function with the Unitarian Association in an auxiliary capacity. Adam helped it to grow and to act in its own way. Ram Mohun called himself a "Hindu Unitarian" until the Brahmo Samaj was started and his followers also imitated him in this. In a



Ram Mohun Roy
[From the Second London Edition (1834) of his "Precepts of Jesus."]

letter dated 5th February, 1828, Adam wrote to J. Bowring of London.

"I am endeavouring to get the Hindu Unitarians in Calcutta to unite in forming an Association auxiliary to the British Indian Association and for the establishment of the public worship of One God among themselves,.....To prevent prejudice from being excited, it will be necessary to keep Christianity out of view at present in connection with this auxiliary, but it will be (what perhaps may not be nominally) an auxiliary to our views and a highly valuable one too, if I can succeed in creating the necessary degree of interest to begin and carry it on."

It was evidently Adam's last hope that this subsidiary body might revive the smouldering embers of Unitarianism in Calcutta and the Hindu and the Christian sides might ultimately coalesce together and Christian

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principles might be introduced and prevail in the long run. But that the Hindu side became prominent in consequence of some lurking objection to, or natural lack of interest in the Christian side is beyond doubt and consequently needs no elaboration. The Hindus under Ram Mohun's leadership were feeling their way forward and developing a line of their own. The service for the Indians was consequently discontinued, as Adam reported in one of his letters to Dr. Tuckerman, dated 2nd April, 1822. He said:—

"Since then I have been using every endeavour in my power to induce Hindu Unitarians to unite among themselves for the promotion of our common objects, and I am not without hopes of succeeding, although I have a great deal of apathy to struggle against."

The common object spoken of is of course Unitarian worship, or the worship of one God, which Adam wished to add something of Unitarian Christianity. But in about the middle of the year 1822, Mr. Adam found that there was nothing for him to do in Calcutta. His congregation did not come to the service, his lectures were unattended, he had no place in the Anglo-Hindu School, and no prospect ahead of operating in any capacity, in any probable avenue in the city. Unitarianism had entered a blind alley and he had to face the failure courageously. He asked the Unitarian Committee to suggest some possible mode of service in which he could possibly engage himself in return for the money received by him, otherwise he saw no reason why he should draw his salary without any task assigned to him. The Committee was similarly at a loss to point out any suitable opening for him and Adam had to resign his post and retire "heart-broken."

It has been suggested by Miss Collet that Adam was "baulked by Ram Mohun's autocratic will," equally in his connection with the Anglo-Hindu school and in his endeavour to move to Madras. The reason is not far to seek, though it is to be added that the reformer did not wilfully or maliciously thwart the efforts of his friend and convert. The mind of the reformer was reaching out unsuspected and unnoticed to something profounder than the activities of Adam and the Unitarian Committee, and the smaller was naturally engulfed by the greater. He had seen that Unitarian Christianity did not do for his friends who breathed the atmosphere of his spiritual realisation. The burning passion for a God unlimited by human definitions yet recognised by all and the unsatiable hunger for a religion comprehending all types of spiritual experience could not be satisfied with Unitarianism alone any more than with any other of the religions in the field. They were for him, whether it was Hinduism, Christianity or Mahammadanism, like chemical re-agents which yielded the tested resultant of universal religion. The truth lay in this fact as illustrated by subsequent events. He was pressed onwards by the growing demands of his mind which was at this time surcharged with mighty spiritual explosives gained from long study and living experience, until presently the flash-point for explosion came through the influence of his friends. Like a pent-up volcano he was waiting with throbbing expectation to give out the fire that was consuming him within—a fire that changed his country and his nation in innumerable ways for good within a score of years. He was not simply groping after something apart from Unitarianism or Vedantism or Sufism vaguely and unconsciously; it was the dearest and the most vital gift he had to make to the world, for it was, above and beneath them all, yet subsuming them within it together with every kind of known faith.

On a memorable day the required psychological moment arrived when Ram Mohun was returning from one of the Unitarian services which he attended "with his sons, distant relations and two disciples, Tarachand Chakravarty and Chandra Sekhar Deb." On the way Tarachand and Chandra Sekhar said to the reformer, "What is the need for us all of going to a foreign place of worship? We ought to establish a place of worship of our own." These two "young disciples" complained of the necessity of attending a Unitarian place of worship in the absence of one entirely suited to their views and principles. Ram Mohun took this complaint to "heart". In fact this appealed at once to him—who was waiting for it so to speak—and he consulted his friends Dwarka Nath Tagore and Kali Nath Munshi of Taki and others on the admirable proposal, which in Miss Collet's opinion was the germ of the Brahmo Samaj. A meeing was called by the reformer in his own house in order to proceed with the matter in a systematic way and to discuss the pros and cons. Those who joined the meeting were Dwarka Nath Tagore, Kali Nath Munshi, Prasanna Kumar Tagore and Mathura Nath

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Mullick of Howrah. They promised to advance this great object by every means in their power. Chandra Sekhar Deb was charged with the duty of negotiating the purchase of a piece of land on the south of Siva Narayan Sircar's house in the Simla locality but the place was not considered suitable and it also meant the immediate building up of a house. A house belonging to Kamal Lochan Basu on the Chitpore Road in Jorasanka locality was selected and rented from the owner. Here the meeting for worship was established on the 20th August, 1828 and the spiritual idea of the reformer found its actual embodiment. This little band of seekers after truth became on this day, as if by the touch of the magic wand of the wizard, a regular community breathing an independent life of its own and having an objective existence apart from the originator and founder.

The meeting was held every Saturday in the evening from 7 to 9 P.M, The elements of the Service were recital of the Vedas reading of the Upanishads, discourse on the Vedic texts read or recited and hymn-singing. Two Telegu Brahmans recited portions of the Vedas, Mahamahopadhyaya Utsavananda Vidyavagish used to read from the Upanishads, Mahamahopadhyaya Ram Chandra Vidyavagish explained the Vedas by means of sermons. "Kisto" and his brother "Bistoo" sang hymns mostly of the reformer's composition,—a Mahammadan "Golam Abbas" by name accompanied with instrumental music. Occasionally Mohammadan and Eurasian boys sang persian and English hymns. Tarachand Chakravarty was its Secretary. Many orthodox Hindus presented themselves at such meetings for worship. Both Utsavananda Vidyavagish and Ram Chandra Vidyavagish were Ram Mohun's converts. The former discussed Vaishnavite philosophy with the reformer before his conversion, and the latter's case is already well-known. Both illustrate Ram Mohun's superb power of bending and conquering the best Brahmanical intellects of the day. The inaugural sermon by Ram Chandra Vidyavagish was on the spiritual worship of God and it was a fitting piece of philosophical exposition ; "his text, which was taken from various parts of the Hindu Scriptures, read God is one, only, without an equal in whom abide all worlds and their inhabitants. Thus he who mentally perceives the supreme spirit in all creatures acquires perfect equanimity and shall be absorbed into the highest essence even unto the Almighty." This sermon was translated into English by Tara Chand Chakravarty and was sent by the reformer to a friend, Capt. A. Froyer, with the remark that "it exhibited the simplicity, comprehensiveness and tolerance which distinguish the religious belief and worship formerly adopted by one of the most ancient nations on earth and still adhered to by the more enlightened portion of their posterity."



Stapleton Grove now

Miss Collet has observed that "the share which Unitarianism had in the birth of the Brahmo Samaj was distinctly majestic, not maternal" and that "it was upon the ruins of the Unitarian Mission that the new Theistic Church was reared." On a superficial view this statement does not seem to need any qualification whatsoever, but the remark just quoted above of the proclaimer of Brahmoism when considered together with the trend of his thought in his various writings, will surely reveal another side of the mind which was busy with creation and construction. Perhaps it will be more scientific to say that Hinduism, Christianity and Mahammadanism stood in a catalytic relation to the Universal Theism formulated and established by Ram Mohun. Eclecticism is not at all the character of the truth he worked out. His was just the opposite process—a process that consisted in more than mere juxtaposition and conglomeration of religious ideas from all directions. It was a synthetic analysis going to the rock bottom of religious experience itself and its organic character, which depended on the very evolution of religion in the consciousness of humanity, was stamped by him with the mark and colour of individuality ; what he gave to the world was the highest and the most

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universal conception of religion—a type of theism free from the moorings in books and customs, personalities and traditions. An achievement of this kind is a discovery of the greatest value to the ever-advancing spirit of man. Theism before him was either the Monism of the Vedanta in the East or Unitarianism of Christianity in the West. He placed Theism on its own evidences as natural and necessary to all religions since it was the greatest common denominator of them all—their vital essence.

Mr. N. N. Chatterjee's remark that the Service in the Brahmo Samaj was copied from the procedure of Unitarian worship needs examination as well as criticism. It is to be remembered that Ram Mohun had, not in vain, nor for nothing, opposed and shut out Christian doctrine in his Vedic school and Christian influence in the Anglo-Hindu school and coined the term Hindu Unitarian for himself and his friends. He was fully aware of the different orders of worship obtaining in different religions—Hindu, Muhammadan and Christian. In formulating a mode of worship he did not simply take up what he found in Unitarianism for in Hinduism itself there was the quasi-religious procedure of Hari-sabhas, Kirtans and Kathakatas which satisfied partly the communal instinct of congregational worship if that is simply the point at issue. Text-reading, discoursing, hymn-singing and Sankalpa—prayer were elements that could not have passed unobserved by him. There was also the Chakra-sadhana in Tantric group-culture in his time. It cannot, therefore, be said straight away that he simply imitated Christian worship, knowing as he did, the eight-fold sadhana or spiritual exercise according to the Yoga system and the Vaishnava methods of worship. The five elements of *udbodhana* or awakening, *aradhana* or adoration, *dhyana* or meditation, *prarthana* or prayer and *upadesha* or sermon are enough to illustrate the constructive side of spiritual worship evolved in the Brahmo method. That these purer forms were evoked by the very presence and example of Christian worship is beyond doubt and the principle of adaptation and not grafting, is accounted for by it. The idea that Hinduism had no congregational worship in its theory and practice, and so could not supply the reformer with any data needs modification in view of what is known to obtain among Buddhists, Jainas, Vaishnavas and Saktas. Ram Mohun did not add and Christianity could not have furnished anything more than the ordinary text-reading, discoursing, hymn-singing, meditating on the supreme spirit as integral parts in a combined form in the whole procedure.

The establishment of the Brahmo Samaj was according to Mr. Adam "a step towards Christianity" and he added "the friendly feeling which happily exists between Christian and Hindu Unitarians should be preserved." A sum of Rs. 500 was consequently recommended by him as a grant from the Unitarian Committee. He also attended their service at times and showed the deepest and sincerest sympathy with the movement. Yet there were in it things that were not and could not be approved by him, since in giving up Trinitarianism he could not by that very fact rise at once to the Universal Theism which was Ram Mohun's objective. In writing to Dr. Tuckerman on 22nd January, 1821, he stated clearly his objection to the Hindu character of the Brahmo service. A portion of his letter bearing on the point is given below :—

"There has accordingly been formed a Hindu Association, the object of which is, however, strictly Hindu and not Christian i.e., to teach and practise the worship of one God on the basis of the divine authority of the Ved and not of the Christian Scriptures. This is a basis of which I have distinctly informed Ram Mohan and my other native friends that I connot approve."

Mr. Chatterjee says that Adam's eyes were opened as to the far-off aim of the reformer, and though "he and all his associations were spiritually begotten by Ram Mohun" in the language of Miss Collet and were therefore secondary agencies, the difference noted in the letter already quoted is too radical to need any comment. It says, further, with reference to the call on all Unitarians, Christian and Hindu, to organise themselves that—

"Ram Mohun.....supports this institution, not because he believes in the divine authority of the Veds, but solely as an instrument for overthrowing idolatry.....He employs Unitarian Christianity in the same way, as an instrument for spreading pure and just notions of God without believing in the divine authority of the Gospel."

The Brahma Samaj represented and embodied the truth which was rightly described by Adam to be pure and rational Theism without the aid of faith in authority and revelation. This was a tremendous step ahead of the religious thought of the world. In rational thought the reformer was much

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influenced by the Mutazalas and the Absolute Vedanta as well as by Locke, Rousseau and Hume, and the Encyclopaedists yet he "was above all and beneath all a religious personality" with his Hindu spiritual nature deepened by the contact with Christianity and Mahammadanism. He tried Unitarianism as well as Vedantism as means to an end—a fact which was interpreted by the John Bull of Calcutta, dated 23rd August, 1828, in its report on the foundation of the Brahmo Samaj as "sliding from Unitarianism into pure Deism." But it has to be noted that "the foreign exotic" did not thrive on the Indian soil and died a natural death. Ram Mohun perhaps diagnosed early its weakness caused by transplantation, while his own mind was rising gradually to the sublime conception of a Universal Religion quite different from mere eclecticism. The Brahmo Samaj was the focus of the reformer's ideal and he made it spread its long arms like an octopus in many directions. Collet has appropriately translated the name "the Society of God," its social implications being indeed deep and pertaining to the ideal itself. It was then indifferently mentioned in the deed of land transaction of 1829 as the Brahmo Samaj, corrupted later on as the Brahmo Sabha in imitation of the Dharma Sabha as a private institution of 1830; compared with the Atmiya Sabha of 1815 it was a mighty achievement of a decided public nature with the clear stamp of a community, in short an organic unity of the highest order, a potential giant that was to shake the whole continent of India in after-years.

The Europeans naturally did not like such free movement of thought on the part of the Indians away from any form of Christianity. The John Bull of Calcutta failed to understand what was meant by the foundation of the Brahmo Samaj. Ram Mohun had already incurred their general displeasure and lost a good number of European friends for his agitation in favour of the liberty of the press. He was essentially a great lover of freedom and could not have helped doing what he did in all spheres of activity, whether religious, social or political. Col. Young in a letter to Bentham portrayed Ram Mohun's position among the Indians and the Britishers of that age—

"His whole time almost has been occupied for the last two years in defending himself and his son against a bitter and vindictive prosecution, which has been got up against the latter nominally, but against himself and his abhorred free opinions, in reality by a conspiracy of his own bigoted countymen and encouraged, not to say instigated, by some of ours influential and official men who cannot endure that a presumptuous "black" should tread so closely upon the heels of the dominant white class or rather should pass them in the march of mind. It is strange that such a man should be looked upon coldly, not to say disliked, by the mass of Europeans, for he is greatly attached to our regime.....Not only has he no equal here among his own countrymen, but he has none that at all approach to equality even among the little "sacred squadron" of disciples whom he is slowly and gradually gathering round himself in despite of all obstacles."

Even in face of such cross-currents and under-currents against him and his reforming activities, Ram Mohun's iron nerves knew no discomfiture. The unity of the Godhead



Where the Raja was Buried in the Grounds of Stapleton Grove. Stone marks the spot above the mark

and the brotherhood of man were passions with him and he believed in them with all the warmth of his great and mighty heart. They were not mere intellectual conceptions on which he staked his all including life itself. Whenever he had occasion to speak "of his Universal Religion, he was so much moved that tears came out of his eyes." Hearing of a man who had from a Theist turned an Atheist, he rejoined humourously "and later he will become a beast." This vain of humour was characteristic of him and he could tolerate all types of men. One of his most intimate friends, Prasanna Kumar Tagore, was practically a sceptic who was at the same time closely attached to him and the Brahmo Samaj. He was called by the reformer "a rustic philosopher" in a loving yet good-humoured fashion. Being thoroughly acquainted with the writings of Rousseau

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and Hume he knew how strong was their influence on his friend. Miss Collet has expressed the relation between these two leaders of Bengali public life in an expressive sentence as—"thus the master would banter and condemn without alienating an unbelieving disciple." These traits of his character attracted men and the Brahmo Samaj soon drew within its fold a large number of members and a large sum of money to its fund. It went on increasing by rapid strides and became a force in the national life of Bengal. In fact, the intimate friendship and inspiring confidence of Ram Mohun formed the cementing principle of the group, which like the thin end of a wedge successfully cut into the heart of society. It was a striking contrast to the utter failure of the Unitarian Association.

The reformer was much attached to his disciples, as they in their turn fully reciprocated his love. They respectfully called him *Dewanji*, according to the title used by Mr. Digby, for he was not given the title of a Raja as yet, and he affectionately called them *beradar*, a Persian word from the same root as *brother*. Everybody was addressed as *brother* by him as people came to be attached to him. He constantly advised his disciples and helped them to go forward and demanded the strictest discipline from them in every respect. He was equally at times reminded of his own advice by these his intimate friends and followers. An example of this is very well-known. Tarachand Chakravarty once noticed that he gave rather too much time to brushing his hair, which was rather long, and dressing it in usual Mahammadan fashion. At once a line of Ram Mohun's own famous song was quoted to him—"How long will you with care see your own face in the mirror ?"—with the caustic enquiry if this was meant for other people only and not for the composer himself. The reformer with his transparent frankness admitted the force of the observation and rejoined, "Ha ! brother you are quite right."

Ram Mohun's dress was thoroughly Mahammadan as it used to be in his days. It consisted of a twisted turban, a long choga and trousers and he insisted that all should come in this dress to divine worship. His opinion was that good and clean dress ought to be used in "God's Darbar", i.e. a meeting where God is present. A member of the Brahmo Samaj was once warned through another because of attending the service in ordinary Bengali clothes, *dhuti* and *chaddar*. It was an essentially Islamic idea that the reformer tried to introduce but it did not last long. Personally he kept to it throughout his life as is seen in his popular portrait. It had its undoubted utility from the standpoint of cleanliness. His aesthetic taste was evident in matters of clothes, for he never liked to see any one shabby or careless. He walked to the services as a sign of humility before God, but returned in his own carriage. His daily life was accurately punctual in minute details, as all strenuous lives are bound to be. He was a very early riser and always regular in his constitutional walks. In the Indian way he used to get himself oiled and shampooed before his bath every morning by two strong servants, while he read the Sanskrit Grammar, Mugdhabodha, in parts day after day. After this he had his bath and breakfast of rice, fish and milk and took nothing till his evening meal. He worked till two and then went out visiting friends. His meal in the evening at about eight used to be in English fashion with Muhammadan dishes.

Another account from Ram Mohun's servant, Ram Hari Das, gives a fuller picture of the ways and habits of the reformer probably in his later life at home. It is reproduced here verbatim—

"He used to rise very early about 4 A.M., to take coffee and then to have his morning walk, accompanied by a few persons. He would generally return home before sun-rise and when engaged in morning duties, Gokul Das Napit would read to him newspapers of the day. Tea would follow ; gymnastics ; after resting a little he would attend to correspondence ; then have his daily bath, breakfast at 10 A.M. ; hearing newspapers read ; and hour's siesta on the bare top of a table ; getting up he would pass his time either in conversation or in making visits. Tiffin at 3 P. M. ; dessert at 5 P. M., Evening walk ; supper at 10 P.M. He would sit up to mid-night conversing with friends, He would then retire to bed, again eating his favourite cake, which he called "Halila". When engaged in writing he would be alone."

But above all he was a truly pious man. His cook who knew him from long and accompanied him to England bore eloquent testimony to his "punctual piety" as "the worship of God was Ram Mohun's first daily work." His religion made him a man of thoroughly democratic ideas as may be illustrated by an incident in his later life.

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While walking one morning in Bowbazar, the Central Calcutta of those days, he saw a vegetable-seller, just like those occasionally to be found even now in that quarter, looking for some one to help him with his load, so that it might be placed on the head to be carried to its destination. No man was low in Ram Mohun's eyes and without the least hesitation and with a natural grace, dressed as he was in nice clothing, he advanced and lifted the basket to the head of the man. There were many men taking their morning walk, but how many would have revealed the inward man through such a simple act of kindness—an act such as Wordsworth speaks of—

"——that best portion of a good man's life,
His little nameless unremembered acts
Of kindness and of love."

THE AWAKENING OF EGYPT

By EDWARD ASSWAD OF CAIRO

THE inauguration of the monument representing the Awakening of Egypt has been celebrated in the most sumptuous way in the centre of Cairo Station Square, in the presence of His Majesty King Fuad I, His Excellency the High Commissioner, the Members of the Diplomatic and Consular Corps, the Senators and Deputies, the Ulema, the Dignitaries of the Churches, the Under Secretaries, the Senior Government Officials and Senior Officers of the Army and Police forces and other notabilities, who enjoyed one of the most pleasurable meetings ever held thus to contemplate the unveiling of the statue of the Egyptian Liberty.



Egyptian Liberty

The garden surrounding the statue had been closed in with tentwork richly decorated with Egyptian flags and the Royal insignia. Rows of chairs were placed to accommodate the many guests invited to take part in the ceremony, also a throne for the King was put in the middle of the centre tent exactly facing the statue. His Majesty was received by the Prince and Nabils, the Prime Minister and the other members of the Cabinet, and when he was seated, His Excellency Mostafa El Nahas Pasha read a speech felicitating His Majesty and the nation upon this important occasion and the recognition of a talented Egyptian artist, An ode, specially written for the circumstance by Ahmed Bay Shawky the Poet Laureate, was then recited by a member of the Department of Public Instruction, after which the wrappings were removed from the statue which was greeted with applause and enthusiasm.

The statue is an allegory symbolizing modern Egypt as a woman throwing back a heavy veil from her face and touching with her magic hand the head of a sphinx stretching its paws in preparation for new activity. It possesses simplicity, force and intellectual significance, discarding superficial realism for the clarity of essential truth.

Seen in its true geniality of rosy granite, bathed in Cairo sunshine, it has more than one reflection of the astounding relics of the Eighteenth Dynasty, of for example, the features of the young Tut Ankh Amen.

Those heaps of stone carried from Assuan to form one solid rock at the gateway to the Capital of the land of the Pharaohs, do but mark Egypt's claim for her ancient glory which had long been acknowledged in the early times.

Year after year, Egypt will retrieve her losses which she sustained in the past, through the development of art and industry and by pursuing the realization of her aims with a view to acquiring a remarkable standing among the modern states.

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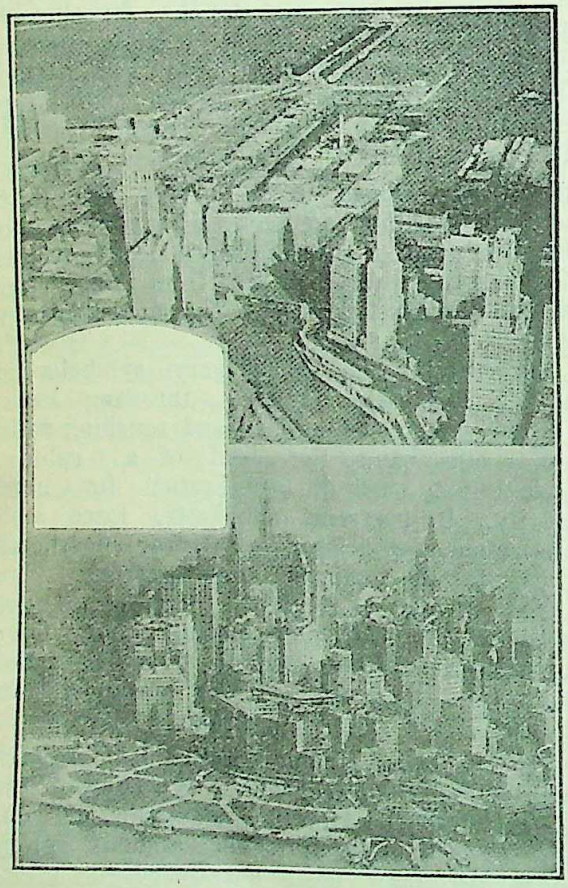


America Spreads its Wings

You can leave Hadley Field, at New Brunswick, N. J. just outside of New York city, at 12 : 15 in the afternoon, be in Chicago at seven o'clock, rush westward through the night down a pathway of light, see the sun come up somewhere around Cheyenne, hop the Rockies at daylight and drop into San Francisco around 4 : 00 p. m., Pacific coast time, or seven o'clock, New York time.

That path of light across the sky which guides the mail through the hours of darkness is one of the marvels of the age. At twelve landing fields alone six billion candlepower is used in the beacons that aid the ships to land.

An accident on any regularly established airways is a rarity. The insurance companies have recognised this fact by amending their policies to pay the same benefits for aerial accidents, on regular commercial routes, as they do for death in such ways as falling downstairs in your own home, slipping on a banana peel, or being run down by an automoble.



From the Canyons that Lead North from Battery to the Sky-scrapers that Line the Chicago River is 1000 Miles but just a comfortabe Afternoon's Ride. Hopping off from Headly Field alights in Chicago in Time for Dinner or continues the right to San Francisco at 4. p. m. Next day



Start for a Light at Heady Port. The Beacon of the Port is to be noted

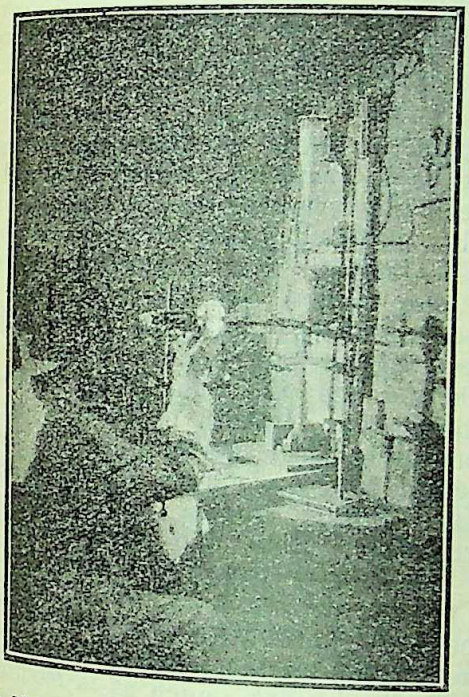
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Growing Precious Stones

Growing precious stone that are more perfect even than nature can make them, and finally producing a gem that will be entirely new, is the task that George Everett Marsh, chemist by night and packer by day, has set himself and his associates, E. Menzel and Frank E. Challis.

These gems are not imitations, but are "grown" from the very substances nature uses to create her own rubies and sapphires, and these substances are made into one crystalline mass, called a "boule," perhaps weighing as much as 100 carates. There are only two gems which Mr. Marsh does not make. He can make the diamond, but at such high cost that the natural jewel is cheaper.

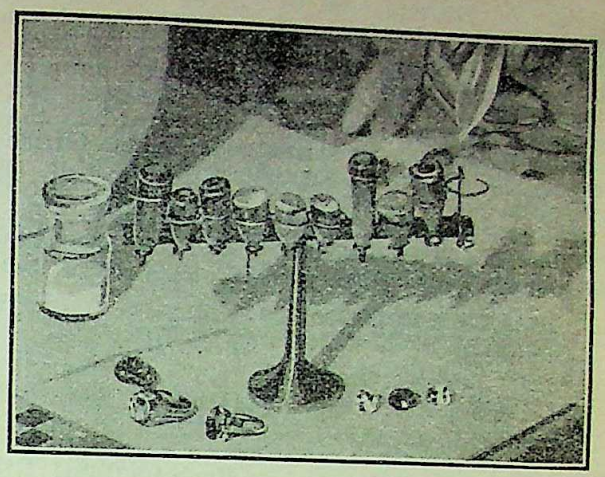


Mr. Marsh inspecting the Flame through a Shielded Telescope.

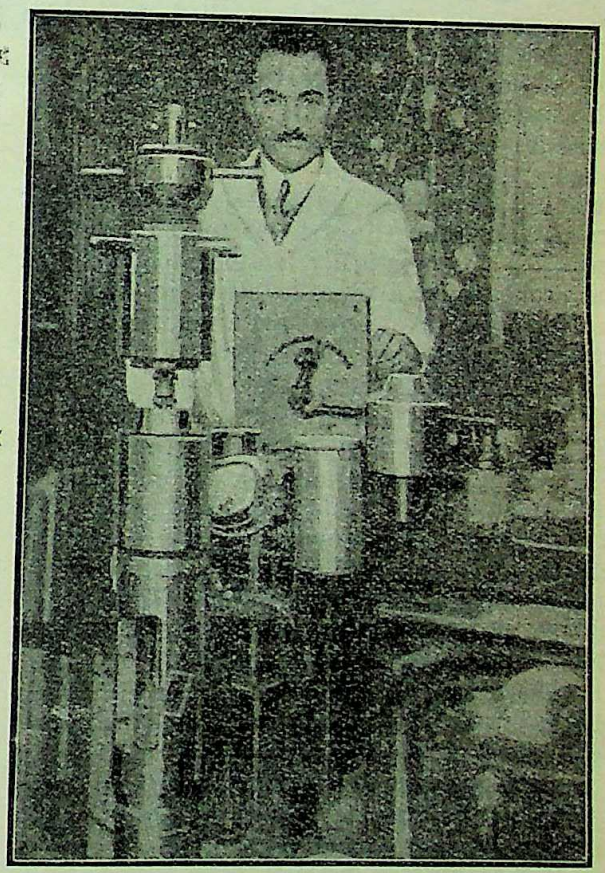
The other gem which is not made is the emerald. It is easy enough to obtain the raw materials for emeralds, but the element which contains the green coloring for the crystal invariably turns red under the heat necessary to fuse the substances.

The success Mr. Marsh has had in making synthetic stones is largely the result of his application to a hobby. For twenty one years he has worked in his laboratory at night. Three years ago he finally conquered the ruby and the sapphire, and now they have become regular commercial jewels which may be had in almost any jewelry store in the country.

After eight years of patient effort, the sapphire was successfully analyzed and not a trace of cobalt was found. The color was due to the presence of a very small percentage of ferric oxide and a form of titanium. That was the real



Uncut Jewels with Set and unset, which were Grown in the Basement Laboratory from Chemicals



James Basset, French Scientist, who has developed Process for making Diamonds from Coal. Intense Pressure is employed to effect Crystallization

birth of the synthetic sapphire so far as its chemistry was concerned. The equipment consists of a high-temperature flame produced by ordinary gas and oxygen, directed vertically downward

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onto a small rod of aluminum oxide which is used as a pedestal on which to grow the stone. To conserve the heat, Mr. Marsh invented a cyclindrical shield of alumina, insulated with asbestos. He now has decided to abandon the asbestos because of its shrinkage under the terrific heat—2,050 degree centigrade—to which it is subjected.

The raw materials for both sapphire and ruby are alumina and the oxides—ferric for sapphires and chromic for rubies—which must be of the highest possible purity. The mixture of the raw materials must be absolutely uniform. Ruby material is prepared by dissolving alum of the highest purity in distilled water, adding a quantity of chrome alum to provide the chromic oxide. The amount of chrome alum to be added depends entirely upon the depth of the color desired. Every color and shade has its own chemical composition and its own characteristic set o internal strains under crystallization.

CO-OPERATION IN AGRICULTURE

By SANTOSH BIHARI BOSE, L. AG.
Agricultural Station, Visva-Bharati.

THE term co-operation is very elastic, especially, when it is applied to Indian Agriculture, because there are so many factors that govern it, that it is a long way off, at present, to reach its goal in the truest sense of agricultural co-operation, which is found now-a-days in some of the most advanced western countries. There are at present, so many links to be united together, that it is not practically feasible to tackle all the problems, at a time, to attain its end.

Now let us pause for a moment, and ponder over the whole situation. The first question that arises, that who are the producers, and who are the consumers? What are the relations that exist between them? How and to what extent, these relations are maintained? What do the producers think at the time of preparing their cropping schemes?

The distance between the bulk of consumers, and that of the producers is far and wide. The consumers try to get the best and the cheapest thing and thus to bargain themselves; while the producers want to fetch the highest price for the produce of the soil at the expense of the consumers. Thus there is really a tug-of-war between them. Each one tries to bargain at each other's expense; and that is quite natural.

The consumers know that they are paying too much to somebody, other than the producers, on the other hand, the producers think, that they are getting much less from some body, other than actual consumers. Had there been any opportunity of mutual acquaintances, then the matter would have been compromised to a great extent. The consumers would have asked for a reduction in prices, to which the producers would have gladly conceded, as the tension between the two parties would have been greatly curtailed owing to the elimination of certain factors, that produce that tension. But these factors are not easily to be removed, especially under the present circumstances, that prevail in our country.

The absence of organisation, good intercommunication, transit facilities, capital, and various other local technicalities in matters connected with agriculture, make these intermediate factors govern the situation uninterruptedly. Both the parties—consumers and producers—pay the penalty, which both of them resent. Under such circumstances, the producers—naturally get back, and reduce the total acreage under cultivation—producing only that much as is required for local consumption generally. Thereby curtailing, to a considerable extent, the extra supply for the great bulk of consumers, that live far and wide from them. Neither party is thus benefitted.

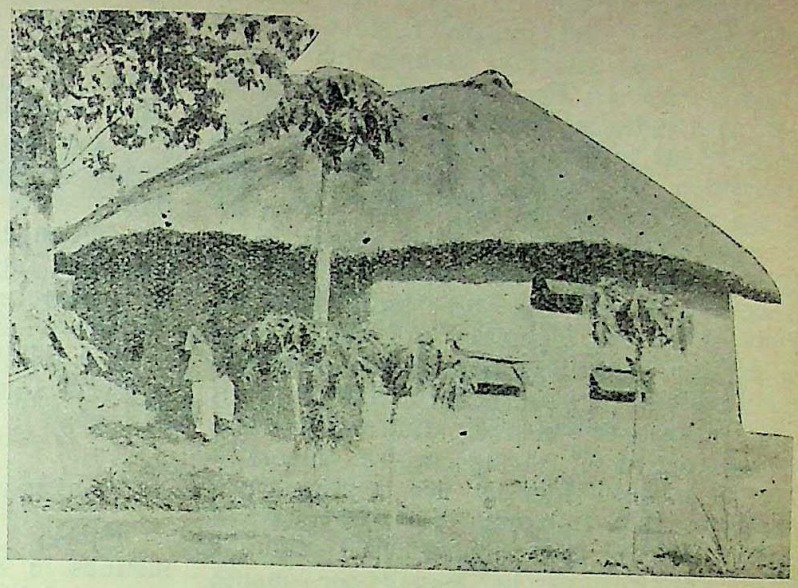
By merely meeting the ordinary demand of food, other amenities of life are not attended to, which are generally met at the expense of exchanges of the produce of the soil. On the other hand, owing to the paucity of supply of produce in the market, and the subsequent high price, the consumers are compelled to curtail other necessary daily expenses, just to meet the daily rations of any food any how. Now the question naturally comes, where lies the solution of the problem?

There is an eliminating factor that governs the purchasing power of the consumers, who can purchase much less than is actually

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required for consumption. In other word, he can restrict his budget. But the producer invests something for which he wants a fair return, otherwise that would be a loosing concern. Consequently, he must try to find out something that pays him. It is, of course, possible to fix a price, but it is not possible to make the customers pay that price. Mr. W. M. Jardine of the United States, Department of Agriculture, has truly remarked that there is practically no agricultural commodity, which is so essential for human existence that substitution cannot be made for it, at least in part, and this possibility of substitution destroys any effective arbitrary control of price over a period of time.



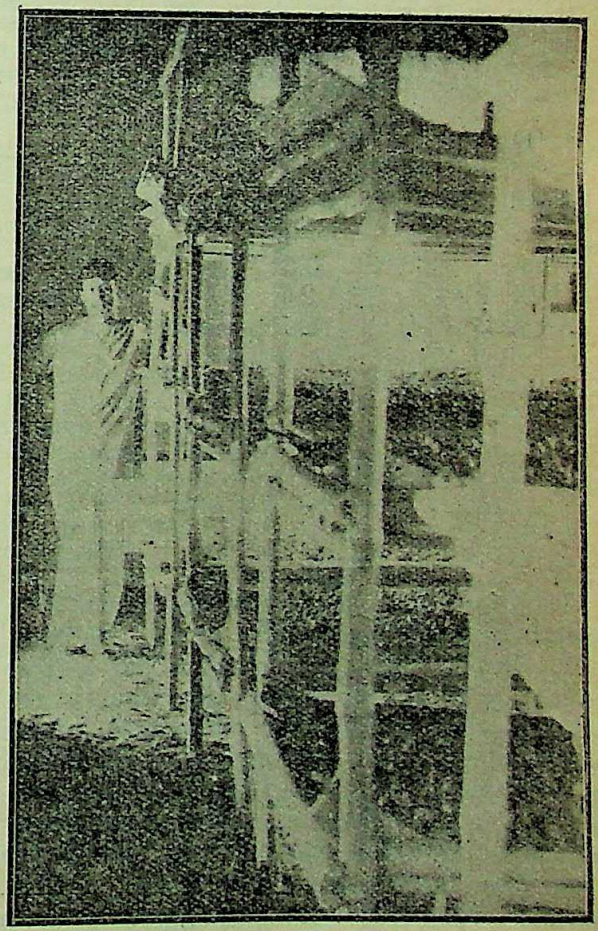
Potato Store House—Outside, Sriniketan Farm.

It is often said that the Indian cultivators are very conservative. It is quite true, as the circumstances compelled them to be so. Now, how would it be possible to make them grow much more in order to meet the demand of the great bulk of the customers? It is quite possible for them to increase both the yield per acre, as well as the acreage under cultivation, provided the question of disposal of the produce is solved.

This can be effected in two ways. Firstly, it can be facilitated by quick and cheap transit etc., while secondly, by making provision for effective storage for a definite length of time. By quick transit, the problem of supply can be solved to some extent; but there is a limit of human consumption, beyond which they cannot go. The consumers cannot naturally overstock their daily necessities. On the other hand, the producers cannot grow each and every crop continuously, as each has got a respective season and for a short time only.

The produce of the soil, either must be disposed of then and there, or to be stored for future consumption in a most effective way. It can be either stored in the shop or at the place of disposal. By effectively storing the produce, the producers can command the market directly at least for a good length of time and thereby getting a reasonable return for their labour and money.

With this end in view, the policy of the Agricultural section of the Institute of Rural Reconstruction, Visva-Bharati, has been



Potato Store House—Interior, Sriniketan Farm.

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framed. Some years back, when the Agricultural Farm was first started at Sriniketan, it was the aim of the University to demonstrate to the local cultivators that waste-barren-land can not only produce so many crops (vide *Modern Review*, August, 1926) by following a judicious system of crop rotation, economy in manuring and irrigation, by conservation of soil moisture etc., but, that the produce of the soil, when grown on an extensively scale, can be stored most effectively for the better market in future.

This store-house has been built with the object of storing potatoes of the Visva-Bharati farm, as well as that of the neighbouring cultivators. A nominal fee at the rate of (2) two annas per maund will be charged for the period of storage, which generally comes to between four to five month—April, May, June, July, August. Visva-Bharati will get Rs. 187-8 as., per annum (300 maunds ×10 as. at two annas per maund per month for five months) i.e., in the course of two years, the total sum of the cost of the house will be realised ; while the individual cultivators will make a fair profit out of his return by thus storing.

Potato is generelly sold at the time of the harvest at Rs. 2 per maund but after storing for a period of five months, one maund of potato will at least, fetch Rs. 5. Thus after deducting an allowance for total shrinkage and wastage in weight during the period of storage, and as well as for house rent, a clear profit of Rs. 2 per maund might be obtained. This is likely to create an incentive for the cultivators to grow more by adopting better methods, and by increasing the total acreage under cultivation.

The following experiment was conducted last year (last season) and the result of the first year is given below :—

ABSTRACT STAEMENT OF THE EXPERIMENT

Potato (grown in the farm) stored 50 maunds in April, 1927. Total loss in weight from shrinkage and wastage,—after five months from April to August, 27, 10 mounds (approximate).

Months	Difference of temperature (inside room) maximum and minimum-average of 30days.	Total loss in the wt. (monthly) due to shrinkage and wastage.	Prevailing local market price per maund
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
		Md. sr. chh.	Rs as. p
April.	Not systemtically recorded.	0 - 36 - 2	1 - 12- 0
May.	4.3.	2 - 2 -	2 - 4- 0
June.	3.5.	2 - 33 -	2 - 12-
July.	2.5.	1 - 11 -	3 - 8-
August.	2.7.	2 - 0 -	5 - 0 -
		9 - 2 - 2	

Remarks

(5)

50 mds. × 1- 12 R. a. Rs. as.
— 87- 8-
40 × 5 - Rs 200-

The following points were taken into special consideration while storing potatoes.

1. Provisions were made for a free circulation of air in every direction of the room in order to keep the difference of the inside temperature, between the maximum and minimum, within a resonable margin. The greater the difference, between the maximum and minimum temperature, inside the room, the larger the percentage of loss, owing to certain chemical changes that take place inside the tubers (potato). In other word, the inside temperature of the store room should be more or less uniform.

2. Tubers were covered with sand during the months of June, July, when the potato-motes generally appear. Care was also taken so that heat might not be developed inside the stack.

3. Lime boxes were placed at intervals in the recess of the windows, for serving the purpose of disinfectant, as well as for maintaining dryness inside the room to a certain extent.

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[This section is intended for the correction of inaccuracies, errors of fact, clearly erroneous views, misrepresentations, etc., in the original contributions, and editorials published in this Review or in other papers criticizing it. As various opinions may reasonably be held on the same subject, this section is not meant for the airing of such differences of opinion. As, owing to the kindness of our numerous contributors, we are always hard pressed for space, critics are requested to be good enough always to be brief and to see that whatever they write is strictly to the point. Generally, no criticism of reviews and notices of books is published. Writers are requested not to exceed the limit of five hundred words.—Editor, The Modern Review.]

Professor Radhakrishnan on Indian Philosophy

Dr. B. S. Guha's Rejoinder

In the July number of the *Modern Review* X.Y.Z has reiterated his charges (pp. 61-62) against Prof. Radhakrishnan's second volume of Indian Philosophy. As he wants 'categorical' answers from me; it will be best to take his objections seriatim:

1. X.Y.Z. asks me whether Prof. Radhakrishnan is a medical practitioner and assuming that he is not, argues that consequently he could not have looked into all the volumes of the Br. Medical Journal but must have borrowed the extract from Rai Bahadur Srish Chandra Basu's Introduction to Yoga Philosophy. As I am not a mind-reader as X.Y.Z. appears to be, I cannot 'categorically' say whether Prof. Radhakrishnan looked into every issue of the Br. Med. Jour. or not, but it does appear to me that there is a third possibility which X.Y.Z has overlooked, namely, that without having hunted all the issues of the Br. M. J and without even turning to Rai S. C. Basu Bd.'s Joga Philosophy it was quite possible for Prof. Radhakrishnan to come across the reference in the course of his vast reading and then have it verified by actual reference to the particular issue of the Br. Med. Journal.

2 and 3. So far as his references to the Sanskrit classics go, as a reference to Prof. R's book will show, wherever sectional and not page references are given, there is no need to mention the particular editions which are quoted unless there are differences in textual readings. When the Professor refers to Vijnanabhiksu's commentary he gives the sectional references and does not mention the editor's name. This is not intended to be a discrimination against Rai Bahadur S. C. Basu, for the author does it as a general rule with regard to all the Sanskrit classics which he uses in his writings. If he turns to volume I of Indian Philosophy X.Y.Z. will find Prof. R. writing—"the bibliography at the end of each chapter is by no means exhaustive. It is intended mainly for the guidance of the English reader" (p. 12).

4. X.Y.Z. argues that because Prof. R. occupies the chair of Philosophy in Bengal's premier University he should have known the Bengali works on the Vedanta, and imagines the grave situation created by a German Professor of Oxford writing in Latin and not mentioning any philosophical publication in English. I hope X.Y.Z. knows his Oxford where such phenomena take place but I should have been grateful if he had given a concrete instance instead of leaving us to the consequences of his imagination. There is however one slight thing which he has in mind, namely, Prof. R's book has been published by the Library of Philosophy in England and is mainly intended for English students as the sentence quoted above from his first volume will show.

5. It is true that a scholar is supposed to be familiar with the history of the development of his subject and as such the particular views which go to make it up, but if he is expected to know the histories of all statements he comes across in his readings it is certainly expecting too much. Not having more than a general acquaintance I cannot claim to know what passes off as research in Philosophy but certainly the branches of science with which I am familiar will regard any such thing as preposterous. In this particular instance about "Nitrous Oxide" etc., Prof. R. has borrowed with due acknowledgement the passage from William James' *Varieties of Religious Experience* (p. 387) where there is no reference to show that it was taken by him from any other writer. How could then Prof. R. be expected to know the indebtedness; if any of William James to the Lahore Journal "Arya" to which Rai Bahadur S. C. Basu is said to have contributed in 1883-84?

6. Lastly, Prof. R.'s book on Indian Philosophy has been highly appreciated among others by Bertrand Russel, Lord Haldane, Prof. Perry etc., and *has won for the subject recognition even in such standard works as the Encyclopaedia Britannica.* Whether X.Y.Z. considers it a creditable piece of work or not does not impress a layman like myself, specially as his own qualifications to speak on the subject are unknown. If he had the courage to disclose his identity, one could have known the value to be attached to his opinions.

Final Reply of X.Y.Z.

I guess from Mr. Guha's epistles in the *Modern Review* that he is in touch with Prof. Radhakrishnan. If so, he could have saved himself much trouble if, instead of speculating about possibilities,

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he had obtained from the professor a simple statement to the effect that he had not taken the extract in question from the Late Rai Bahadur S. C. Basu's "Easy Introduction to Yoga Philosophy," but from some other publication, which he could have named. As Mr. Guha has not adopted this straightforward course, my suggestion that the professor took the extract from Mr. Basu's book still remains worthy of serious consideration.

I cannot lay claim to the vast reading of Prof. Radhakrishnan and Mr. Guha. But among the small number of publications on some subjects in Arabic, Bengali, English, Gujarati, Hindi, Marathi, Panjabi, Pashto, Persian, Sanskrit, Urdu etc., which, I have read, I have found the passage in question only in two publications, published before Mr. Radhakrishnan's book, viz. the British Medical Journal and Mr. S. C. Basu's book. Hence I have made the suggestion referred to above.

2 and 3. There is, so far as I am aware, only one printed edition of Vijnanabhikshu's commentary and that is published in the Chaukhamba series. I find in Prof: Radhakrishnan's book a reference to Vijnanabhikshu's commentary, p. 451 n. In the foot-note, p. 761, "Prameya-ratnavati p. 8." what does "p" indicate, as "p." generally stands for page?

So far as I am aware, the only printed edition in Devanagari characters, with English translations, of Baladeva's *Govinda-bhasya* and *Prameyaratnavali* is that by Mr. S. C. Basu. The original Sanskrit texts of these works are also available in Bengali characters. Mr Guha should have said distinctly whether his friend used Mr. Basu's edition or whether he reads the Bengali script and used the latter.

In foot-note 2, p. 338, he refers to "Baladeva's *Prameyaratnavali*, p. 14." What does "p" mean here? It does not certainly mean page! If it means paragraph, that appears to be a proof that the professor is indebted to Mr. Basu's edition and translation of that work, although he has not acknowledged it.

Mr. Guha tries to be humorous at my expenses, and asks me to give him a concrete instance of the kind, *imagined* by me only by way of imperfect analogy. How is it possible for me to give a concrete instance? Prof. Radhakrishnan is *sui generis* in leaving severely alone the philosophical writings in the language of a region in which he occupies the most important chair of philosophy. So I am, I hope, not to blame if I cannot discover another philosopher who has actually been capable of such a unique feat of scholarship and courtesy.

Mr. Guha refers to the fact of the work having been published in England and its being intended for English students. I confess I do not understand what that fact has got to do with exclusion of philosophical writings in Bengali from the work. I wonder whether Mr. Guha can by any possibility mean to suggest that things written in Bengali are *ipso facto* unfit to be used or referred to in works published in England and intended for English students

Let me add the following with reference to the Professor's neglect of Bengali.

On page 735, Prof. Radhakrishnan writes :— "Thanks to the loving labours of Sir John Woodroffe, the chief of the available Tantra texts are now published." He does not know that most of the Tantra texts had been published in Bengali script long before Sir John Woodroffe interested himself in the study of that class of literature. Raja Ram Mohun Roy drew the attention of the public to the Tantras, and so did Rai Bahadur Sris Chandra Basu in his Catechism of Hinduism.

On this point I have nothing to add to what I wrote in the July *Modern Review*. I would ask Mr. Guha to consider whether he has really said anything more than or essentially different from what I did. I would remind Mr. Guha of what I have stated previously, *viz*; that Mr. Basu's views in question were subsequently included in his "Easy Introduction to Yoga Philosophy," which was published before Prof. William James's work.

A book on Indian philosophy may be "highly appreciated" by distinguished persons who have no special knowledge of the subject and yet not be a creditable piece of work.

Mr. Guha refers only to appreciations of his friend's work but the volume under reference has also *not* been "highly appreciated," e. g. in *Mind* by Dr. Thomas of London, in *The International Review of Missions* by Prof. H. W. Schomerus of Halle (Germany), in the *Hindustan Review* by Prof. Malkani, and in the *Bihar and Orissa Research Society's Journal* by Pandit Umesh Misra of Allahabad.

The second volume of the professor's work has been published only recently. So far as I am aware, no new edition of the Encyclopaedia Britannica has been published after the appearance of that volume. I do not, therefore, understand how Prof. Radhakrishnan's work (I mean its second volume) could have "won for the subject recognition in the" the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*.

"I confess I am not a hero like Mr. Guha or his friend the philosopher. Possibly that is why I have taken shelter behind anonymity. But my anonymity may serve one good purpose also, *viz.*, my views may be taken for what they are worth, without my name influencing the reader in his judgment in any direction.

X. Y. Z.

EDITOR'S NOTE. This controversy is closed. Editor, *The Modern Review*.

The Highest Mountain in the World

In the issue of the *Modern Review* for August Mr. Satya Bhusan Sen, in his article on "The Highest Mountain In The World," says, "Sometime about the middle of the 19th Century the Trignometrical Survey of India extended their base of observation to the foot of the Himalyas and from this newly attained base some day between November 1849 and January 1850 they observed a mountain peak at 27° 59' 3"N.L. and 86°54' 7" Em, which on measurement was found to be the highest mountain in the world, for it rose to an altitude of 29,002 ft. Owing to our ignorance no name was current for this mountain peak. At a meeting of the Royal Geographical Society of London held on May 1, 1857 after much discussion the peak was named after Col. Everest, the late Surveyor General of India."

It is not clear whose ignorance the writer means by "our ignorance", and where according to him no name was current for this mountain

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peak, but apparently he is supporting these Englishmen who insist on calling the peak by an English name, and justify their doing so by alleging that Indians were not aware of its existence and had no name for it. The desire of Englishmen to call the highest mountain peak in the world by an English name is intelligible, but the support of your contributer who appears to be conversant with such matters is not.

The fact is that before its so-called discovery by the Trignometrical Survey Party, this peak was well-known, and had, and still has an Indian name, which I believe is familiar even to school boys. And it was not only a peak known in India but also in Europe, and by its Indian name too. It is not visible from Bengal unless one goes to out of the way and not easily accessible places in Darjeeling District, but it is easily visible from the neighbourhood of Kathmandu and other parts of Nepal, where it has always been known as Gauri Sanker. Its Tibetan name "Jomo-Kang-Kar apparently is a variation of the Indian name. Some years before November 1849, which according to your contributor is the earliest probable time of its "discovery" by the Trignometrical Survey Party, the German explorer Harmann Schlagentweit had indentified this peak with Gauri Sanker, and ever since then it is known in Germany by its Indian name Gauri Sanker ; and this name always appears in German maps and books of Geography instead of "Everest". It is the Trignometrical Survey Party who were ignorant of its being a known peak and having a name, and probably also of its having been identified by an European explorer. Since then their ignorance and mistake has been recognised by competent British authorities who are free from racial bias in such matter. It is long ago that Mr. D.E. Freshfield, Gold medallist of the Royal Geographical Society of Great Britain, and sometime president of the Alpine Club, supported the identity of Everest with Gauri Sanker before the Royal Geographical Society. His paper was published in the Proceedings of the Society Vol viii, New Series, as well as in the Geographical Journal for March 1893 (It has also been reprinted in his book entitled "Round Kanchanjanga"). Other British books in which the peak's having the Indian name of Gauri Sanker is recognised, on which I can lay my hands at present, are as follows. In Percy Brown's "Picturesque Nepal," there is a sketch map of Nepal in which this peak is named as "Gauri Sankar "or Mt. Everest". In Arden Wood's Geography for Schools in India (1907) published by Mac Millan and Co, at page 133 this peak is named as "Mount Everest or Gauri Sanker". In Longman's Geographical Series for India, Book II, new edition (1923) published by Longmans Green and Co., at page 104 it is noted that "the loftiest peaks in the world are found in the Himalyas Mount Everest (Gauri Sanker) reaches 29000ft". Some English men, however, still insist on saying that Indians were not aware of its existence, and in giving credit of its "discovery" to the British Officers of the Trignometrical Survey Party of India. Your contributor, who wants us to gain the credit of the discovery of a still higher peak, has made a bad beginning by supporting them.

The next highest peak in the world which happens to be in the Karakoram range has also been given the English name of "Mount Godwin Austin", after another officer of the Survey of India Department, inspite of its having the local name of "Chageri". If we support these nomenclatures or are apathetic to them, all the classical peaks of the Himalayas will some day have foreign names.

C. C. D.

THE PASSING OF FANNIE GARRISON VILLARD APOSTLE OF PEACE AND FREEDOM

Achievement of a Pioneer American Woman In Public Life

By RAGINI DEVI

THE passing of Mrs. Fannie Garrison Villard at the advanced age of eighty-three years brings to a close the remarkable career of a famous American woman. July 5, 1928.

Mrs. Villard was the daughter of William Lloyd Garrison, the Abolitionist who championed the cause of the abolition of negro slavery in America—and whose name is eternally linked with the extinction of slavery and a great step forward in the national history of the United States.

Fannie Garrison was born in Boston, Massachusetts on December 16th, 1844. Her early years were deeply affected by the antislavery struggle in which her father for years risked death at the hands of mobs. She shared the liberality and courage of her father and was his spirited and loyal supporter during those trying times.

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Among her earliest recollections were those of helping her father read proofs for the "Liberator", his militant weekly, which advocated, in addition to abolition, the causes of women's rights, peace and temperance.

At her father's house Fannie Garrison came into contact with all the leaders of the abolition movement, such as the famous John Brown, Samuel J. May, Wendell Phillips, George Thompson, the English agitator Lydia Marie Childs and others.

During the Civil War she met and married Henry Villard a war correspondent of the New York Tribune who afterwards as president of the Northern Pacific Railroad became a great railroad builder and developer of the trans-Mississippi region.

Mrs. Villard subsequently threw herself into the Woman Suffrage cause, being notable in her appearance before the Legislature and other bodies where she distinguished herself because of her earnestness, eloquence and great beauty.

Later she devoted herself to the cause of peace, founding the Women's Peace Society—an organization based on the non-resistance doctrines of her father, who had been an inspirer of Tolstoi. In 1921 she was a delegate to the conference of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom.

She was a member of the committee which made the first appeal for the establishment of Barnard College, New York. She was for several years a director and trustee of the American College for Women in Constantinople. From 1881 to 1917 she was the owner of "The New York Evening Post and "The Nation". For twenty-five years she was president of the New York Diet Kitchen Association and for forty-eight years was its manager. She helped to direct the work of the Tarrytown and Dobbs Ferry Hospitals, the New York Infirmary for Women and Children, the Exchange for Women's Work, the Columbus Hill Day Nursery and the Hudson River Musical Settlement.

She is well-remembered by the Hindu residents of New York for her sympathetic interest in India's cause for freedom.

At the funeral services held in her home at Thorwood, Dobbs Ferry, N. Y. more than five hundred persons were present. Hundreds of wreaths were sent by her admirers and from many societies with which she had been associated.

In a commemorative address at the funeral services, the Rev, John Haynes Holmes of Community Church recalled that in all her pursuits Mrs. Villard had evidenced the brilliant character of her father, and had possessed the courage to carry through her undertakings. He praised her as one of the most remarkable women of her age in public life, and commended her noble influence upon her two sons, Oswald Garrison Villard, editor of "The Nation" and Harold G. Villard, editor of "The Nautical Magazine"

In a notable editorial, the Herald Tribune of New York City paid her tribute as "a notable American with a career covering an unusually wide range of public interests. She gave the best that was in her for others, freely and untiringly. She will be remembered as a potent contributor to many good causes and a high example of disinterested citizenship."

209 Sullivan Place,
Brooklyn, New York City.

IMPERIAL GARDENS

THE GARDENS OF THE MOGULS IN KASHMIR, THE GARDEN OF VERSAILLES IN PARIS, THE GARDEN OF PETER THE GREAT IN RUSSIA

BY JIVANJI JAMSHEDJI MODI, B.A., PH. D., C.I.E.

I HAVE read with great interest and pleasure the interesting article in the *Modern Review* of June 1928 from the pen of Mr. Arthur R. Slater, F. R. G. S., on "The Gardens of the Indian Mughal Emperors in Kashmir." I had the pleasure of visiting Kashmir three times, and of visiting the beautiful gardens, a number of times during these three visits. I had the pleasure of visiting the beautiful garden of Versailles in Paris also three times during my life, once in 1889 and twice in 1925. Out of these

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three visits to the Versailles garden, I examined it very thoroughly and carefully during my last visit of July 1925. This examination has led me to conclude that this Versailles garden, as it is at present, is an attempt to copy the Kashmir gardens, especially the Nishat Bagh. The Versailles garden may have existed in some form before, but the present form is a copy of the Kashmir garden. There is one difference and that may appear to some a great difference, but I think it is a minor difference. It is this: We have the large beautiful Dal Lake at the foot of the Nishat Bagh and the Salimar in Kashmir. We have not such a large beautiful lake, with its beautiful background at Versailles, but there an attempt is made to copy the Kashmir garden by creating a fine though small artificial lake. The Versailles garden is more extensive and vast, but, after, all, it seems to be a copy of the Kashmir gardens. Let Indian visitors who have seen the Kashmir gardens look carefully at the Versailles garden if they happen to go there, and see for themselves if these observations are correct or not. Let French visitors who visit Kashmir kindly do the same.

Now, it is a far cry from Kashmir to Paris. But, in this case, one has to remember that a great Frenchman M. Bernier had visited the Kashmir gardens when he went there in the company of the court of king Aurangzib. It is quite possible, that on his return to France, he may have suggested to some body in office the improvement of the garden at Versailles on the mode of the Kashmir gardens.

Now, I had the pleasure of visiting the beautiful and lovely garden made at St. Petersburg (modern Leningrad) by Peter the Great. I had the pleasure of visiting it as one of the guests of the Russian Academy of sciences which, in September 1925, celebrated its bi-centenary. I take this opportunity to express humbly, but heartily my great gratitude to the Academy and to the Russian Government for their very kind hospitality. Now, moving about in these extensive gardens, I at once saw, that this garden was a copy and a better copy, than the Versailles garden, of the Kashmir garden.

At Versailles they had not a natural, large, beautiful sheet of water like that of the Dal Lake at Kashmir. Though they tried to make up for that want by an artificial lake, that was somewhat of a drawback. But, in Leningrad, you have a natural large expanse of the sea in front to stand in place of the Kashmir Dal Lake, though the surroundings of that expanse of sea were not so beautiful as those of the Dal Lake. But the Russian garden is on a very large scale. The Kashmir garden may look like an infant before the Leningrad garden, but still the plan and the groundwork are the same.

Now, it is known that Peter the Great, when he tried to raise Russia, held to be a backward Oriental Asiatic country, to the level of an advanced European country, copied several institutions of France and other European countries. Among these, one was the modelling of this garden. But to me, it appeared to be a far better copy of the original Kashmir garden than of the Versailles garden. Can it be that he had heard something of the Kashmir gardens? Can it be that he may have sent some gardener or architect to Kashmir to look at the originals? That is a question on which some investigation may throw new light.

It may be noted here that the Mogul Emperors brought their taste of beautiful gardening to India from the direction of Persia, which is spoken of, by some, as the Home of gardening. The Pahlavi Bundahish of the Parsees gives us a section on a kind of "The Language of the Flowers and plants." Jehangir, who was very fond of Kashmir and who therefore said that he would rather like to lose India than lose his dear Kashmir, was a naturalist and was a great admirer of natural beauty. The gardens of Kashmir owe their beauty to him. I will refer those who want to know something of the visits of this Emperor and other Mogul Emperors to Kashmir, to my paper on "The Visits of the Mogul Emperors to Kashmir (Jour, B. B. R. A. Society vol. of 1917. My Asiatic Paper Part III pp. 1-46.

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DISSOLUTION OF HINDU MARRIAGE

By BANKIM CHANDRA LAHIRI

DR. Gour's Bill has raised the question, wheather the Hindu marriage can be dissolved, We propose to discuss it in this article.

Narada-Samhita says that as Manu Samhita contained a lac of slokas, it was very difficult to master it, so Narad made an abridged edition of it called Narad-Samhita. Bhrigu also made another abriged edition of that Manu-Samhita, which is now known as Manu-Samhita or his Smriti. So the three Samhitas are virtually of one and the same person, named Manu, and are therefore of equal importance. Manu-Samhita by Bhrigu contains verses to the effect, "Manu knows the real meaning and actions of the Veda and there is no other person who knows so much. Whatever he has said he has said in accordance with the Veda. Because he possesses all the knowledge."* Kulluka Bhatta says, "Fault cannot be found in Manu's Smriti. It is approved by all great men. It is based on the Veda and it follows Veda."† Vrihaspati, says, "The superiority of Manu's Smriti lies in the fact that it contains what is described in the Veda and if there be any other Smriti, contrary to Manu's Smriti, it is not entitled to praise" From these it follows that Manu-Samhita is in accordance with the Vedas and that as the Vedas are binding on the Hindus in all Yugas, Manu-Samhita also is binding on the Hindus in all Yuga, Kali Yuga not being excepted.

The said Narad-Samhita contains the oft-quoted verse of "Nashte mrite pravrajit" &c. It means, "When the husand cannot be traced, or is dead, or when he gives up household life, or becomes impotent, or when he is fallen, in these five cases of misfortunes, the wife can take another husband". This verse is immediately followed by four other verses to the effect, "When the husband cannot be traced, then a Brahmin's wife who has a son, should wait for eight years, if she has no son then she should wait for four years, a Kshatriya's wife who has a son, should wait for 6 years, if she has no son then she should wait for 3 years and a Baishay's wife who has a son, should wait for 4 years and if she has no son then she should wait for 2 years and so on. After that period they should marry other persons.*

We have said before that Narada-Samhita was compiled from Manu's bigger Smriti. So the above verse may be justly described as Manu's. Therefore, Madhabacharya calls this verse as Manu's.† And the reader will rember that whatever is said by Manu is said in accordance with the Vedas. Then this verse and the four verses that immediately follow it are in accordance with the Vedas.

Parashar claims to be the law-giver of Kali Yuga.§ He too has quoted with approval that verse in his own Samhita.** Thus he too lays down, that the rule of that verse should be followed in Kali Yuga also. Narada-Samhita further says that the law prescribed by that verse and by the four verses which immediately follow it was made by Prajapti Brahma. Then Veda, Prajapati Brahma, Manu, Narada, Bhrigu and Parashar are in favour of this law. Narada-Samhita further says that the wives will not commit any sin if they will take other husbands in the cases mentioned in the verse. That verse provides that out of those five cases of misfortunes in four cases the wives can marry again other persons during the life-time of their former husbands. Pandit Golap Chandra Sastri, M. A., B. L, also is of that opinion††

The present Manu-Samhita by Bhrigu contains the following verses :—

"When the husband lives in a distant place, for purposes of religion, his wife should wait for eight years ; for purposes of education or for fame. she should wait for six years ; and for purposes of enjoyment,

* Manu 1-3 and 2-7.
† His commentary on Manu.

* Narada-Samhita.
† His commentary on Parashar-Samhita.
§ Parashar-Samihita 1-23.
** Parashar-Samhita 4-24.
†† His Hindu Law P,111.

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should wait for three years. "After that she should marry another person."*

Although this last sentence is not in the text, yet as the rule is made in connection with marriages, the purport of the last sentence necessarily follows. Specially because in Narada-Samhita the verse is immediately followed by four other verses, describing the period for which the wife of each caste should wait before marrying again another person.

"When the wife, being abandoned by her husband being dead or the husband, or she, of her own accord, marries again another person and gets a son by him, that son is called Paurnarvaba (पौनर्भव) son of the second husband. If she is chaste and goes to another person, then that person may marry her and if she abandons this second husband and afterwards returns to him, then *that second husband may marry her again.*"†

Vasista provides,

"If the woman be married to one, whose ancestors are not good, or whose conduct is not good or who is impotent etc., or who has fallen, or who has hysteria, or who does whatever he likes, or who is permanently diseased, or who is a false ascetic, or who belongs to his wife's gotra, the woman should be married again to another person." §

Katyayana lays down,

"If the husband be of a different nationality, or fallen, or impotent or who does whatever he likes, or, who belongs to his wife's *gotra*, or *who is slave* or who is permanently disabled, then the wife should be married again to another person." **

Maine also is of the same opinion.††

Thus we find that according to the Hindu Shastras, during the life-time of the former husband, his wife can marry again another person in the following cases :—

(1) When the former husband can not be traced, (2) when he gives up household life, (3) when he becomes impotent etc., (4) when he is fallen, (5) when he lives in a distant place, (6) when she is abandoned by her husband, (7) when she of her own accord abandons her husband, (8) when the husband's ancestors are not good, (9) when the husband's conduct is not good, (10) when he has hysteria, (11) when he does whatever he likes, (12) when he is permanently disabled, (13) when he is a false ascetic, (14) when he belongs to his wife's *gotra*, (15) when he is of a different nationality, and (16) when he becomes a slave.

Then these Sastras support the view that in these cases the former marriages are dissolved, otherwise the later marriages can not take place. If any one will argue that in all these cases the former marriages are not dissolved, then the conclusion will necessarily follow that the former husbands too will be entitled to conjugal rights equally with the later husbands. Surely, such a law is not sanctioned by our Sastras. Besides, had the contention been sound, then there would have been no necessity of providing that the wife can marry again another person in the cases mentioned above in 4, 8, 9, 11, 13, 14. 15 and 16. Because, after the marriage of their wives with other persons the first husbands continued as before to be their husbands. Only two husbands were provided instead of one, in cases of these misfortunes of the wives ! That is not intended by the Hindu Sastras.

Had the argument been sound, then there would have been no necessity for making a provision, as we have seen, that the former husband also can marry his wife again in certain cases, * and that when the husband becomes a slave, his right over his wife is extinguished. We shall presently give an example of it.

Besides, the reader will remember that according to the Hindu Sastras, the wife may abandon her husband and the husband may abandon his wife in certain cases. Moreover, the present Manu-Samhita also provides, "If the wife being enraged leaves the house, shut her up or *abandon her in presence of her relations.* † All these support the argument that the former marriages are dissolved.

Now we shall give some examples which will further clear the point.

Indra, the king of Heaven, could not be traced. The Kshatriya king Nahus was then governing it. He proposed to marry Sachi, the wife of Indra. She replied, "I do not know where Indra has gone or his present condition. If he cannot be traced I will marry you."§

Professor Haridas Bhattacharya of Dacca University says that Saraswati became alter-

* Manu, 9-76.
† Manu, 9-175 and 176.
§ Vidyashagar's Vidhva Vibaha, P. 28 & 29.
** Do Do Do P. 28.
†† His Hindu Law and Usage, P. 112.

* Manu, 9-176.
† Manu, 9-83.
§ Mahavarat, Utjoga Parva, 13-4, 5.

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nately the wife of Brahma, Vishnu and Maheshwar *

King Yayati was a famous Kshatriya Raja. He had an exceedingly beautiful daughter, named Madhabi. She first married Haryashkya, the king of the Ikshaku dynasty. By him she had a son. Then she left him and married Devadas, the king of Kashi, who was a very pious man. By him she had another son. Then she left him as well and married the famous king Ushinar, who was conversant with all the religions. By him she had a third son. Then she left him also and married the fourth line, the famous saint Maharshi Viswamitra. By him she had a fourth son. Then she left him too. All these persons married Madhavi knowing full well of her former marriages and knowing that those former husbands were still alive and that she had got sons by them. Then king Yayati and his his two sons Puru and Jadu wanted to marry her the fifth time in a Swayambara ceremony. But she refused and became an ascetic,† This Puru was the famous king and ancestor of the Pandavas and Kauravas and this Jadu was the famous king and ancestor of Krishna and Balaram.

Radha also married ? Krishna while her former husband was alive.

Ram after killing Ravana said to Sita, "I leave you. You can now marry Bharat, Lakshana, Satrughana, Sugrib or Vivishan."§

We have cited before from Katyayana the authority that when the husband becomes a slave, his marriage is dissolved. Therefore, the well-educated Draupadi raised the question that as soon as her husband king Yudhisthir became a slave of the Kauravas by losing the game of *Pasha*, his right over her ceased. Vidur and Bikarna, a son of king Dhritarastra, supported her contention.**

When king Nala could not be traced, his queen Damayanti wanted to marry again another person in a Swayambara. Hearing the announcement the king of Ajodhya hastened to marry her. Nala also went their in hot haste full of anxiety,††

When Sakya Singha (Buddha) gave up household life, many persons tried to marry his wife, although she had a son. But she did not consent.*

A merchant of Ujjaini had a daughter named Ishi-Dashi. She was married first to one, who left her to her father's house. Then her father gave her in marriage to another person. He too abandoned her. Then her father married her the third time with another person. But he also left her. Then she became an ascetic. †

In the 18th Century A. D. Baji Rao II was the Brahmin king of Maharastra. He made a social law fixing the marriageable age of girls. After the law was passed, a girl was forcibly married before she reached that age. But the marriage could not be consummated for certain reasons. According to the custom she could not be married again. But the said Brahmin king held that the marriage was invalid and when the girl reached the proper age he married her to another person. §

Even now the Coolin Barendra Brahmins first marry their daughters with bride-grooms, made of Kusagrass, and then marry them with living persons. Even now in the Hindu kingdom of Nepal, which is governed by Manu-Samhita, *marriage is dissolved*, when the husband becomes permanently disabled, or when he resides in a distant country for many years, or when the marriage becomes unpleasant. In these cases the wives are married again during the life time of their former husbands. ** Even now in Bihar and other Provinces, if men of Kahar, Kurmi, Keot, Dhanook, Haluai and of other castes will reside in a distant place for two years and will not support their wives during that time, then the marriages are dissolved and the wives marry again other persons.

All these conclusively prove that the Hindu Marriages can be dissolved.

We have in our Mahabharat-Manjari elaborately discussed it and the widows' re-marriage and all other subjects relating to marriage quoting many Shastras. From all these it is also evident that those, who think that the Hindu marriages are ever-lasting, are mistaken. Notwithstanding these Shastras and these examples, if the Hindu society could last long, notwithstanding the social laws made by the British Raj if the Hindu

* Nabya Bharat 1330. P. 638.
† Mahavarat, Utjoga Parva, Chap. 15 to 120 and Anushashan Parva, 30—16.
§ Ramayana, Lanka Kanda 117-21, 22, 23,
** Mahavarat, Sava Parva, 67-7.
†† Mahavarat, Bana Parva, Chap. 70.

* *Modern Review*, January, 1923 Page 95.
† Nabya Bharat, 1329, 545.
§ *Modern Review*, June, 1909, p,565.
** Prabasi, Phalgoon, 1322. p,526.

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society could last longer, then the Hindu society will surely last still longer notwithstanding Dr. Gour's Bill. Besides, he wants to legalise what are enjoined by our Shastras. If the Hindu kings of old and the British Rsi now and the Hindu princes of the present day could and can make social laws, what is the harm if our Legislatures will make them now? Otherwise, is there any chance of any social reform?

If not, then

"পরদীপমালা নগরে নগরে,
তুমি যে তিমিরে তুমি সে তিমিরে।" *

* Govinda Chandra Roy.

ESSAYS ON THE GITA*

(A REVIEW)

BY MAHESHCHANDRA GHOSH

Sri Aurobindo has, in two substantial volumes, expounded the principles of the Gita. In the first volume he explains principally the first six chapters, and in the second, the remaining twelve chapters of the Gita. Our author considers the Gita to be an organic unity and has tried to defend what he considers to be its fundamental principles. He is not fettered by any creed and has not blindly followed any particular commentator or commentators, or any particular school of Philosophy. He has philosophy of his own and it is akin to the *Vishishtadvaita* School of Philosophy. On this basis he has built a magnificent superstructure. In no other book do we find such an elaborate treatment of the subject. One may or may not accept his philosophy or his interpretation; but the essays are thoughtful, suggestive and edifying. His style is charming, exposition clear and defence brilliant.

We have not been able to accept all the conclusions of the author. We may note below some of the points where we differ.

(1) THREE PURUSHAS

Our author has based the metaphysical exposition of the Gita upon the theory of three *Purushas* as described in the fifteenth chapter of the Gita. These *Purushas* are (i) *Kshara* (क्षर); (ii) *Akshara* (अक्षर) and (iii) *Purushottama* (पुरुषोत्तम) XV. 16–18.

The theory of *Akshara* plays a very important part in other parts of the Gita. So it is necessary to understand this theory before we discuss the theory of three *Purushas*.

(a)

It has been described in chapter, viii. In the second verse we find the following:—*Akshara* is the Highest God (अक्षरं ब्रह्म परमम्).

(b)

The eleventh verse is about *Akshara*. To understand this verse thoroughly, it is necessary to know three previous verses which may be translated thus:—

"With the mind controlled by continual practice and not wandering after anything else, O Partha, one by constant meditation goes to the Divine Supreme Being (परमं पुरुषं दिव्यम्). VIII 8.

"He who thinks of the Seer, the Ancient (or the Ancient Seer), the one who is subtler than the subtle, the supporter of all, of form inconceivable, refulgent as the sun, beyond darkness.....goes to this Divine Supreme Being (परं पुरुषं दिव्यम्) VIII. 9—10.

In these three verses *Parama Purusha* (the Supreme Being) is described as the Goal. It is needless to say that there can be nothing higher than the Supreme Being.

(c)

The next verse is on *Akshara*.

"I will briefly declare to thee that state (पदम्) which the knowers of the Vedas call Akshara (अक्षरम्), where-into passion-free ascetics enter and desiring which *Brahmacarya* is performed. VIII. 11.

The subject-matter of this verse is the same as that of the previous three verses. He who is called *Parama Purusha* in those three verses is, in verse, 11, called the *Akshara* (अक्षर). Whom do the knowers of the Vedas call *Akshara*? Into whom do passion-free ascetics enter? Whom do *Brahmacarins* desire and for whom do they perform Brahmacarya? He is certainly *Parama Purusha* greater than whom none higher is and that *Parama Purusha* is *Akshara*.

(d)

The next verse is the twelfth which describes how that Highest Being is to be obtained. The following is the thirteenth verse:—

"He who reciting *Om*, the one-syllabled-Brahman, and remembering Me, goes hence abandoning

* By Sri Aurobindo Ghosh, *First series, pp. 379. Price Rs. 5-, Second series: pp. 501. Price Rs. 7-8 Published by Arya Publishing House, College Street Market, Calcutta.*

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the body, reaches the highest goal (परमां गतिम्). VIII. 13.

Here the speaker is Krishna and he speaks here as the Supreme Being. So the meaning of the thirteenth verse is that whoso, uttering *Om* and thinking of God, leaves this body, reaches the highest goal.

The following are the next three verses :—

To the man who constantly thinketh on me and never thinketh of anything else, to the Yogi who is ever-harmonised, I am easy to win, O Partha (VIII. 14). Having come to me, these great souls come not again to birth which is non-eternal and is the home of woes; they have reached highest perfection (VIII. 15). The worlds even upto the world of Brahmā, O Arjuna, come and go. But for them who have come to Me there is no birth again. (VIII. 16).

The same Being who is called *Akshara* in Verse 11. is described in verses 13-16 as the goal of life. Who is the Being reaching whom man overcomes rebirth? He is the Supeme Self and He is *Akshara.*

(e)

The next three verses (VIII. 17—19) describe the day and night of Brahmā and the creation and dissolution. At the coming of Brahmā's night every thing is dissolved in the *Avyakta*, i. e., Prakriti. The following are the next two verses:—

But there is another existence,—an *Avyakta* higher than that *Avyakta*, eternal, which does not perish when all things perish (VIII. 20). This *Avyakta* is called *Akshara* (अक्षर); it is called the highest goal; they who reach it return not. This is my supreme state (परमं धाम, lit. supreme abode).

When one reaches *Akshara*, one does not return; hence *Akshara* is the Supreme Self. The *Akshara* of verse, 11, is here described as the highest goal. In the following verse (VIII. 22) that *Akshara* is called *Parah Purushah* (पर: पुरुष:) i. e., the Supreme Being:—

He, the Highest Being (पर: पुरुष:). O Partha, may be reached by unswerving devotion to Him alone in whom all beings abide and by whom all this is filled (VIII. 22).

(f)

In chapter XI. there are two verses on *Akshara*, In verse XI. 18 Krishna is thus addressed as Bhagaban by Arjuna :—

"Thou art, to my mind, *Akshara* (अक्षर) and the Supreme to be known (or the Supreme Akshara and one to be known); thou art the Supreme support of the universe, thou art unchangeable and protector of eternal *Dharma*: thou art eternal Purusha" (XI. 18). Here it is said that he who is *Akshara* is the supreme self.

In another place in the same chapter, we find the following verse :—

"O Infinite! O Lord of gods. O Abode of the universe! Thou art *Sat* (i. e. that which is manifest), *Asat* (i. e., that which is not manifest) and that which is beyond—the *Akshara* (XI. 37).

Here *Akshara* is described as higher than the manifest (सत्) and higher than the unmanifest (असत्) The *Akshara* is therefore the Supreme Self.

(g)

In chapter XII, there are a few verses on Divine worship. In one verse (XII. 1) Arjuna asks Krishna—

"Those devotees who ever-harmonised, thus worship Thee, and those who worship the *Akshara*, the *Avyakta*—which of these are the best-knower of Yoga?"

Krishna replies :—

"I deem them to be the best in Yoga who with mind fixed on Me and ever-harmonised, worship me endowed with supreme faith (XII. 2).

He then says:—

"They who worship the *Akshara*, undefinable, unmanifested, Omnipresent, unthinkable, *Kutastha* (immutable), immovable, steadfast, controlling the senses, regarding everything equally rejoicing in the welfare of all creatures,—they verily attain to me (XII, 3,4). But the difficulty of those whose mind is attached to the unmanifested is greater; for the unmanifested god is reached with difficulty by the embodied (XII. 5).

Here *Akshara* refers to the Supreme Self.

In the above verses two paths are compared, viz.—The path of knowledge (*Jnana*) and the path of devotion (*Bhakti*). The path of knowledge is full of difficulties but that of devotion is easy. Those who follow the path of devotion, worship *Saguna* Brahman, that is, an anthropomorphic God, whereas those who follow the path of knowledge are worshippers of *Avyakta*, *Akshara* Brahman. The path of devotion may be easier but that does not mean that *Saguna* Brahman is higher than *Nirguna* Brahman. The author of the Gita has in this chapter, established the unity of both. In verse 4, Krishna as Bhagavan says—"Thoso who worship *Akshara* verily attains to me." When it is said that the worshipper of *Akshara* attains to Bhagavan, i.e., God, it is evident that *Akshara* and the Supreme Self must be the same Being.

Again there is a theory in the Gita that the worshipper reaches the object of his worship. The worshippers of the gods go to the gods, the worshippers of the Fathers go to the Fathers and those who worship the Bhagavan go to the Bhagavan (VII. 23 ; IX 25). So necessarily the worshipper of *Akshara* must go to *Akshara*. Now when it is said that those who worship *Akshara* attains to the Supreme Self (XII. 3, 4), it is clear that Akshara must be the Supreme Self.

We have discussed all the passages relating to *Akshara* and we have seen that in every one of these pessages *Akshara* means the supreme self. In some verses *Akshara* is called, Para Purusha or Parama Purusha, that is, the Supreme Purusha (VIII. 8-10, VIII. 22). So *Akshara* is the highest Being and there is no other being which can be higher than Akshara.

Now we are in a position to discuss the theory of three *Purushas.*

THREE PURUSHAS

This theory is described in the following three verses.

"There are two *Purushas* in this world—the

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Kshara (क्षर:) and the *Akshara* (अक्षर:). The *Kshara* is all beings and the *Akshara* is called *Kutastha* (कूटस्थ:) XV, 16. But there is another—the Highest *Purusha* (उत्तम: पुरुष:) called the Supreme Self (परमात्मा), the changeless Lord who pervading all, sustains the three worlds (XV, 17). Since I transcend the *Kshara* and am likewise higher than the *Akshara* I am proclaimed *Purushottama* (पुरुषोत्तम:) in the world and in the Veda (XV. 18).

The above passage is pluralistic whereas the Vedanta is monistic. The commentators have tried to explain this passage monistically and have thereby made the meaning more obscure. Our remarks on this passage are as follow :—

(1) What is perishable or mutable is *Kshara*. Here *Kshara* refers to the material world. The word *Akshara* means the imperishable or the immutable. In the Sankhya and the Vedanta and in other parts of the Gita. Purusha only is Akshara. But strange to say that in verses 16. of the fifteenth chapter of the Gita what is mutable and perishable has also been called Purusha.

(2) The Akshara (अक्षर) has been called *Kutastha* (कूटस्थ).

The word '*kuta*' means 'heap,' mountain, the summit of a mountain, the highest point, etc. The word *kutastha*, therefore, means 'standing like a heap,' 'stable like a mountain' etc.

This word has been used in two other places in the Gita. In one place (VI. 8) it has been applied to the 'Yogi whose senses are subdued, whose mind is tranquil, and who looks upon a lump of earth, a piece of stone and gold with equal eye.

In another place (XII, 3) *Akshara* has been called *Kutastha* as well as Ineffable, unmanifested omni-present, unthinkable, unchangeable and steadfast (Vide Supra).

So in both these places *Kutastha* means immutable or stable.

In Pali literature the corresponding word is *Kutatha* (कूटट्ठ) and it means 'steadfast' 'unchanging,' 'stable like mountain' etc. (Vide Digha, i, 14. 56; Majyhima, i. 517; Samyutta, iii, 211, P.T.S. Edition).

If we accept this meaning of *Kutastha*, it can refer only to the Supreme Self and the *Akshara* of verse XV. 16 also would then mean *Paramatman* i.e. the Supreme Self. In that case there can be no being which is higher than *Kutastha Akshara*. We have already seen that this Akshara is called *Para Purusha* or *Parama Purusha* (Highest Being.)

(3) But in the next verse (XV. 17) we find that there is another *Purusha* higher than *Akshara* and this *Purusha* is called Uttama Purusha (उत्तम: पुरुष:) Highest Purusha) and *Paramatman* (परमात्मा, Supreme Self). This theory contradicts the theory of Akshara as found in every other part of the Gita.

(4) Again in the next verse (XV, 18) it is more definitely stated that He the Bhagavan is higher than not only *Kshara* but *Akshara* also. We have already seen that no other being can be higher than *Akshara*.

Again in the verse, Krishna, the Bhagavan says —"I am proclaimed the Supreme Being (पुरुषोत्तम:) in the world and in the Veda."

This is not true. In no school of the Vedas has Krishna, or Bhagavan or Paramatman been called Purushottama. The word 'Purushottama' is not even found in the Vedas.

In the Chandogya Upanishad, the phrase "Uttamah Purushah" (उत्तम: पुरुष:) is used (VIII. 12. 3). But there it does not refer to Paramatman, the Supreme Self, it refers to the Self which, when it leaves this human body, reaches the highest light and appears in its own form.

(5) The fact is that the word '*Purushottama*' is a technical word in the Vaishnava Theology, being a predicate of Krishna, Govinda or Vasudeva. It is frequently used in the Vaishnava literature ancient and modern.

In the Gita, Krishna has been thrice addressed as *Purushottama* (VIII, 1; X. 15: XI, 3). The literal meaning of the word is "the best of men."

In Pali literature the corresponding word is Purisuttama (पुरिसुत्तम) and it is an epithet of the Buddha and of those who are on a higher level of perfection (Vide Dhammapala 78; Sutta-Nipata verse 544 and Anguttara Nikaya Vol. V. pp. 325-326. P. T. S.). In the Sutta N. and Ang. Nik. the language is—

Namo te Purisuttama (Adoration to thee, O the best of men). Both the books are canonical and the Sutta-Nipata is one of the oldest of the canonical scriptures and is older than the Gita. This idea and language seem to have been borrowed by the Vaishnavas from Buddhism.

(6) Krishna, the Avatara is called *Purushottama*. This word has two-fold meaning, viz—(i) the best of men (ii) the Supreme Being. Krishna has been placed by the Vaishnavas, even above *Brahman*. According to many Vaishnava theologians, *Brahman* is but a ray of the Body of Krishna.

(7) Now the question is—

Is Purushottama intra-spatial or supra-spatial? intra-temporal or supra-temporal?

(a) If He be "the Cosmic Spirit in Time" as our author asserts (ii.270), if he be intra-spatial and intra-temporal, then he is really *Saguna* Brahman who is no other than *Nirguna Akshara* Brahman when it is or seems to be in contact with Maya or Prakriti and who is therefore considered to be inferior to Nirguna Brahman. For this idea of Saguna Brahman, it is not necessary to postulate the existence of a new Being called Purushottama here. From the standpoint of the Gita, every thing can be explained by means of Prakriti and Purusha (i.e., the self). Here it should be noted that Purushottama is, different (अन्य:) from both *Kshara* and *Akshara* (XV. 17).

(b) If Purushottama be, supra-spatial and supra-temporal, then also the theory of Purushottama is useless—for *Akshara* is such a Being.

So we see that whether the Purushottama be considered to be active or non-active, the assumption of his existence becomes superfluous. Over and above this theory contradicts the fundamental principles of the Gita.

The theory of Purushottama is, in fact, a Vaishnava cult and is not Vedantic. Our conclusion is

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that the original Gita did not contain this passage. If we reject this portion, the Gita will not be mutilated; no other principle of the Gita depends upon this theory or is connected with it; in no other part of the Gita is a similar theory found and in fact, every other principle of the Gita directly contradicts the Pluralistic theory of *Kshara*, *Akshara* and Purushottama.

So we may conclude that the verses 16-19 of the fifteenth chapter are interpolations.

Yet this is the theory upon which our author has based his whole super-structure.

(ii) *Prakriti* and *Purusha*—We have not also been able to accept our author's interpretation of the relation between *Prakriti* and *Purusha*. In one place he writes :—

"In the Sankhya, Soul and Nature are two different entities; in the Gita they are two aspects, two powers of one self-existent being (1. 333).

In another place he writes—

"In this highest dynamics Purusha and Prakriti are one. Prakriti is only the will and the executive power of the Purusha, his activity of being,—not a separate entity but himself in Power" ii. 8.

But this interpretation of the Gita is fundamentally wrong. The Gita has accepted the dualism of the Sankhya with this exception that instead of many *Purushas* of the Sankhya the Purusha of the Gita is one. Gita's metaphysics is dualistic. Both Prakriti and Purusha are eternal. The Prakriti is, according to the Gita, under the influence of the Purusha but this fact does not make the system monistic. It should be borne in mind that even that influence is not volitionally exerted by the Purusha. The Purusha is inactive.

(a)

We, moderns, consider the universe to be organic to God. But there is not a sentence, not a word in the Gita to indicate that its author entertained such a view.

(b)

In the Gita, as in the Sankhya system, Prakriti and Purusha are antithetical entities. Prakriti is active whereas Purusha is ever inactive. Prakriti is changeable, mutable but Purusha is unchangeable, immutable. Prakriti has qualities : qualities form the intrinsic nature of Prakriti ; Purusha is without qualities ; qualities are extrinsic to Purusha. To be attached to the qualities of Prakriti means bondage ; to be free from qualities means liberation. So Prakriti and Purusha are altogether different. It is true that the activity of Prakriti depends upon the existence of Purusha.

But how Purusha can influence Prakriti is inscrutable. Neither the Sankhya nor the Gita has been able to shew how an inactive entity (Purusha) can move another entity (Prakriti) to action. It should always be remembered that Purusha's influence is never *actively* exerted

(c

Krishna has, in many places, used such expressions as स्वा प्रकृति (svā Prakriti, my own Prakriti, IV, 6 ; IX. 8). मे प्रकृति (me Prakriti—my Prakriti, VII. 4 5), मामिका प्रकृति (māmikā Prakriti—my Prakriti IX. 7), मम माया (mama Māyā—my Māyā VII, 14). But the mere use of the word "*my*" does not establish a real intrinsic relation.

(d)

In one place Krishna says :—

"The *Mahat-Brahmā Brahman* (i. e. Prakriti) is my womb ; in that I place the germ ; thence comes out the birth of all beings, O Bharata. Of the forms (i. e., embodied beings) arising in all the wombs, the *Mahat-Brahman* is their womb and I their generattng Father" XIV 3,4.

Here God and Prakriti are sharply distinguished; one is different from the other. One is Father and the other Mother.

This dualism cannot be metaphorically explained to be monistic. It was and is the Sankhya view which has been accepted by the author of the Gita.

(e)

In another place Krishna says :—

At the end of a *Kalpa* (i. e., world age) all beings enter into my Prakriti (प्रकृतिं मामिकाम्) IX, 7.

Here it may be noted that the liberated persons enter into God (IX. 54 ; XVIII. 55) whereas at the end of a Kalpa, all beings that are not liberated enter into Prakriti. Necessarily Purusha and Prakriti are distinguished in IX. 7.

(f)

In another place he says ;—

Under Me as supervisor, Prakriti sends forth the moving and the unmoving (i. e. everything) IX, 10.

Here also Prakriti and Purusha are sharply distinguished.

The supervisor must be different from what he supervises. One aspect of God cannot supervise another aspect of His. For example, God is both *Jnanam* and *Sivam*. we cannot say that God as Jnanam, is supervisor of God as Sivam or vice versa.

(g)

The following verses describe the relation between God and the universe :—

Know that from me are the existences having the nature of Sattva, Rajas and Tamas. I am not in them (न त्वहं तेषु) : but they are in Me. VII. 12. Bewildered by the natures of these qualities the whole universe knows not me who am above these (मामेभ्यः परम्) and am unchangeable, VII, 13.

The meaning is that the whole universe is evolved out of Prakriti through the influence of God. The Universe is therefore said to be in God. But as there is no organic relation between God and Prakriti, it is said that God is not in Prakriti or in the evolution of Prakriti. In verse 13, it is said that God is above or higher than Prakriti which means that God and Pakriti are different.

(h)

The idea expressed in the above verses is further developed in the following verses :—

"By me, the unmanifest, the whole universe is

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filled. All entities dwell in me; but I do not dwell in them. (न चाहं तेष्ववस्थितः) IX. 4. "yet these entities are not in Me (न च मत्स्थानि भूतानि), See my divine Yoga. My self, though support and source of these entities, lives not in the these entities (न च भूतस्थः) IX, 5.

The universe is evolved out of Prakriti. But it is evolved through a mysterious influence of God. It is therefore said that the universe is in, or lives in or is established in God. For the same reason it is also said that God is the source and support of the universe. But from this people may erroneously conclude that Prakriti is organically related to God. To dispel this notion the Gita adds these three sentences:—

(i) God does not dwell in the universe (न तेषु अवस्थितः) IX, 4.

(ii). These entities do not dwell in God (न च मत्स्थानि भूतानि) IX. 5.

(iii) God's own self lives not in the universe, (न च भूतस्थो ममात्मा) IX, 5.

If it were said that these expressions simply mean that God is not attached to the universe, our reply would be that even that interpretation would prove dualism, The question of attachment or non-attachment can arise only when there are dual or plural entities.

Had Prakriti and Purusha been organically related, it would have been said that God is in the universe and the universe is in God. It is a definite principle of the Gita that 'to be united with God' or 'to be God' means "to pass beyond the qualities of Prakriti."

स गुणान् समतीत्यैतान्
ब्रह्म भूयाय कल्पते

"Passing beyond the Gunas he becomes fit for Brahman-hood." (XVI, 26).

This means that in Brahman or in the state of Brahman, there are qualities of Prakriti, i. e., Prakriti is outside Brahman.

Discussing all these passages we arrive at the conclusion that Prakriti and God are different entities, that Prakriti is not an aspect of God and that they are not organically related.

(iii)

LIBERATION

According to our author Liberation, as described in the Gita, is to live in "unchangeable conscious eternal being of Purushottama" (ii. 241.)

It is doubtful whether conciousness, as we understand it, can be attributed to the Self and God of the Gita. It implies change; it involves memory, sensations, perception and conception of the Western philosophy and *manas*, *Buddhi*, *Ahankara*, *cetanā* etc. of Indian philosophy. All these belong to Prakriti (VII. 4; XIII. 6 etc.) and cannot be attributed to Purusha or the Self Even our author has been constrained to admit that this consciousness is something very different from our mind consciousness to which alone we are accustomed to give that name" ii. 331.

About the personality of the liberated Self, our author writes—

"Mark that nowhere in the Gita is there any indication that dissolution of the individual spiritual being into.....absolute Brahman..... is the true meaning or condition of immortality" (ii. 241, foot-note).

Our reply is:—

(i) At least there are two or three passages which indicate that the liberated self is merged in God. The following are the passages :

(a)

"By exclusive devotion to Me" says the Bhagavan, "O Arjuna, I may thus be known and seen in essence and entered (प्रवेष्टुम्), O Parantapa. XII, 54.

(b)

"By devotion he knoweth, in essence, who and what I am" says the Bhagavan, "and having thus known me in essence, he forthwith enters into (विशते into That i. e., Me or God). XVIII, 55.

(c)

In VIII, II it is said that passion-free ascetics enter into (विशन्ति) Akshara.

In the three passsges it is said that the Self enters into God. The Self first knows God, then sees him and then *enters into* Him. Soul's entering into Brahman means 'losing its separate personality and becoming merged in Brahman and becoming Brahman.'

This is not a new idea; it is borrowed from the Upanishads. In the Prasna (VI) and Mundaka Upanishad (iii 2. 8) it is said that that the liberated Self is merged in Brahman leaving behind him name and form as rivers are merged in the ocean.

(2) The word *Brhma-Nirvānam* (ii, 32; V. 24—26) which is the goal of the liberated Self may mean extinction in Brahman.

(3) To prove personal immoratality, our author cites three examples. The first is the passage *"mayi nivasishyasi"* (XII. 8). which means "will live in me." It may mean either personal or impersonal immortality, or it may mean a condition before final liberation. His second example is *'Param dhāma'*. This phrase occurs in four places (VIII, 21; X, 12; XI, 38; XV, 6) and means "Supreme abode." This supreme abode is really the noumenal world where the sun, the moon and fire do not lighten (XV. 6). So this phrase does not mean that the liberated Self resides there as a conscious being. It may mean impersonal or superpersontal existence or it may mean 'existence as Brahman'. His third passage is the phrase *munayah sarve* from which he infers that all the sages still exist. The whole passage is :—

"I will again proclaim the supreme knowledge, the best of knowledges which all the sages (मुनयः सर्वे) having known have gone hence to supreme perfection" XIV, 1.

Here nothing is said about continued personal existence. "Supreme—Perfection" does not necessarily mean conscious existence.

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There are also minor points of disagreement and opinions will necessarily differ. But there are more points of agreement than disagreement. It is not possible here to notice even the important points discussed by the author in these two bulky volumes. There are 24 chapters in the first volume and 23 in the second. In these chapters the author has discussed all the essential points of the Gita. The students of the Gita will find these volumes delightful and illuminating.

SOME PROBLEMS IN THE HISTORY OF HARSHA

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THE history of India for the period following the decline of the imperial Guptas and associated with the rise of the later Guptas, the Maukharis, and of the house of Harsha, roughly the period of one century from 500 A. D. to 600 A. D. still bristles with problems and difficulties that remain to be solved. A solution was attempted on a comprehensive scale in a series of articles contributed to the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, by the late Dr. A. F. R. Hoernle under the title, 'Some Problems of Ancient Indian History.' A discussion of these problems has been recently revived in one of the Appendices of Dr. Radhakumud Mookerji's *Harsha* published in the Rulers of India Series under the designation of Calcutta University Readership Lectures, 1925, and the comments on that Appendix by Mr. R. D. Banerji in the *Journal of the Behar and Orissa Research Society*, for June, 1928 and in the *Modern Review* for August, 1928. Mr. Banerji credits Dr. Mookerji "with his usual charming style, and attractive mode of presentation for which he is noted." (*Modern Review*) I wish the same could be said of Mr. Banerji's style.

In his treatment of the general history of the sixth century A. D. in his Appendix to *Harsha*, Dr. Mookerji has substantially followed the lines so fully elaborated by Hoernle, after whom he has proposed the following positions on which an Archaeologist like Mr. Banerji should have thrown more light:

(1) 'Was the Malava empire under Yasodharman (A. D. 533-83 *circa*) and his son Siladitya (c. 583—606 A. D.) a reality ?' Mr. Banerji by his silence (*M. R.* and *J. B. O. R. S.*) may be taken to agree to this proposition. If so, I fail to understand how he can't follow Hoernle (and Dr. Mookerji) in their statement that Queen Yasovati, wife of Prabhakaravardhana, might be taken to be a daughter of Yasodharman. The grounds for the statement are explained fully in the article of Hoernle in J. R. A. S. 1903, and also in Harsha (pp. 60-61.) The statement is a mere conjecture, and is presented as such, and may be rejected in favour of a superior theory or hypothesis. It is to be understood on the basis of the following propositions, viz., (a) Prabhakara waged a war with Malava and won it [*Harshacharita*, 101]; (b) this war must have been waged against Siladitya, then ruler of Malava; (c) according to Bana, "Yasovatii's brother presented his son Bhandi, a boy of about 8 years of age, to serve the young Princes," Rajya and Harsha, sons of Prabhakara. In another place [H.C. 87] Bana refers to Harsha's favourite, "the son of the king of Malawa," sitting behind him, and from the context it appears that it must mean Bhandi. Thus the inference is (1) that Bhandi was a prince to attend on the princes of another court, (2) that he was the son of the then king of Malava, (3) that this king, from his date, should be no other than Siladitya of Malava and (4) that he was forced to part with his young son as a hostage for his defeat in the first Malva war by Prabhakara. The deputation of princes to foreign courts seems in those days to have been a usual condition which the victor would like to impose upon his vanquished foe. That is why a political significance attaches to the following statement made by Prabhakara later in *Harshacharita*; "I have appointed to wait upon your Highnesses (i. e., his sons, Rajya and Harsha) the brothers Kumaragupta and Madhavagupta, sons of the Malwa king." Hoernle further supports these inferences by saying: "as her name shows, she must have been a daughter of the Malwa emperor Yasodharman-Vikramaditya. We may compare also such analogous names of brothers and sisters as Harshagupta and Harshagupta, Mahasenagupta and Mahasenagupta in vogue at that time. Lastly, there is also a passage in *Harshacharita* describing Yasovati as being descended from towering kings (134).

(2) 'The title *Vikramaditya* being given to Yasodharman,' Mr. Banerji knows it is due to the *Rajatarangini* but he condemns that work as "inaccurate," (*M. R.*) because it does not suit his own theory. I do not know if it is stated anywhere in *Harsha* that the title is epigraphic.

(3) 'The Maukharis being not rulers of Kanauj.' This is a proposition which is wrongly attributed to Dr. Mookerji (*M. R.*) by a degree of carelessness which sometime characterises Mr. Banerjee. In a footnote to p. 16 of *Harsha*, Dr. Mookherji refers to the arguments of scholars who hold that the Maukharis could not be taken as rulers of Kanauj. For the flaws or ommissions, if any, in those arguments, Dr. Mukherji is not responsible. Those Mr. Banerji should fasten on V. A. Smith who has discussed this view in *J. R. A. S.*, 1908, pp. 771—73.

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(4) The connexion of an Ajanta painting with the historical exchange of letters between an Indian and a Persian king.' Dr. Mookerji's statement on this subject is extremely guarded: 'a painting in one of the caves at Ajanta *probably* points to this fact (viz., exchange of letters and presents between Khosru II and Pulakesin II) in showing the presentation of a letter from a Persian to an Indian King'. (*Harsha* p. 35). Mr. Banerji need not so proudly parade his knowledge of Foucher's findings on a subject (*M. R.*) on which a contrary opinion has been long held and is still expressed in the fourth edition of V. A. Smith's *Early History* as revised by Edwards. Even Foucher admits that the painting in question shows that "the king gives an audience to foreign merchants who, moreover, seem to bring him presents rather than merchandise," and that, owing to the continuation of the painting being lost, "it is possible that we shall never know what it was all about" [*Journal of the Hyderabad Archaeological Survey*, 1919—20, p. 79] He also recognises that the Ajanta paintings do "represent people dressed in Persian costume" and tries to explain the knowledge of this dress shown by the artists at Ajanta by "its nearness to the Western coast of India." Nor does he deny that another painting does represent the landing of Simhala in Ceylon and his conquest of the island, though the painting follows the text of the Divyavadana upon which the Mahavamsa bases its history of that event. Yet it is not possible to demur to the general position taken up by Foucher with reference to the interpretation of the Ajanata paintings that they are not meant to depict directly any secular or historical events but only the events connected with the Buddha in his previous or last lives. A Historian, however, has to refer to all suppositions or theories held on the topics he deals with, though he must clearly state them as such. A difference of opinion on an unsetteled point and an opinion that is guardedly expressed (as in the sentence of *Harsha* quoted above) should not trouble even the most carping critic.

(5) The expansion of the Gurjaras southwards was checked by Pulakesin II whose suzerainty they accepted' (p. 41 of *Harsha*). Mr. Banerji asks (*M. R.*) 'Can Prof. Mookerji prove that the statement in the Aihole inscription is sufficient to prove this subjugation of the Gurjaras of Broach to the Chalukyas of Badami?' Mr. Banerji finds no difference between acceptance of 'suzerainty' and out-and-out 'subjugation,' and as to the rest, he should find the answer in the passage in the Aihole inscription of Pulakesin II, stating how "subdued by his splendour, the Latas, Malavas and Gurjaras became, as it were, teachers of how feudatories subdued by him ought to behave." (*Harsha* p. 30, fn. 2).

(6) 'The Hindu political system did not favour much centralised control but believed more in decentralisation and local autonomy' (p. 43 of *Harsha*). This favourite conundrum" (*M. R.*) of Prof. Mookherjee still does not commend itself to Mr. R. D. Banerji. It is an elaborate treatise approved for the Clarendon Press by V. A. Smith and Dr. A. B. Keith. May I also in this connexion refer Mr. R. D. Banerji to pages of Mr. Jayaswal's *Hindu Polity* dealing with *paura* and *janapada* assemblies and other local self-governing institutions of Hindu India?

(7) 'Mahasenagupta described as king of Malwa by Bana' (p. 63 of *Harsha*). Mr. R. D. Banerji pounces upon this sentence and pronounces that a king named Mahasenagupta is not mentioned in the *Harshacharita (M. R.)*. May I call his attention to p. 53 of the same work where the identification of Mahasenagupta is fully discussed on the basis of the statements of Bana? Why should Mr. Banerji pick out a sentence occurring later in a Table and omit the earlier explanations given on the subject?

(8) 'The extent of Maukhari dominion as indicated by the localities of Maukhari inscriptions. Dr. Mookerji shows that the Deo-Baranark inscription (occuring on a pillar in the entrance-hall of a temple in a village near Arrah) confirms an earlier grant of a Maukhari king in that locality which must, therefore, be understood as being within his dominion. Mr. Banerji objects to this kind of reasoning *(M. R.)* on grounds best known to himself. Is not the extent of Asoka's empire inferred from the localities of his edicts? His objection to the Asirgarh Seal being used for this argument is more reasonable, because the evidence of a portable seal is more illusory. But it must be considered (1) that this seal was part of a copper-plate grant not found, and not so portable as an isolated seal like that of Harsha or Bhaskara mentioned by Mr. Banerji, (2) that the locality of the seal was not far removed from the conquests of Sarvavarman's predecessors, viz., those of Isvaravarman upto Dhara, Vindhya and Raivataka (Girnar) hills in pursuit of the Andhras and of Isanavarman achieving victories over the Andhras and Sulikas [pp. 54—55 of *Harsha*]. As usual, Mr. Banerji ignores the earlier and the fuller explanations and picks out for attack isolated and later statements previously justified. Both these inscriptions, in indicating the localities of the grants of kings, certainly indicate the limits of their dominion.

(9) In the then prevailing system of administration, "the *Visayapatis* had their head-quarters in the *adhisthanas* or civil stations in which were located their own *adhikaranas*, their offices or courts. An inscription on one of the Basarh seals refers to the district *office* of Vaisali (Vaisalyadhisthanadhikarana) (*Harsha*, pp. 106-107). Inspite of this repeated mention that the term *adhikarana* signifies 'office'. Mr. R. D. Banerji commenting on that very page excitedly proclaims to the world—"It never occurred to the learned professor that the term *Adhikarana* means an office!" (*M. R.*)

(10) "Kumaramatya, lit., counsellor for a prince" [*Harsha*, p. 106]. This simple statement has led, Mr. Banerji to cite the Archaeological Report for 1903-4 (*M. R.*) which points out, according to him, "four classes of ranks of *Kumaramatyas*", viz., those "*equal in rank*" to (1) the empereor, (2) the heir-apparent, (3) "younger princes" and (4) those of the "ordinary lowest rank". In my humble opinion this explanation is extremely doubtful. On the face of it, no officer, however high, can ever have a rank *equal* to that of an emperor. Prof. Mookerjee seems to me to be quite right in taking *Kumaramatya* as a general term for an officer, and taking the word *padiya* to indicate merely his particular status and association, whether he is *attached* to the emperor or to the Yuvaraja (Yuvarajapadiya). I may give some illustrations taken from *Harsha* on the point. I should like to draw Mr. Banerji's attention to the following note of the editor, Sir John Marshall, in the same Archaeological Survey Report he cites: "Dr. Vogel takes *Yuvarajapadiyakumaramatya* as a *Tatpurusa* compound in which the first

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member takes the place of the genitive case, and translates: The minister of His Highness the Yuvaraja."

(11) "The term *Drangika* for a city-magistrate' (*Harsha*. p. 109). Instead of asking Prof. Mookerji "to take the trouble of consulting the English translation of the *Rajatarangini* for the correct meaning of the word *dranga* in Sanskrit" (*M. R.*) a meaning which has been wrongly given by Fleet also, in Mr. Banerji's opinion, may I in all humility ask Mr. Banerji to take the trouble of consulting the St. Petersberg Dictionary which quotes the very passage of the *Rajatarangini* in which the word *dranga* occurs, but explains the word to mean a 'town' and not a 'boundary'.

(12) In his *Harsha* Dr. Mookerji has included a Note on 'the Art of the Age', 'of the Gupta Age'. Mr. Banerji "cannot understand what business Prof. Mookerji has to introduce this topic in a book on Harsha" (*M. R.*). Yes; he cannot understand it because he cannot understand the difference between 'the art of the Gupta Age' and 'Gupta Art'.

(a) "For the standpoint of art history the two reigns of Harsha and Pulakesin II have generally been included in the Gupta period, a position justified by the fact of the actual persistence of Gupta culture". [Dr. A. K. Coomaraswamy in his latest work, *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, p. 92]. I hope Mr. Banerji accepts Dr. Coomaraswamy as an authority not inferior to his favourite authority, Dr. (Miss) Kramrisch.

(b) In the same work of Dr. Coomaswamy are included as examples of Gupta Art, or more correctly, of the art of "the Gupta Period, 320-600 A. D" the following;—

(i) The Ajanta Caves (pp. 75-77-*ib.*)

(ii) The Elura Caves (p. 77, *ib.*); inspite of Mr. Banerjis dictum that "Prof. Mookerji is not ashamed to speak of Ellora as a centre of Gupta Brahminical Art." *(M. R.)*.

(iii) "The Brahminical Durga temple at Aihole" a few other temples of the same place (*Ib.* pp. 78-79); inspite of Mr. Banerji's patronising sarcasm that Prof. Mookerji "includes these within the sphere of influence of Gupta Art!" *(M. R.)* As regards "the sphere of influence of Gupta Art", let him understand its fullest extent from the following sentence of Dr. Coomaraswamy; "The influence of Gupta Art was felt not only throughout India and Ceylon but far beyond the confines of India proper, surviving to the present day" [*Ib.* p. 72].

On the subject of Ajanta, Dr. Mookerji writes: "Some of the best examples of both sculpture and painting *for the period* are seen at Ajanta" (p. 162 of *Harsha*). Nowhere has he described Ajanta art as Gupta art. Yet Mr. Banerji delivers himself of the following deliberate comment—"Prof. Mookerji is also not aware of the fact that Ajanta has no connection with Gupta art! (*M. R.*) May I in this connexion present to Mr. Banerji the following conclusions of some art critics of more authority than he ?

(1) "The epoch from the beginging of the fourth to the end of the eighth century A. D.....will be most fitly summarised architecturally by a discription of the rock-cut Viharas and Chaitya houses of Ajanta." [Havell, *Ancient and Mediaeval Architecture of India*. p. 139].

(2) "Apart from temple architecture the art of the Gupta period is illustrated by some of the earlier halls and chapels of the splendid abbey of Ajanta, one of the great universities of the time." [Havell, *Aryan Rule*, p. 184]

(3) "Among the most interesting architectural monuments of the Gupta period is the so-called Vishvakarma Chaitya House at Ellora." [*Ib.* p. 185]

(4) "The paintings in Viharas I and II (c. 600–650 A. D.) at Ajanta are hardly to be distinguished in style from those of the Gupta period strictly defined as such" [Coomaraswamy, *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, p. 99]

(5) "Of flat-roofed temples of the Gupta period there is an interesting example in the Dekkhan known as the Lad Khan's temple at Aihole in the Bijapur District" [O. C. Gangoly, *Indian Architecture*, p. 14.]

Prof. Mookerji says "In the Gupta period were also developed what are called the *Mudras*" (*Harsha* p. 162). Therefore, Mr. R. D. Banerji must remind him that the *Mudras* are to be found in the earliest Gandhara sculptures *(M. R.)*"! In his opinion there is no difference between *origins* and subsequent *developments* !

Prof. Mookerji writes (Harsha, p. 163) : "Besides Sarnath, some of the best examples of the Gupta sculptures are being brought to light at Nalanda." Mr. Banerji, not seeing this passage on the same page he comments on, must pass the following verdict : "Up-to-date knowledge *on* the subject was evidently not considered necessary by the learned author of this book and therefore he does not know of the recently discovered Gupta art of Nalanda." (*M. R.*)

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the public should be encouraged to maintain standard of health that is independent of these narcotic resources and attempted shortcuts from life strain.—

—

Ramayana Relief from Prambanan

Prof. Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterjee gives a glimpse of the artistic achievements of Hindus in Java in an illnstrated article in *Rupam* (January-April number). About the Ramayana sculptures at Prambanan we read :

The temple group at Prambanan in Java is a veritable epic in stone. These magnificent temples dedicated to God the Creator, God the Preserver and God the Destroyer and Regenerator and Merciful Teacher, to Brahma, Vishnu and Siva, present the finest fruit of the earlier Hindu culture of Java. Boro-Budur and Prambanan are twin flowers borne by the transplanted tree of Hindu art in Java : twins born with in the same period of cultural awakening and self-realisation of the race ; and as twins, they show agreements, but it has its peculiar individuality as well, and this has given rise to the contrast between them which irresistibly fixes our attention.

The Ramayana sculptures at Prambanan have other appeals than the purely aesthetic one. They are inestimable documents of Indian literature and mythology. The reliefs amply show that the artists followed not so much Valmiki as other independent versions of the Rama story.

—

Authenticity of Feminine Protraits of the Moghul School

Mr. O. C. Gangoly contributes an interesting article in the same journal in which he shows that majority of the faminine portraits of the Moghul school are "imaginary pictures and are not the record of actual likenesses." This fact, of course, does not in any way diminish the artistic value of the exquisitely beautiful Moghul miniatures as the writer truly observes in conclusion :

To sum up, with occasional exceptions, the surviving protraits of women are not, as a rule, authentic likenesses, or actual portraits, but imaginary visualisations, based perhaps on familiar types. However, the loss to History is in this case, a distinct gain to Art. For the lack of realistic data, drives the Moghul artists to seek inspiration from an imaginary vision, and to create an ideal type of exquisite artistic convention, which, transports the somewhat prosaic and pedestrian art of the Moghul court on the wings of lightened fancy, to a higher plane of imaginative sublimation.

—

Bombay Government and Prohibition

Mr. R. G. Pradhan, M.L.C. strongly criticises the excise policy of the Bombay Government in an article in *The Indian Review* for July and accuses the government for "circumventing" and "frustrating" non-official efforts in the direction of prohibition. Says the writer :

What is the moral of all this? If the Government really intended to make a real and substantial beginning in the direction of prohibition, they could certainly introduce prohibition at least in those districts where the consumption of liquor per head is very low, and where, therefore, the loss of revenue would not be much and could be easily made up. The minority of the Committee have recommended such a course, and there is everything to be said in its favour, at any rate, as an experimental measure. But this postulates a genuine will to promote prohibition. Such a will, however it must be painfully said, is absolutely lacking on the part of the Government, including the Minister. The present system of Government seems to be hopelessly incapable of prompting the material and moral progress of the people, according to their views, sentiments and wishes. The Government talk of the money derivable from fresh taxation being required for education. But what have they done in the matter? I sent in a Bill which would have brought about compulsory education throughout the Presidency in seven years. That Bill was vetoed on the ground that it would entail additional expenditure with the Government had no means of meeting. Have the Government ever brought in a taxation Bill, to meet the requirements of compulsory education? As is well-known, compulsory education has made no progress whatever, and nothing has been, or is being, done to obtain more revenue for the purpose. The fact is, Government are earnest neither about education nor about prohibition. Unless the Bombay Legislative Council asserts its will and compels the Minister and the Government to lovally carry it out, prohibition in the Bombay Presidency is doomed.

—

Queen Mary

M. E. Chambers in the course of a review of Kathleen Woodward's *Queen Mary* in *The Indian Ladies' Magazine* for July shows how Queen Mary finds beauty in order and harmony in all her household arrangements :

As Queen, in the great royal houses of Windsor Castle and Buckingham Palace, she regards herself as the servant of the nation—the custodian on the people's behalf of the treasures collected there. The vastness of Windsor Castle is perhaps hard to imagine. It includes chapels, picture-galleries, library, towers and gateways, which are open at times to the public. Then there are the royal suits used by the King and Queen themselves, and over one thousand other rooms not seen by the visitor. Queen Mary has been discovered moving furniture

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and hanging pictures herself, but it is obvious that, in houses of such vast magnitude, her task must be chiefly one of oversight. But it is very real, sympathetic, intelligent oversight, for she has none of that affectation, which imagines that the details of domestic affairs are not the concern of a great lady. Two women, wives of Labour Members of Parliament, once visited the Queen, and are said to have been delighted at the friendly way in which she received them and at the efficiency so markedly seen at the Palace. As they were leaving one of them uttered their highest word of praise, 'And I'll guarantee that if we went into her kitchen, it would be as clean as ours.' Yes. Queen Mary knows what is happening in her kitchen. She made a special point during the War of managing the details of housekeeping, and effecting those economies and preventions of waste, wnich were demanded in the interests of the nation. All her work is selfless. Of Buckingham Palace it has been said, 'There are no slaves here, but the King and Queen ; they are slaves to duty.' So this 'royal slave' dedicates to others her energy, efficiency, sympathy, and sound artistic taste. In all her household arrangements she finds beauty in order and harmony, and has done much to bring to light hidden treasures, and to get the right thing in the right place in those innumerable apartments.

—

Extravagance of Indian Princes Abroad

The Maharajadhiraja of Burdwan who, is himself sojourning in England is reported to have said in an interview to the "Observer' that the Indian Princes should take up the business of Government seriously and not spend their time "Gallivanting in Europe" at the expense of their subjects. Commenting on this statement *The Feudatory and Zemindari India* for July observes :

We are sorry if the reports circulated by the Nationalist press in India are true about the extravaganct of the Indian Princes in England. Although we admit that by their frequent tours to foreign parts they are able to learn much and get first-hand information about the places they visit, to a large extent they must curtail their expenditure. Leaving a wide enough margin for the personal expenses of the Ruling Princes in keeping with their high dignity there are instances of extravaganct personal expenditure which we are sure will be greatly minimised if the Princes are appraised of their financial position now and again. The traditions of a native court and its hospitality demand a scale of expenditure which to an outsider will look like folly. But these traditions have to be respected, and it means some expenditure. Well, leaving a good margin for that, we cannot help saying that some of the Princes, especially on their tours abroad go in for a scale of personal expenses for which there can be no justification and which in some cases are evidently beyond their means.

The Maharajadhiraja's advice applies with equal, if not greater, force in case of Zemindars. The Indian Zemindars also should take up the business of managing their own estates instead of holiday-making and *touring* abroad.

—

Sati

Stri Dharma for August writes :

A young girl of Bihar committed Sati. When the flames became intolerable, she jumped into the Ganges, but was rescued. After two days and nights of agony she died. Sufferings as these wnich gave a thrill of horror to all civilized sensibilities elicits the following remarks from the *Searchlight* of Bihar : "Sati represents the acme of moral perfection and its whole merit is based on its voluntariness. In course of time, however, under demoralising political conditions corruption crept in and voluntariness disappeared to a very large extent. But with all this a pure Sati—pure in the sense of voluntariness—yet invokes the profound reverence of all Hindus who have not divested themselves of their age-long culture."

There is no "voluntariness" in conduct, to the extent it is wrought of deception. It is deception to tell uneducated young girls that their husbands are their gods however devoid of merit, and that to mount their funeral pyre is the surest way to Heaven.

There is no "voluntariness" in action to the extent it is induced by pressure. Public opinion is a mighty pressure, and in olden days there were millions like the writers to the *Searchlight* who pointed to widows the funeral flames of their husbands as the best place for them.

There is no "voluntariness" in deeds to the extent they are inspired by fear. The fear inspiring is the suffering and humiliation that Hindu Society has reserved for widows who elect to live.

One many also consider how many men have followed "the acme of moral perfection" that they so easily preach to women, and mounted the flames of their wives. "Voluntary" self-torture seems never popular with those who have liberty to do what they please. Do women have that liberty? "No liberty for women" says the code of Manu.

Spirituality is often distinct from the practice of religion and ceremonial. Tne history of religion and crime have therefore many coinciding points—Sati is one. Also, religious men are often the worst criminals. When wickedness stoops to cruelty, cowardice seeks exculpation in cermonies and religion.

—

The Elephanta Caves

In the profusely illustrated and neatly printed *Indian State Railways Magazine* for August, Mr. W. E. Gladstone Solomon gives an illustrated account of his visit to the Elephanta Caves. Says he :

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The insignificant ticket office and wooden shanties at the ingress to the Elephanta Caves may be taken by the enthusiastic visitor as not a bad symbol of the modest entrances to India's spacious art to-day. How an artist must regret that he did not live in the Golden Age, when India was filled with gorgeous paintings and sculptures ; when the mind of the people projected itself, and their hands transformed the Idea into Fact, so that celestial forms materialised out of the hard crust of Mother Earth !

But the World's greatest religions have preached the apotheosis of the Poor. We must not forget that the same great creed which inspired the artists to chisel the *trimurti* in the great Temple of Elephanta, (that most marvellous of sculptures !) which portrays the three aspects of God as three awesome giant faces upon one trunk, of which only the bust is seen above the Earth, gave the conquest of the Three Worlds to the naked ascetic rather than to the renowned warrior. There were few exceptions to this rule ;—the road to power was the path of self-abnegation, and when the ascetic, proud of his accumulation of merit, vaunted himself unduly, the stroke of the Divine Vengeance was not long delayed.

—

Gaur—The Ancient Metropolis of Bengal

Prof. Rakhaldas Banerji writes in the ably conducted and nicely-got up *E. B. Ry* Supplement to the *Indian State Railways Magazine* for August.

Very few people in Bengal know that long before Murshidabad and Dacca, Gaur or Lakshmanavati was the Capital of Bengal for many centuries. Many Bengalees do not know where Gaur is and inconvenient questions have often been asked about it: Gaur is the name of an ancient city in Northern Bengal which was the Capital of Bengal for 900 years. Its original name was Gauda and was derived from Gur the Bengali word for molasses. From the oldest known records of Bengal it has been ascertained that it became the Capital of the Empire founded by Dharmapala in the middle of the 8th century A. D. Its name was changed to Ramabati at the end of the 12th century by king Ramapala of the Pala dynasty ; to Lakshmanavati by king Lakshmanasena of the Sena dynasty ; and to Jannatabad by Mughal Emperor Humayun. Shamsuddin Firoz Shah, an independent Musalman King of Bengal, founded a suburb named Firuzabad to the north of old Gaur, where the Capital remained from 1345 to 1446. It was retransferred to Gaur in 1446 and remained there till the destruction of the city by a great plague in 1550.

Very little can be seen of old Gaur of the Buddhist and Hindu periods. Its ruins are supposed to be buried under the vast mounds locally known as "Ballal-bari" which lie to the east of modern Maldah. The ruins of Gaur still attract hundreds of visitors on account of the splendid remains of the Musalman period.

—

Birth of the Congress Movement

In his interesting survey of "Rural Bengal in the Seventies" in *the Calcutta Review* for August, Mr. Francis H. Skrine shows how the simmering discontent of educated Indians gave birth to the Congress movement."

Fifty-seven years ago, all superior appointments were reserved by Act of Parliament for British subjects who had stood highest in a competitive examination held annually in London. After being trained for a Indian career, they were called on to enter into a "Covenant" with the Secretary of State, which forbade them to engage in private trade. Very few Indians could afford the cost of the journey to England, and in 1871 only one had gained a footing in the Covenanted Civil Service. His fellow-countrymen who stood outside its jealously guarded pale could reach no higher posts than those of Deputy Magistrate or Subordinate Judge. But Indians performed the routine duties in every office with marked efficiency, and rumour had it that a humble clerk was "the power behind the throne" occupied by many a highly placed Civilian. It was only natural that educated Indians should view the European monopoly of office with displeasure. Their feelings were timidly voiced by the vernacular press, and found vent at meetings of the Dharma Sabhas, or Religious Assemblies, which took place in every large town. Thirteen years later the simmering discontent was brought to a head by the Lieutenant Governor's ill-judged attempt to limit the right of trial by jury. It gave birth to the Congress Movement, to which Indians stand indebted for every political privilege they now enjoy.

—

"Movable School" at Tuskegee

Prof. Dr. G. S. Krishnayya gives a description of the Movable School of Agriculture and Home Economics at Tuskegee in the August number of *the Youngmen of India Burma and Ceylon.* We read :

Speaking of the problems of his people, Booker T. Washington is recorded to have said. "We shall prosper in proportion as we learn to dignify and glorify labour, and put brains and skill into the common occupations of life." Entirely in keeping with this ideal is the Extension work of the great Institute which he created ; to reach Negro farmers and their families and to influence them to adopt better farm practices : to help them to increase their earning capacity, and to improve their living conditions ; to interest Negro boys and girls in farm activities, and to train them in the use of improved methods in farming and home-making. It is undoubtedly one of the best means discovered recently for proving to the people generally that they can improve their own conditions.

A most practical phase of that practical activity, Agricultural Extension Service, and yet one with a certain amount of native dramatic flair, which, without doubt adds to its effectiveness is the "Movable School" whose history goes back some twenty-five or thirty years when Booker T. Washington was Principal.

This "Movable School" travels the entire year on a schedule, visiting all parts of the State, particularly regions which are difficult of access

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by rail. Arrangements in the county for its coming are made in advance by the country Negro agricultural agent who spends considerable effort and time securing the offer of a farm on which the school force may work, the assembling of supplies which will be needed in the week's work, and in arousing interest among the farmers of the community to come with their families to the demonstrations. Through posters, handbills and other means, the time and place of the meetings are thoroughly advertised.

—

To Motorists

A motorist who completed a journey from "Dhanbad to Hazaribag by car" writes in *the M. T. Monthly* for August:

The enthusiastic motorist in Bengal, has ample scope to satiate his desires for pastures new as the Province possesses in the Grand Trunk Road and offshoots, a first class line of communication, covering the whole of India from Peshawar in the North-West to Calcutta. The trip from Dhanbad to Hazaribagh, lies partly along the Grand Trunk and partly along the District Board Road, the latter branching off at Mile 216 towards Hazaribag. It is truly a delightful run to undertake as the scenary and country passed through is mostly characteristic of the province of Behar and a pleasant and welcome change from the monotonous landscape presented by the low-lying rice flats and swamps of Bengal.

—

Mr. Andrews and the Zulus

How Mr. C. F. Andrews conquered the heart of the South African Zulus would be evident from the following narrative published in *The Star* for August:

At one of the largest gatherings which was held in South Africa, near to the time of my departure, at the city of Durban, the branch of the Bantu Race, called the Zulus, came in greater numbers than ever at the farewell meeting which had been arranged for me by my friends of the Indian community.

I had spoken to the Indians in their own language the last message of love before leaving for India, their Motherland and mine. When the meeting was over, I was seated in a neighbouring Indian house where a very old resident of Natal, who himself had very friendly relations with the Zulus, was living. He was a merchant dealing in the goods, which the Zulus used to wear, and he knew their language from old experience of their ways and customs. While I was sitting there, one of the Zulus who had been present at that meeting came to me and sat down at the same table with us and spoke to my Indian host in the Zulu language.

He turned to me and said, "They want to ask you a question." "Please tell them," I said, "I shall be glad to listen to what the Zulus have to say." Then he spoke very pointedly indeed, in the Zulu language, to my host. He turned to me and said: "They have said to me, Mr. Andrews, that they understood from your speech, which you have just delivered, that you are ready to die for the Indians."

Then I turned to my host and said to him, "Will you ask him one question from me, because he came here to put me a question and that question has not yet been asked. Would you therefore, ask him, why he came here especially at this moment, to see me, and what he wishes me to do to help the Zulus." When my host had put this question, the leader said with a look, which was intense and almost ardent in its character, "We want to know, whether you would be prepared to die for *us*."

No word that I ever listened to in South Africa went home to my heart like that. I had to ask myself again and again, that night, whether it was not a call from God, and whether I ought not to give up everything in the world to follow the call.

Up till now, the answer has not come quite clearly. But ever ringing in my mind are those tremendous words uttered by that Zulu in the hour of dark sorrow and oppression "Will you not be prepared to die for us."

—

Hard Lot of Cabinmen

The G. I. P. Union Herald for August, comments editorially:

We have on several occasions criticised the long hours of work and the inadequacy of relieving hands; but our criticism has gone unheeded. The authorities instead of lessening the hardships are acting quite the other way. The case has been brought to our notice in which a cabinman was required to work continuously for 16 hours as no relieving hand was available. It was but natural that after working for so long a time he should have complete rest for at least 32 hours. The authorities would not allow in and the cabinman in question was required to attend after a rest for sixteen hours only. In the meantime another cabinman was posted on duty and the cabinman in question was informed to come on the following day at 10 o'clock, and was subsequently ordered for 6 P. M. In spite of all this the poor cabinman has been penalised and has been reduced Rs. 5 for three months for not coming to duty after 16 hours rest when called. We believe that the cabinman has not only been denied justice but on the contrary has been unjustly penalised. The hours of work for cabinmen are 8 hours a day. And it is but just that he should be relieved after he has worked for 8 hours. We hope that authorities concerned would look at the matter from a humanitarian point of view and cancel the order of reduction.

—

When Women Smoke

Reviewing Dr. Hofstaetter's latest book entitled "The Smoking Women", *The Oriental Watchman* comments:

God pity the children when both father and mother smoke. Fortunately, when both parents

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smoke, the chances are there will be no children. If by chance children are born to such a couple they are handicapped through life because of their unfortunate heredity. Woman has in this respect been a redeeming factor in the prevalent race decadence in the past. When she begins to smoke, and smoking becomes as common among women as it is among men, there will be a landslide in race decadence.

The mother is the home-maker. The smoking mother becomes a home-breaker.

—

What is wrong with the Musalmans

Addressing the Muhammadans in the course of an well-written article in the Anglo-Urdu journal *Navaida*. Mr. N. A. Abbais laments:

Our general contribution towards the literary activities of the country is negligible in quantity and poor in quality; devoid of deep thought, profound study and scholarly grasp. Pick up any good Indian Magazine and you will invariably miss us there. Have you ever read in any of the hundreds of Indian newspapers that some Mr. Khan, or Mr. Beg, or Mr. Husain delivered a lecture on any literary, philosophic, economic or Scientific subject before a learned audience? And the same Khans, Begs, and Husains, I promise you, will bore you to death at a *Marashia* party with their demoralising love poems at any place any day. For other dialects of the country—some of which are richer than our poor Urdu—we have, as it were, a sort of national distaste. In our own tongue (I admit that we have 5 or 6 monthly magazines that may be passed on as fairly good) we produce a sort of literature more than half of which is worthless and degenerating.

—

Modern China and the Christian Movement

In *The National Christian Council Review* for August Mr. T. L. Shen discusses the position of "Christian Movement in a Revolutionary China. The writer begins by saying:

The present-day Chinese revolution is unique in the history of the world for two reasons. First, it is based on a recorded past of five thousand years with its rich content of cultural achievement and its wonderful capacity to adapt itself to new situations through assimilation and conquest. Second, it calls for magnificent changes in all spheres of life to be effected within a limited period of time as contrasted with the experiences in the West where the same amount of work has been accomplished through evolution in many centuries. So revolution in China can be pictured as an accelerated process of adaptation and change in contemporary Chinese life, which would pass with much less notice under normal conditions. In its broad realm the revolution really gives impetus to all vital forces, whether destructive or constructive towards the making of a new China. Therefore a fair observer should not be led to isolate its politico-military aspects from other equally important reforms, economic, educational, etc., and consider them as only manifestations of the revolution. To a very large extent revolution in China has touched vitally the problem of religion, hitherto unchallenged for centuries. It has questioned the fundamental value of religion, the purpose of religious activities, the social function of religious institutions, and other significant points.

According to the writer:

Traditionally, the Chinese have been accustomed to take for granted that one's belief is not to be interfered with unless it implies or actually brings harm to others.

—

The Public and the Untouchable

In answer to an interrogation "Is there a change in the status of the untouchable and the attitude of the public in regard to his place in Society?" by the editor of *The Social Service Quarterly*, Mr. V R. Sindhe, the well-known social worker says in the July number of the said journal.

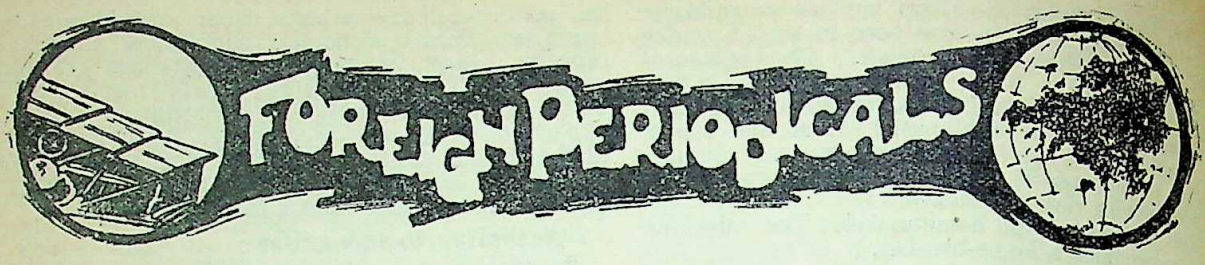
Practically both parts of the above question are identical. Yes, there is some little change in the status, but the littleness of this change causes disappointment and even annoyance to a genuine advocate of these classes out of all proportion to satisfaction caused by the change itself. Nowadays much is made, both by the friends and enemies of the "untouchable", of the new political status granted by British rule in India to him in the shape of nomination to the Legislative Councils and local bodies. But those who may look deep enough into the matter will be convinced of the shallowness of this questionable favour. For these nominees are in no way representatives of either the people or their needs. The sting of untouchability is still felt in all its poignance in the mills owned by capitalists as much as in the offices controlled by the foreign bureaucrats or capitalists (all Government is only the worst form of capitalism)! If this is the situation in modern cities what can I say of the districts and the villages.

Political status is measured or ought to be measured by the power of vote secured by any class and not by any extra favours thrown at them. Moreover, such favours work at times positive harm rather than possible good as they create an unhealthy desire to run after them among some who turn out eventually bad leaders of blind groups.

Though, as a result of the work of the Depressed Classes Mission carried on by the so-called higher classes and latterly by some enlightened leaders of the depressed classes themselves, a very large number of "untouchables" residing in cities and provincial towns are evincing an awakening as to their degraded position, the general mass of the submerged millions in the country is still born and bred up under the shades of this titanic slavery without any ray of self-conscious freedom; and even the Titans of the "touchables" in general do not still betray a pang of effective conscience so as to create a hope in us that "by elevating the depressed we are but elevating ourselves."

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The Prayerful Spirit

The note of lofty idealism and spiritual fervour, so characteristic of the man, is clearly sounded in a short utterance of Gandhiji—a message to his Indian followers—which *Message of the East* for July reproduces. Says Mahatmaji :

One word that I would like to leave with you doubly afflicted people of this afflicted land, is that you will lose yourselves in the ocean of the submerged humanity about you. Because it is submerged, the problem is simple. The way is straight, even though it is narrow, and you must treat it in the right and prayerful spirit. We have been praying here for three days. Prayer brings a peace, a strength and a consolation that nothing else can give. But it must be offered from the heart. When it is not offered from the heart, it is like the beating of a drum, or just the vocal effect of the throat sounds. When it is offered from the heart, it has the power to melt mountains of misery. Those who want are welcome to try its power.

As food is necessary for the body, prayer is necessary for the soul. A man may be able to do without food for a number of days, but believing in God, man cannot, should not live a moment without prayer. You will say that we see lots of people living without prayer. I dare say they do, but it is the existence of the brute which, for man, is worse than death. I have not the shadow of a doubt that the strife and quarrels with which our atmosphere is so full to-day, are due to the absence of the spirit of true paper. You will demur to the statement, I know, and contend that millions of Hindus, Mussulmans and Christians do offer their prayers. It is because I had thought you would raise this objection that I used the words "true prayer." The fact is, we have been offering our prayers with the lips but hardly ever with our hearts, and it is to escape, if possible the hypocrisy of the lip prayer that we in the Ashram repeat every evening the last verses of the second chapter of the Bhagavad Gita. The conditions of the "Equable in Spirit" that is described in those verses if we contemplate them daily, is bound slowly to turn our hearts towards God. If you students would base your education on the true foundation of a pure character and pure heart there is nothing so helpful as to offer your prayers every day truly and religiously.

—

Finding Truth in All Creeds

The Literary Digest (June 30) thus introduces a writer on the above subject :

All truth is not confined to one sect, or even to one religion, says a modern who has been in search of it in Methodist conferences, Confucianist temples, New Thought centres, Hindu monasteries, Buddhist colleges, and High Church retreats, and found particles of truth in all, but not all of it in any of the creeds. Strangely enough, he finds surprizing similarity amog the great prophets of religion and dispensers of truth. It is in the organizations of the followers that differences appear and divisions are created. The conclusion of the matter to him is that God resides in man, and that we can achieve anything we like by sinking our differences and uniting our efforts for the common spiritual welfare. Writing under the initials "S. T.," this modern tells us in *The Century Magazine* that the great failing of organized religion—of every religious organization he knows anything about, in fact—is its persistent claim to exclusive possession of a final truth. "A group of men," he says, "set up a part of the truth and call it the whole. And because it is not the whole—because there was another great soul or another great law—another group rises and sets up another part. And so on—sects, denominations, divisions, and subdivisions ; part against part, all loudly proclaiming unity and love to a world that they have kept in an uproar down the centuries, with their own quarrels, persecutions, and dissensions." We shall never achieve love and unity in "hot and noisy competition," he says. To the men and women of to-day "the superior, condescending, and stubbornly ignorant point of view of most religious organizations toward everybody and everything outside their own particular creed, is a point of view intellectually and spiritually impossible."

Non-recognition of this simple truth has perhaps cost some creeds the loss of their hold on many thinking and enlightened minds.

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The Voice of the Inaudible

The same journal for July 7 reproduces an article *in The Spectator* on the scientific discoveries of Sir J. C. Bose regarding plant life with the following prefatory remarks :

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The latest public Demonstration of the sensitivity of plants, given in London by Sir Jagadis Bose Hindu plant-physiologist, are described in *the Spectator* (London) by F. Yeats-Brown under the above title. Mr. Yeats-Brown does not agree with the eminent American botanist who calls the Bose experiments unscientific. He sees in them a proof of the unity of living forces throughout creation and believes that they, "have intellectual and philosophical, as well as purely medical, consequences of the greatest importance."

—

Dr. Paul Dahlke

Dr. Paul Dahlke, the founder of the 'Buddhist House' in Berlin and an eminent writer on Buddhist subjects, passed away sometime ago, and Mr. J. F. Mc Kechnie gives a brief sketch of his life in *The British Buddhist.*

Dr. Dahlke died of heart-failure at the "Buddhist House" at Frohnau, near Berlin. on the 29th of February last. As he considered that to die is one of the least important of a man's actions, he left instructions that the fact of his death was to be withheld from publicity for as long as possible; hence the lateness of the present notice.

He had suffered from a weak heart for many years, and had previously had attacks of heart weakness which almost terminated his life so that when the final attack came it was no surprise to himself or to those about him.

He was one of the most eminent writers on Buddhist subjects in Europe, for which he was pre-eminently gifted by his keen, searching intellect, and his command of a style of great lucidity, the outcome of lucid thinking. He also had visited the East through many winters, studying Buddhism at first hand from the lips of native pundits in Ceylon and also in Burma, during two visits there. On these visits he acquired a knowlege of the language of Buddhism, Pali, and of this made good use in the issue of several volumes of Pali translation in his native language, German. The titles of the books he issued on Buddhism, during his life, were (we give their titles in English): "Buddhist Essays," "Buddhism and Science," "Buddhism as Religion and Morality," and "Buddhim :. Its place in the mental life of mankind." He wrote three lighter books of Buddhist interest called respectively: "Buddhist Stories." "From the Buddha's Realm" and "The Book of Genius." He also wrote a little book of "English Sketches," the outcome of his many visits to England. In addition, his literary activity found expression in the publication of a little Buddhist magazine which he called "New Buddhism," which had a very hard struggle to exist during the war. But after the war, when he had more financial means, he issued a much better and larger magazine at irregular intervals called "The Scrap-Collection," the contents of both these magazines being entirely written by himself. They expounded his own idea of what Buddhism means to Europe and European thought, and were extremely interesting as the revelation of a profound intellect working upon the material supplied it by one of the oldest and most rational religions in the world.

As he went on thinking upon Buddhism he finally came to the decision that it was not enough to introduce it, as he had endeavoured to do, into the mere thought of Europe; he felt that some attempt ought to be made to embody it in Europe's life. Accordingly, as soon as his means permitted it, after the war he procured a plot of land on the outskirts of a Garden City about thirteen miles outside of Berlin (but included in Greater Berlin) and there built himself a house which he called the "Buddhist House," where he lived with two of his sisters as housekeepers, and in the grounds he had built a number of erections meant to serve as places to which those who wished might retire and live in solitude for the practice of thought and meditation. Here, to his House, he welcomed any one who cared to come whether Buddhist or not, who were willing to observe the rules of the house, celibacy, vegetarianism, no music no news-paper reading, no frivolous talk, and as much as possibe, silence. Meanwhile he earned the means of supporting the House by the diligent practice of his profession, no longer, as before the war, ever leaving it for travel in the east. Indeed, torwards the end, his heart-weakness forbade his ever leaving the house, or even going up or down stairs except in the most painfully slow manner, Yet he still worked on, giving addresses at the Temple in the grounds of his house, on Buddhist subjects once a month to crowded audiences; editing and writing his magazine, and giving lectures on medical and Buddhist subjects: and finally in writing of a medical work in which he sought to bring medicine also within the purview of Dhamma principles.

—

Be Kind to Animals Week

The Young East (June) supplies us with an instructive bit of information :

Thanks to the tireless efforts put forth by the Nihon Jindo Kai or Japan Humane Society, the citizens of Tokyo were given an object lesson in right treatment of animals during the last week of May. During the week which was called "Be Kind to Animals Week," every conceivable measure was taken by the members and friends of the association to show to the general public that to treat animals with more kindness was not only right but profitable. The most spectacular was a parade of 200 carthorses through some of the principal streets. It was the first of the kind to be held in this country and attracted great attention of the public to the condition of work-horses. Prizes were given to exemplary drivers who were found to have treated their horses with kindness.

Cannot our Indian S.P.C.A.S. organise something like this ?

—

Woman and Sacrilege

The same journal for July puts forth a plea for the removal of the religious barriers which operate against woman within the Buddhistic world. Writes the Journal :

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It is astonishing that in this age of modern girls there are still men and many at that who still cling to the prejudice that women are unclean creatures and must therefore be rigidly excluded from grounds considered "sacred" from early times. Mr. Koya, for instance, had been closed to women for centuries until some years ago. We had thought there no longer existed any such place in Japan, but we now find that we were mistaken. According to a press report, a dispute is now going on between the priests of a monastery on Mr. Omine in Nara Prefecture and about 10,000 devotees as to whether the mountain, hitherto closed to women, should be opened to them or not. It appears that the Rev. Shinko Katsuma, head priest of the Ryusenji, one of the adjunct temples to the main temple on the mountain, has made a plan of admitting women to the main temple and has already secured the consent of the controlling board of Godai branch in Kyoto which partly controls the tamples on Mt. Omine. Learning of it, the leading adherents in Osaka and elsewhere, known as Sango-gumi, who exercise powerful influence among the groups of adherents who make it their perennial practice to climb the mountain because of their devotion to Buddhism, have started agitation in opposition to the above said plan, on the ground that it is sacrilegious to allow women to visit the "sacred" precincts. We would suggest to the priests of Mt. Omine, with whom we are in thorough sympathy, to circulate among their opponents a translation of Dr. Kimura's treatise entitled "Women in Buddha's Eye," which we published in this magazine some months ago. It will disillusion those bigoted men and open their eyes to the fact that Buddha never regarded women as "unclean."

—

Political Ideas and Actions

Mr. Crane Brinton writing about the 'Political Ideas of the Jacobin Clubs' in *Political Science Quarterly* concludes with these observations :

Ideas do not make desires any more than desires make ideas. The two are merged organically and not mechanically in human life. Therefore, no arguments shrouded in metaphors which make inarticulate desires the driving force in politics can hold. Steam certainly makes a steam engine go ; but at present we can only say of human beings that life makes them go. This conception of life is not purely mystical, and much of it is subject to logical analysis. But when such analysis denies itself, and seeks to separate thought from any manifestation of human life, as when it declares that political ideas are results but not causes, it must assume the burden of a completely mechanist philosophy. And mechanism, with its too simple doctrine of causation, shows signs of failing even the physicist.

Rousseau's philosophy obviously was part of the lives of the men who made the French Revolution. No one can glance at contemporary records and doubt that. And that is enough. The question as to whether they would have acted differently had Rousseau never existed is at bottom an idle one, since again it assumes that political action is mechanical, and that a force, once weighed, can be subtracted from the whole. The eighteenth century itself may be allowed to have the final word in this matter. For as to the Rousseau of the Revolution, *s'il n'existait pas, il faudrait l'inventer.*

—

Spencer and Syntheic Philosophy

Mr. Alexander Goldenweiser assigns in *Evolution* to Herbert Spencer the following role which he so fittingly played :

In a sense Herbert Spencer rather than Darwin should be regarded as the father of Evolution. Under the sweep of his integrating intellect, the hypothesis of evolutionary development reached a comprehensiveness and a logical rigor which no one else either before or after Spencer was able to transcend or equal.

After a brief narration of his early life writer proceeds :

Having a rather delicate constitution and being a poor reader, Spencer hardly could have achieved what he did, if not for the stimulation he derived from the counsel and criticism of such figures as John Tyndall, the physicist, John Stuart Mill, Huxley, Hooker, George Eliot, and Lewis. The direct inspiration for his evolutionary theory, Spencer derived from Von Baer's work on embryology, Charles Lyell's contributions to geology, and Malthus's "Essay on Population," which had inspired so many other notable achievements. Darwin influenced Spencer only directly as the "Principles of Biology" had appeared Spencer at once accepted the theory of natural selection as a striking formulation of the mechanism of biological evolution, and made it his own by incorporating it in the second edition of the "Biology."

But for Spencer the world was a unity; evolution, if true in biology, had to apply to the entire cosmos. Thus we find that in his "First Principles," Spencer enunciated evolution as a universal process manifesting itself in the phenomena of inanimate matter, life, mind and society. This determined the scope of the synthetic philosophy which comprised the "principles" of Biology, Psychology, Sociology, and Ethics. Unfortunately, the two volumes which were to deal with cosmology and geology remained unwritten, so that Spencer's ideas in these two domains must be gleaned from the schematic treatment in the "First Principles."

Spencer's "Biology" contains two important principles : Individuation varies inversely with propagation, or the more an organism does for the race, the less is it able to do for itself ; and 2. Acquired characters are inherited, meaning by this that physical or psychic traits acquired by an individual in the course of his life are transmissable of the offspring.

—

Areoplanes help Archaeology

In *the Thelosophical Path* an observer in the 'archaeological field' thus finds areoplanes

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the latest triumph of modern invention to be a handmaid of archaeology, concerned with the early triumphs of ancient skill.

How strange it would have seemed a few years ago to be told that in no long time flying-machines would prove of great service in archaeological discovery! And yet this has come to pass. An aerial photograph of an important hill seven miles north of Jerusalem in Palestine was found to show a depression hardly noticeable from the ground. Excavation was started and an ancient temple with the remains of five different towns, one above the other, were found. The temple was built about 900 B. C., but the oldest town was at least five thousand years old, perhaps from the Canaanite period.

In England slight differences in color of the grass, invisible from the ground but quite clear from the air, have enabled archaeologists to distinguish traces of early agricultural systems which are found to be quite different from the later Roman and Saxon field-arrangements, and which are now being studied with great care.

—

U. S. Vital Statistics for 1927

According to Sir George Newman, the Chief Medical Officer of the British Island, 'an amazing transformation in the public health of England' has been effected in recent years. The U. S. Census Bureau report on the vital statistics of the States in 1927, as indicated by the following from *The New Republic* (July 11), is no less amazing :

The infant death rate has been still further reduced; whereas, ten years ago, a death rate of 100 per 1,000 live births per annum was not uncommon in the thirty-three states which comprise the registration area, the average for 1927 was only 64. 3. This is an amazingly good record; even New Zealand, which leads the world in this respect, did not pass this figure until just before the Great War, and the American problem is greatly complicated by the presence of the Negro and the Mexican and other immigrants. Oregon, for example, with a large native white population, has a death rate of only 45 which is not far behind the New Zealand record, while Arizona, with a huge recent Mexican influx, has a rate of 125. 8. The death rate for the population as a whole continues to decline though at a slow pace which suggests that it may soon become stationary; it was 11. 4 in 1927. The birth rate has also declined, from 20·6 in 1926 to 20. 4. This net increase of nine per annum per thousands is still one of the largest in the western world, and is likely to diminish, as it is doing in almost every European country.

The Indian Vital Statistics have a different tale to narrate, as we know.

—

Age Limit for Workers

Mr. James J. Davis, U. S. Secretary of Labour, protests under caption "Old Age" at fifty reprinted in *Monthly Labour Review* (*June*) against 'arbitrary age limit' that obtains' Mr. Davies says in effect :

The practice of setting an arbitrary age limit for employment is anti-social and unsound, according to an article by the Secretary of Labor. Some plants class a worker as old at 50 years of age, and in some the age limit is even lower than 50. In occupations requiring youthful strength there may have been some justification for this practice in former years. Now, with industry highly mechanised, skill and experience are more valuable in a worker than brute strength. On the whole, a machine operator is probably better at 60 than at 20 (p. 1).

—

Shop Closing Legislation in Europe

International Labour Review (July) discusses the above subject, and says on the regulation of opening and closing hours :

THE REGULATION OF OPENING AND CLOSING HOURS

To prevent confusion, a distinction must be made between three very different things : "the hours between which shops may be open" ; "the length of time shops may be open", and "the hours of work of the employee". To bring out this distinction, the case of Poland may be cited where the hours between which shops may be open cover a period of 16 hours, but a shop may not stay open more than 10 hours, and employees may not work more than 8 hours.

Most laws state both the hour of opening and the hour of closing. In Great Britain, the Irish Free State, Rumania, and certain Swiss cantons, however, the legal restriction applies only to the closing hour.

In several cases it has been found necessary to insert certain special regulations in the Act itself.

In this way the hours between which shops working under normal conditions, or the large majority, may keep open have been reduced to the narrowest possible limits, except for certain classes of establishment with very special working conditions. With the same intention some laws—for instance, those of Basle Town and Czechoslovakia—allow the administrative authorities, either communal or provincial, in particular cases to authorise permanently the opening or closing of shops at other hours, better suited to the needs of the local population.

—

Our Day of Independence'

Unity (July 2) of Chicago 'proposes to celebrate' the Fourth of July—the day of American independence—"by levelling a few questions at the American President,

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be he President Coolidge, in absentia, or the prospective President Smith, Thomas or Foster." 'A quiz for the President' is this:

OUR DAY OF INDEPENDENCE

This editor-citizen propose to celebrate the day by leveling a few questions at the President be he President Coolidge, in absentia, or the prospective President Hoover, Smith, Thomas or Foster.

Do you believe in our Declaration of Independence? Do you "hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness." Also, Governments derive "their just powers from the consent of the Governed." There are other things to be mentioned—and quite important too—but these are enough to believe for one day.

You are asked to cast your eyes across the Pacific and note what America and Britain are doing in China, where people, whom the Creator made our "equal," are struggling for independence as we struggled for independence in 1776? Do you believe our Declaration to the world—made at that time? Have you not some way of communicating to the Chinese that we Americans are with them?*

—

Nationalism at Geneva

The Inquirer makes the following observation on this subject, which we, as our readers know perceived sometime ago:

NATIONALISM AT GENEVA

It is deeply disturbing to hear, on the authority of a correspondent of *The Manchester Guardian*, that appointments to the highest offices in the League of Nations Secretariat are being made not from among men of international outlook and reputation, as was at first the case, but from among professional diplomats in the service of the Great Powers, on whose Governments they are dependent for their future careers. Not only Italy (whom we know of) but other Powers, it is asserted, are using their countrymen as their agents, a practice which must undermine mutual confidence and co-operation within the Secretariat. We hope the Assembly will take cognisance of these criticisms.

—

The Power of the Pen

Writing on the above subject in *The China Journal* (July) Arthur De C. Sowerby compares the power of the pen with the power of the lungs:

We know how much value has always been set on oratory, the power to express sustained thought in eloquent language to a group of fellow beings. Writing, while it loses a certain amount of the moving power of oratory, yet has the advantage of enormously increasing the number of people to whom the thoughts it sets down can be conveyed.

In any case this new instrument in men's hands came to be enormously reverenced, and we have that reverence reflected today in the value set upon the written word by the general mass of the people. To enormous numbers of people what is printed and published is looked upon as indisputable fact. How often have we experienced this in our daily contacts with our fellow beings? "Here it is in black and white," they say in regard to some statement or fact in dispute, and that, as far as they are concerned, seems to settle the argument.

It is this, perhaps, more than anything else that gives the pen its power. Of course, in writing just as in talking, eloquence counts a great deal, but the fundamental fact that writing is something set down in a permanent form seems to give it a tremendous advantage over mere talking, and to make of the pen a weapon in the eternal conflict of man against man that is far superior to the sword. *Cedit ensis calamo.*

—

The Embargo on Thought

Japan sees 'red,' and is launching measures to stifle some 'thought' in middle and higher schools. This has led *the Japan Weekly Chronicle* (July 19) to enter a spirited protest against 'the embargo on thought':

Reaction has made great strides in Japan during the past couple of years. First there was a campaign against "thought" in middle and higher schools. Numerous prosecutions were made of high school boys, and their associations for the study of social questions were suppressed throughout the country. But it was definitely stated that so far as the universities were concerned, the students might study whatever they pleased. This still left some liberty of thought, and it was obvious that the way to ensure university students taking a lively interest in the undesired subjects was to put an embargo on all acquaintance with them until university days. Perhaps this effect was soon felt, for it was not long before a determined weeding out of progressive professors took place. There were some protests among the more liberal of their colleagues at this weeding out, but the protests were not sustained and afterwards died away altogether. And at the present time we find extraordinary actions being taken for the suppression of freedom of thought without any protests whatever being raised. The proceedings of reactionaries are seldom surprising they are always true to type and are but a repetition of history; but the silence of liberal thinkers is a much more serious matter. Does it mean that there has been a general conversion and that no leading men wish any longer for thought to have free expression except within such narrow limits as the official world thinks desirable? If there had been any such 'conversion there would be no need to drive professors from their posts whenever they showed signs of independence

* Do you know that Sunyat Sen was a disciple of Abraham Linclon?

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thinking, and there would be no need of making such drastic regulations as to the qualifications of students for entry to a university. The silence can certainly not be interpreted as an indication of the unanimous assent of all thinkers to the action recently taken, for that action would then have no motive. On the contrary, the measures taken for suppression imply that there is a great deal of thought which would be expressed if only there were any liberty of speech.

—

War Lies

The same journal for June 21st observes in referring to Mr. Arthur Ponsonby's book :

We laugh at bumpkins for their willingness to believe every wild tale they hear, but experiences during the war show that we have nothing to laugh at. Mr. Arthur Ponsonby has collected details about all the horrors with which the papers used to regale us during that period of frightfulness (*Falsehood in Wartime*. By Arthur Ponsonby, M. P. London ; Allen and Unwin, Ltd., Museum St. 2s. 6d.) Here are the Belgian babies without hands, the German corpse factory, the Lusitania medal, the Louvain Altar-piece, all the stories which sustained the angry passions through those five terrible years. Of course, the campaign of falsehood was not conducted by the British Government alone, All the Governments were equally busy in running their lie factories. In Germany the favourite atrocity story seems to have been the gouging out of the eyes of wounded soldiers. It was denied again and again but was always revived, "a whole bucketful of soldiers' eyes" being one report. One curious point about the atrocities is that when it was proved that they did not happen at the place first stated they always jumped somewhere else. Also the same stories, discredited in one country were repeated in another. The United States proved a great field for such propaganda, which was encouraged by the British Secret Service. The most gross and palpable falsehoods were accepted with astonishing credulity, and Pershing himself had to deny them when they became too outrageous. In such cases the denials were not believed, however, and probably to-day there are people who still cling to these fables which insulted our intelligence during the war years. Mr. Ponsonby has dug them all up, stories, denials and all, and preserved them in a handy form for future reference. But when the next war comes we shall not refer to them but go on believing all we hear just the same.

—

Christian Missions on Economic World Problem

In the two weeks from March 28, April 8, The International Missionary Council that assembled at Jerusalem "faced frankly the question of the place of missionary enterprise in the post war world" and decided to form a Bureau of Social and Economic Research Information. In *Current History* (August), Mr. Samuel Guy Inman indicates its 'new world policy,' which shows clearly its recognition of the part played by economic problems :

The report of the Commission on Economic Conditions pointed out some of the more outstanding economic ventures undertaken by so-called "advanced countries," which send economic agents to so-called "backward peoples," who are asked to submit to those countries' economic dominance, on the one hand, while on the other hand, they are asked to receive the spiritual ministry of the missionaries. The report said in part.

Experience shows that among the most prolific causes of friction among nations has been the rivalry of competing imperialisms to secure preferential access to sources of raw materials, markets and opportunities of investment in the still undeveloped regions of the world. It is of vital importance to the future of civilization that this rivalry, ruinous alike to the nations engaged in it and to the indigenous populations, should be brought under control. Such control can be established only by the action of an international authority, which can do impartial justice to the claims of all nations, The International Missionary Council looks forward. therefore, to such an extension of the activities of the League of Nations and of the International Labor Organization and other similar movements as may result in the creation of an international code defining the mutual relations between the various Powers interested in colonial expansion, and the indigenous population affected by it. It regards the economic functions of the League in relation to such matters as loans, concessions, labor and tariff policy and communication as among the most important branches of its work, and desires to see them extended as widely and as rapidly as possible.

—

Democracy in China : Is it a Failure ?

Mr. Taw Sein Ko, C. I. E., I. S. O., Late Advisor on Chinese Affairs and Assistant Secretary to the Government of Burma, takes a survey of the situation and problems of China in *The Asiatic Review* and concludes.

Upon the evidence adduced and commented upon above, I pass my final judgment that "Democracy in China cannot yet be pronounced a failure, but that, under happier auspices, it may thrive and prosper and be conducive to the happiness and contentment of the Chinese people, so that China may take her proper and rightful place in the Comity of Nations at no distant date," In my judgment, I use advisedly the expression "under happier auspices," because China, under her present circumstances, cannot move hand or foot without the assistance and guidance of the "Big Five Powers"—namely, the United States, Great Britain, France, Italy and Japan—who, by signing the Treaty of Versailles in 1918, secured the peace and prosperity of Europe, and indirectly of the world in general. If that peace is required to be confirmed, solidified, and perpetuated, it behoves the same "Big Five" to come to the rescue of

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China. Above all, the United States, which has an overflowing Exchequer, and which is noted for her Generosity, Philanthropy, and Altruism in propagating Culture and Medical Science for alleviating human suffering, should take a prominent part in this humanitarian campaign in China.

Mr. Paul Blanshard in speculating on 'The Future of China' in *The World Tomorrow* (July) finds that the remedy for the Yellow Peril lies with the West itself. Says he:—

When China has completed the present process of unification and militarization there is only one thing which can prevent her from joining an Asiatic bloc against the West, that is a rebirth of social-democratic anti-imperialism in the United States and Europe. At present we in the West are not fit to associate on terms of confidence and goodwill with an honest Chinese government. We can win the parmanent friendship of the new China only if we force our State Department to break off the present military and diplomatic alliance with Japan and Great Britain in China. In the long run that means the repudiation of the ancient policy of protecting private dollars abroad with American human beings in uniform. That policy has already ceased to pay in China. A militarized and unified China will make it doubly unprofitable.

—

Persia—Free At Last

So thinks the *Literary Digest* (July 21) in reproducing under the above heading the various comments of the western writers on Persia's abolition of the old unequal advantages gained over her by foreigners.—The significance of the step for Asia is apparent.

Two Severe Limitations, so we are told, have beset Persia's sovereignty until within the past few days. Tho "for years nominally independent, she "had to allow foreigners within her borders to be tried by their own consular courts," and she was not mistress of her own customs tariff." Both limitations are now at an end, and an English writer, H. Wilson Harris, feels that this may be "a matter of much consequence," for "Persia "is far from being a negligible country," tho "all our tendency is to underrate her importance, except, of course in the matter of oil" and in that of her veto, now withdrawn, on British air service across her territory, which lies on the route between Egypt and India.

In the London *Westminster Gazette*, Mr. Harris defends his belief in Persia's importance by explaining, "To begin with, Persia is one of the only five independent States in Asia, a continent which apart from Japan and China, Persia, Afghanistan and Siam, consists entirely of dependencies. Consequently, Persia can claim with some justice to be regarded as one of the few mouthpieces of Asia at Geneva and elsewhere."

India has also a voice at the Geneva Hall—but she only echoes 'her master's voice,' and it is often keyed to a note quite antagonistic to that which the interest of Asia (or even of India) demands.

A LABOUR VIEW OF SWARAJ IN INDIA

By ASHOKE CHATTERJEE

SOME days ago we read the following news in the daily press.

London, Aug. 19.

Reviewing Mr. Lajpat Rai's reply to "Mother India," Mr. Tom Johnston, Labour M. P. for Dundee, who recently toured India, ridicules the idea that Swaraj is the sole or sovereign cure for ignorance and poverty.

"America" he declared, "has Swaraj but the lynching of negroes continues; Britain has Swaraj but masses of the people still live in ignorance and poverty. Let not Mr. Lajpat Rai delude himself that when the Indian army is officered by the sons of zeminders and babus and a Raja or a Pundit sleeps in the Viceroy's bed ignorance and poverty will flap their wings and flee from Hindustan. That is a delusion of political infants. The remedy for Indian poverty is not Swaraj but Socialism along with the abolition of usury, private landlordism and capitalism—Englishman."

It is very strange how during recent years leaders of British Labour have developed a strong antagonism to the Indian Independence Movement. One reason for this is that many Labour leaders have not the moral courage necessary for renouncing Labour's Share of the Imperial Loot, which is naturally and largely involved in any successful culmination to the Swaraj agitation. Another reason is that the views of the Indian Nationalists do not in all details agree with the views held by some Labour Extremists *i.e*, those who advocate Communism, destruction of the Middle class or Nationalisation of all capital.

Now, if we could remove these two discordant features from the field of Indian Nationalist-British Labour *entente*, we might arrive at some sort of a clear understanding with British Labour. Unfortunately, we are not in a position to dislodge any imperialistic greed that might be lurking in the secret places of the heart of British Labour. As to Labour extremism, we regret we do not see eye to eye with its advocates. In the language of Mr. Tom Johnston of Dundee, we may say that we do not think "Socialism is the sole or sovereign cure for ignorance and poverty.

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Take equal distribution of wealth, for example. By adopting this method of distribution of wealth one can assure to each member of the community an income equal to the average per capita income of the community. But this method of distributing wealth does not by some magic increase the total national wealth and where poverty is due to the smallness of the annual national income, communism is hardly a cure for poverty. In India, if we had communism each member of the Indian nation will have an income varying according to the estimate of different authorities as follows. *

Authority	Date of estimate	Amount of annual income Rs. as. p.
Dadabhai Naoroji	1870	20 0 0
Baring-Barbour	1882	27 0 0
Digby	1898-99	18 9 0
Digby	1900	17 4 0
Lord Curzon	1901	30 0 0
Findlay Shirras	1911	50 0 0
B. N. Sarma, (quoted in Council of State)	1911	86 0 0
K. T. Shah	1921-22	46 0 0

So that the knowledge that one's extreme poverty is shared equally by all Indians, even if a palliative of suffering, will not remove the poverty itself. Also while it will not materially lessen the suffering of most Indians who are now used to a very low standard of living, it will drag millions into dire misery due to a lowering of their standard of living. On the whole, it will create more solid misery than it will remove. Moreover, communism at this stage of our economic progress will intensively affect the accumulation of fresh capital on which the economic future of India depends to a very large extent.

If one could look at communism through the halo that it has been provided with by British and other economic-fetishists, one would perhaps have it at any cost; but looking at it, as we do, as merely a way of distributing wealth to individuals, we might be excused if we challenged its suitability and efficacy. One can consume wealth only as an individual. There can be no such thing as communal consumption of wealth in the real sense of the term. The coat that I put on covers *my back* and not a section of that (non-existent) Greater Back *The Back of the Community*. I may have come by the coat in one way or another, through some capitalistic institution or through communism; but the vital fact remains to me, that the coat covers *my back* and does so well.

Similarly if we look at Socialism, State Capitalism, or any other economic juju in the cold light of facts dissociated from all religiose sentimentality, we easily realise that they are also economic methods and *not virtues* having any absolute claim on our life and loyalty. Social capital may be managed, worked, added to and guarded either by individual sanction or by social sanction. Neither the one way nor the other is immune to abuse. The officers of a State Capitalistic institution could be just as wasteful, shortsighted or stupid as any Chetti, Marwari or Jew. It is not true that under social management capital will necessarily be always properly used; accumulated and conserved, no more than it is true that company management of railways or factories is always inferior and less efficient compared to State management. So that socialism in itself is no guarantee of economic progress and prosperity, as Mr. Tom Johnston would like us to believe. There is little difference between the mental attitude of Mr. Tom Johnston of Dundee and that of the clergyman from the same locality who thought that it was the Holy Bible which alone could give India all that was good and necessary for her.

Englishmen (including Scots and other Britishers) are by nature conventional and even Pure Reason runs the risk of being conventionalised in the hand of an Englishman, specially of the middle class. We have tried to go a little deep into Mr. Tom Johnston in connection with communism and socialism. Let us now do the same with Swaraj, Zemindars, Babus, Rajas and Pundits.

One has no reason to think that Mr. Tom Johnston has not received the average school education given to every British Boy under the present capitalistic government of great Britain. For does he not show all the prejudices that the average British boy imbibes from his school books? Also his stunted logic? There is Swaraj in America, still there is lynching; therefore, the lynching must be either due to the Swaraj or be totally unrelated to it either positively or negatively! God must be on the side of British Labour or how could the Cause survive advocates with such giant intellects?

* Shah and Khambata; *Wealth and Taxable Capacity of India*, p. 68.

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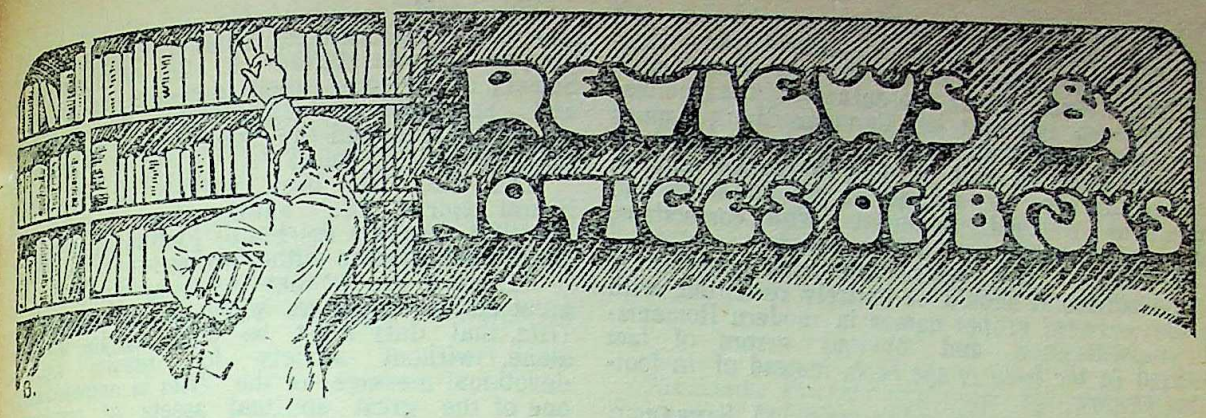
Does not Mr. Johnston know that lynching is slowly disappearing from America under their Swaraj, even as slavery did some decades ago? Doesn't he also know that, though lynching persisted in America inspite of Swaraj, a thousand other good things came as a result of it. For example, the coming of Swaraj in America saved that country from British exploitation, bullying and standstill-do-as-your-fathers-have-done-ism. As a result America to-day leads the world, including Great Britain, and she can boast of great achievements in practically every field of life. Mr. Tom Johnston also points out that England has Swaraj as well as poverty and ignorance. As everybody knows that under English Swaraj poverty and ignorance are fast disappearing from England, need one quote figures to show how with the growth of democracy all sorts of evils have progressively disappeared from that country? In this connection also Mr. Johnston has proved a failure as a clear thinking realist. For, just as in his mind he has made gods out of Socialism, State Capitalism etc. he thinks that we Indian nationalists have similarly made a god out of Swaraj. For his information we may say that we have done nothing of the kind. We know that Swaraj, like Communism, Socialism and Labour leadership, may not function properly and beneficially of itself and that abuse of Swaraj may yield just as much evil as abuse of State Capitalism. A Soviet Parliament could be as stupid and tyrannical as, let us say, the British Parliament. So that, if Mr. Johnston has only attempted to tell us that if we abused Swaraj we would suffer he has wasted his breath. But if he means to suggest that Swaraj properly used will yield no benefit to us, unless we instituted Communism along with it, we regret, we cannot agree with him. Swaraj is the first step, (the main spring, we might say) to every kind of progress in India. (if we wanted Communism that also involves our having Swaraj first; for our present masters are a bit too fervent in their anti-communism.) A study of progressive legislation in India and how it has been hampered in the name of non-interference will easily prove the urgency of having Swaraj. A study of India's budgets and the proportions of non-exhaustive and exhaustive expenditure will confirm one's faith in Swaraj as a "Sovereign cure" for India's backwardness.

Mr. Johnston, being a modern socialist, does not certainly believe in Special Creation, determinism and the unscientific anthropological superstitions that infest the mind of the Nordic Superiority mongers. Why does he then try to belittle the possibilities of running the Indian Army by "the sons of Zemindars and Babus"? Why does he think that a Raja or a Pandit will be less efficient (or not more efficient) than an English Peer, Scotch banker or a Jewish stock-broker? There are no biological or anthropological reasons which would justify any belief in the innate inferiority of the Zemindar, Babu, Raja or Pundit as soldier or adminstrator. A race which has produced some of the greatest soldiers and adminstrators in history cannot degenerate so far during a hundred and fifty years of British domination as to be unable ever to make history repeat itself. A conquered nation can surely rise when the impulse to rise comes from within. England herself did not go down for ever after the conquests she had undergone. Italy, Poland, Czecho-slovakia, Spain, Greece, etc., are other examples. As a matter of fact, whatever Mr. Johnston's view point may be, the British people themselves do not think the Indians such incapable soldiers and administrators after all. For, did they not generously allow many sons of Zamindars and Babus to fight for them during the war? Had the war lasted longer probably more Zamindars and Babus would have got a chance to shed their blood for the British. As to administration, we believe many Rajas and Pundits acquit themselves fairly well as rulers everyday. Would we consider the Nizam, the Gaekwar, the Maharaja of Mysore and many other Rajas as worse than some viceroys? And would we consider Pandit Madan Mohun Malviya or Pandit Motilal Nehru or Pandit Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar (now dead) as worse possibilities as viceroys compared to Mr. Tom Johnston who might be sent to rule at Simla by the next Labour Government?

Our view is that just as all Englishmen are not good soldiers and administrators, similarly all Indians be they Zemindars, Babus, Rajas or Pandits, are not bad soldiers and administrators. With proper selection we could get the best men to fight our battles and manage our state affairs. Such selection is no possible under a system in which servility is counted as the greatest qualification. It is possible only under Swaraj.

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[Books in the following languages will be noticed: Assamese, Bengali, English, French, German Gujarati, Hindi, Italian, Kanarese, Malayalam, Marathi, Nepali, Oriya, Portuguese, Punjabi, Sindhi Spanish, Tamil, Telugu and Urdu. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books and their annotations, pamphlets and leaflets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., will not be noticed. The receipt of books received for review will not be acknowledged, nor any queries relating thereto answered. The review of any book is not guaranteed. Books should be sent to our office, addressed to the Assamese Reviewer, the Hindi Reviewer, the Bengali Reviewer, etc., according to the language of the books. No criticism of book-reviews and notices will be published.—Editor, M. R.]

ENGLISH

RICHELIEU: *By Karl Federn, English Translation by B. Miall (G. Allen and Unwin), with 27 Illustrations. 12s. 6d. net.*

America has conquered England—we mean, not in finance alone. The American method of brass band advertising has been adopted by Messrs. George Allen and Unwin, an indisputably British firm. They have most thoughtfully prodded their dull-headed reviewer by telling him (and incidentally the reader too), in the jacket of the book, that this work "is as interesting as a novel, always readable and always lucid and intelligible." A life of the man who worked the central power-station of Europe for eighteen years and remoulded the institutions of France—and of its imitators in other monarchies of the *ancien regime*, too—nearest to his heart's desire, if compressed as here into 230 clearly printed pages, must be an addition to the railway library if it is to be read at all. And we admit that the publisher's claim as to its clearness and ease of style is justified.

Karl Federn belongs to the new school of writers of Historical biography without tears. He avoids the acidulated wit of Lytton Strachey and the erratic originality of Ludwig. The book is no doubt thin and the serious reader will learn more about Richelieu and his work from the *Cambridge Modern History*, Vol. IV, while the result of the special researches conducted in France during the last half century cannot be expected in a small popular volume like this. But it is quite good so far as it goes.

We draw the reader's special attention to Chapter II (the administration). A review of Richelieu's difficulties and achievements gives student of Indian history much food for thought. He asks himself how did a minister without family connections or a strong party behind him but dependent upon the caprice of a half-witted king, and opposed by an imperious and wicked queen-mother, with jealous and turbulent nobles filling the Court and a silent powerless population at the base of Society,—succeed in healing the internal troubles of France, crush both Huguenots and feudal barons, and make French diplomacy and arms triumph over those of Spain which had so long dazzled the eyes of Europe? The answer is not only Richelieu's clear-sighted genius for perceiving what was possible with his available forces and the best method of utilising these forces, but also the public spirit of the vast middle class of France and of several of the nobles, which made them put their country's interests above everything else and do their duty, each in his own sphere, regardless of political rewards actual or prospective. If Richelieu's system, failed it was because his successors had not prescience enough to inaugurate an advance even after the foundation laid by him had consolidated. There is a time in the history of every nation when stagnation is no less a danger than any "leap in the dark" can be.

EMPIRE OF THE GREAT MOGOL—*Translation from the Latin of De Laet: By Prof. J. S. Hoyland, with Introduction and Notes by Prof. S. N. Banerjee (Taraporevala) Rs. 5-8.*

These two professors have been doing very useful service to students of Indian history by their English renderings of Latin writers on the Mughal empire like Father Monserate and De Laet. The latter was a Dutchman who stayed at home as a Director of the Dutch E I. Co. and compiled a Latin descriptive account of the Mughal empire in 1631. The first part is really a gazetteer of Jahangir's India. It is "a movement of painstaking industry and a storehouse of varied information." De Laet "assiduously pieces together facts dug out of a host of writings and closely reproduces them." The second part is a chronicle of the reigns of Akbar and Jahangir originally written in Dutch (by Pelsaert most probably) and translated into Latin by De Laet.

The original sources of the information contained in the two parts were Persian manuscripts but

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all their proper names and in some cases the facts also, have undergone a strange transformation in being done into Dutch and from Dutch into Latin, especially as the author of the published book was ignorant of Persian. Many names have been corrupted beyond recognition and it is a heart-breaking task to read the book—valuable as it otherwise is—inspite of all the notes and corrections of Prof. Banerjee. The corrections, however, are anything but exhaustive.

We suggest that when the book goes into a second edition it should be entirely rewritten, with all the *corrected* proper names in modern Romanized transliteration and obvious errors of fact rectified *in the body of the book*, instead of in footnotes as now.

J. SARKAR.

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GLIMPSES: *By T. L. Vaswani. Theosophical Publishing House, Madras, 1928.*

This booklet contains some inspiring thoughts in Professor Vaswani's emotional style. One example will suffice.

"India was great in the day she was strong in the life of the Spirit.

"To-day India lies in the dust, for Her children have changed the pearls of the Rishis for the glittering tinsel of a "civilization" whose gods are greed and *bhoga*.

"Let this be my word to the Nation's youth: *Be simple and strong as the Flame*···strengthen it (the inner spirit) with *Brahmacharya*, with service of the poor and lowly, with the *Tapasya* of truth and love. Out of strength will grow Greatness, and out of Greatness, Freedom."

THE NEW CIVILISATION: *Four lectures delivered at the Queen's Hall, London, in June 1927. By Annie Besant, D. L. Theosophical Publishing House, Madras. 1928.*

This neatly got-up little book contains four lectures delivered in a pleasant gossipy style in which the learned authoress talks of the more spacious days of universal brotherhood and the evolution of a higher humanity of which she sees signs in the new sub-race which is growing up in the "Happy Valley" of California. Incidentally, she manages to put in a word here and there for India, and she gives a definition of the science of yoga which will prove interesting. It is "the union of the human spirit with the divine Life, self-consciously attained. This is won by using the laws of the mind as we know them, just as a gardener desiring to produce fine flowers uses the laws of natural growth in the vegetable kingdom, eliminating those that are against his aim···we find it is possible to develop this intuition ahead of our race, and so to attain the knowledge of the eternal verities before that knowledge is reached by the average evolution, which only works slowly by the many workings and antagonisms in Nature; whereas evolution can work more rapidly when the antagonisms are eliminated and the powers we desire to develop are given their full scope."

POL.

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THE LIGHT OF CHRIST: *By John S. Hoyland, M. A: Published by the Swarthmore Press Ltd, London Pp, 64. Price 2s. 6d. (cloth,) 1s. 6d (paper).*

This booklet contains the Swarthmore Lectures for 1923. "The Lectureship has a two-fold purpose—first, to interpret farther to the members of the Society of Friends their message and mission; and secondly, to bring before the public the spirit, the aims and the fundamental principles of the Friends" (Preface.)

The book has been written in a loving and liberal spirit. The author has found many beautiful thoughts in Plato, Plotinus and the Gita. About the Gita the author writes:—

"There is much that we may learn from the great ethical message which rings through the *Gita*, that duty must be done for its own sake alone, without anxiety for results and the devotional message of the *Gita* is unquestionably one of the great spiritual assets of mankind, a message which is for all ages and for all races. Especially, as the Christian reads it, must he be filled with shame at the thought that his own love for Christ is so poor and thin when compared with the trust and love which this Hindu saint, so many centuries ago, felt for God as he had come to know Him" (p. 31).

Our author's Christianity is non-aggressive and spiritual. The book is worth reading.

Mahes Ch. Ghosh

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THE CODE OF CRIMINAL PROCEDURE: *By Mr, A. C. Ghose. M. A. B. L, Advocate, High Court. Calcutta. Published by Messrs. N. M. Raychowdhury & Co, 11, College Square, Calcutta. Price Rs. 3.*

We have now before us a new edition of A. C. Ghose's Criminal Procedure Code. The book has been brought literally up-to-date (Feb. 1928) by incorporating in it all the recent statutory amendments which the somewhat prolific legislation of our times has effected in the Code. We congratulate the author for having taken particulur care in bringing into prominence the characteristic features of individual sections and in noting the points of various decisions under each of them. Most redeeming feature of the book is that the sections have not been burdened with unnecessary load of cases which tendency is found in most of the modern books. The fact that the book has passed through two editions and a third edition has been called for is, we think, sufficient proof of its popularity and usefulness. We commend this useful publication to the legal public.

G. M. S.

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BENGALI

SHEEBAN-O-CUTTING SIKSHA: *By Srimati Tusharmala Devi. Published by Acharya and Sons, Model Library Dacca and Mymensingh. Price Re 1-8. 1928.*

Our authoress's treatment of the subject with the help of illustrations has been mervellous. In this book she has not only dealt with cutting of different kinds of garments but she has given instructions in a simple style, on darning, and patching, herring bonning, button-holing, embroidery etc. The printing and get-up of the book leave nothing to be desired and we hope that it will command a wide circulation.

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BIPLABER AHUTI: *By Sj. Benoy Krishna Sen. Tarun Sahitya Mandir. 19, Sree Gopal Mallik Lane. Calcutta Re 1*

A translation of Tolsto'ys "What for" and "The Divine and the Human." These stories depict nicely the picture how the oppressive Russian Government tortured the revolutionists. Printing and get-up excellent.

BIDHAVA BIBAHA: *Translated by Sj. Benoy K. Sen Tarun Sahitya Mandir. 19, Sree Gopal Mallik Lane, 4th Edition. Price -2-6 pies,*

Translation of Mahatma Gandhi's writings on widow remarriage.

P. C. S.

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MARATHI

PRATAPGADCHEN YUDDHA: *By Capt. G. V. Modak, Gwalior Army. (1927.) Rs. 3—8, with a volume of plans.*

This work breaks new ground altogether so far as Indian history is concerned, and therefore requires careful consideration if it is to be the progenitor of a new class of books. It is true that the famous campaigns of Anglo-Indian history have been studied by competent British officers from Malleson down to the writers in the *United Service Journal* of India. But this is the first time that an Indian battle of pre-European days has been described and critically commented upon by a writer trained in European military schools and experienced in the command of a modern regiment.

No doubt the principles of war have remained the same from the days of Epaminondas—or rather Rameses II, to those of Marshal Foch; but the difference arises in their application to the circumstances of each age and country. The military pedant sticks to his text-book rules blindly, but the successful general varies his action according to the weapons, the *terrain*, and more than anything else the racial character of his troops as opposed to that of the enemy. Given the same weapons, the same European civilisation, the same period of history, an immense difference is caused by the dissimilarity of national temperament between the two sides. As general Vande writes in his *Jena Campaign*: "Whereas the well-drilled troops of Frederick the Great carried position after position with not more than 15,000 men to the mile, British troops often get through with even less than 10,000. ... Napoleon could only succeed in his attacks with men crowded together at the rate of 100,000 to the mile, and then only as a consequence of his superior artillery preparation." (p. 9)

So, also, the difference in the two modes of advance, the British one of thin *lines* and the French of deep *columns*, caused all the difference in the result of the Peninsular War as Oman has pointed out, and even contributed to Sir Eyre Coote's victory over Lally according to his biographer Wylie.

There is not a scrap of contemporary evidence to prove that any of the minute details and successive steps described in this book by Capt. Modak did *actually* happen. The whole is pure imagination, based on the probabilities of the case. And the probablities would have won the complexion of truth if Shivaji had been a military student fed on the text-books of Jomini, Clausewitz and Hamley and experienced in the movements of *modern* European-trained armies. Therefore, as a history or record of what *actually* happened in 1659, this book is absolutely useless.

We also deprecate the fashion of making such books—and indeed many other clssses of works—intolerably long by the addition of irrelevant matters and emotional outpourings.

J. Sarkar.

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AITIHASIK PRASTAWANA: *By the Late V. K. Rajawade. Publisher—The Chitrasala Press, Poona. Pages 500. Price Rs. Three.*

The name of the late V. K. Rajawade is a household word in Maharashtra as an untiring and zealous research-worker, who has left behind a vast treasure in the form of very valuable writings on various subjects, such as Maratha history, Marathi literature, sociology. It would be a great loss to Maharastra if they were allowed to go into oblivion. The Chitrasala Press has therefore earned hearty thanks of Maharastra by undertaking their publication in three or four volumes of which the present is the first.

Rajawade resembled Dr. Johnson not only in strong and penetrating intellect, wonderful capacity for work and robust independence of thought, but also in his eccentricities and several other traits of character, and these are visible in his writings. His so-called *Prastawanas* or introductions of which the book under review is a collection had no relation to the subject of the volumes to which they were originally attached (excepting the one on the battle of Paniput) and his assertions in some cases were wide of truth or at any rate were of a questionable or fantastic character. Yet his writings are scholarly and deserve preservation from the rapacities of Time, for who knows future researches may perhaps bear him out.

V. G. Apte

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HINDI

1. MOTHER INDIA AUR USKA JAWAB: *By Srimati Uma Nehru—Published by Kashinath Bajpai T, Rayag Street—Allahbad, pp. 186+485+90—Price Rs. 3-8.*

2. MOTHER INDIA KA JAWAB: *By Srimati Chandravati Lakhanpul M. A.—Published by Prof. Satyavrata Siddhantatanker Gurukul Kangri—pp 144. Price 0-12.*

No book on India has done more and deserved less to create a sensation than Miss Mayo's Mother India. From all quarters of India indignant protests have been still pouring in with such frequency that one is inclined to think that this agitation against Miss Mayo is doing more harm than good, a book that should have been promptly relegated to the dustbin is being unnecessarily advertised and our enemies are slyly suggesting that the lady is protesting too much.

As a full reply to Mother India can only come from a committee of publicists hailing from all parts

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of India the members of the Legislative Assembly if they are so inclined, may think the matter out.

Mrs. Nehru has done right in not attempting to deal with Miss Mayo by contradicting her lies. In that direction she has done hardly anything beyond giving in the appendix translations of the artilces contributed to the Indian Press by Mahatma Gandhi, Lala Lajpat Rai, Natarajan, Rabindra Nath Tagore and others. She has really approached, the question from another angle of vision. She goes to the root of the matter and rightly concludes that the reasons of the present unfortunate state of India are not social but political. In her long introduction she traces the relentless, systematic and cold-blooded manner in which England has been emasculating India and depriving her of all that she held most dear. It is an irony of fate that this very England is now talking of our incapability to manage our own affairs. Mrs. Nehru has not stopped at that. She has carried the war into the enemy's camp and exposed the hideous reality underneath the glamour of the European civilization. The basic idea of this civilisation is survival of the fittest. According to western interpretation it means cynical disregard for the feelings of the weak an intense aggrandisement of the self, a suppression of all the nobler emotions of the heart and a blind worship of Mammon. Europe is now riding roughshod over all moral rules and declaring in brazen tones that the whole world exists for the gratification of her insatiable sordid passions and all nations must sacrifice themselves for this noble purpose. Therein lies *their* salvation. Our country has so often been compared to Europe to its disadvantage that this warning is very welcome.

One thing which is remarkable about Mrs. Nehru's book is her restraint. One should have expected an Indian lady to give way to her feelings while writing about Miss Mayo's work. But she has not done so; she speaks with genuine feeling no doubt but she never has recourse to retaliatory arguments.

Srimati Chandravati's book is fundamentally different in tone and temper. She is an Aryya Samajist and so does not believe in taking things lying down. Like all writers of this class of reformers she too wields a forceful pen. Her language is vigorous and her blows very direct. She does not spare her countrymen either, in the course of her arguments, puts certain very inconvenient questions to the orthodox leaders of Hindu society. She gives the lie direct to Miss Mayo's assertion that there is no reforming zeal in India. In her appendix she draws a lurid picture of America in order to show that there is an ample field for Miss Mayo's activities in America where over 1200 young people between the ages of 15 and 24 take their lives in one year, where with the present state of statistics every marriage will end in divorce in eleven years: where 80 percent of all crimes are committed by children under eighteen, and where 42 percent of unmarried mothers are school girls under sixteen.

India, where even Miss Mayo could not find any trace of oppression against unmarried girls, and where 60 percent of the girls are not even married at the age of 16 has nothing to learn about sex-morality from white people in general (vide chapter 1 of the book for conditions prevailing in Europe and America) and from Miss Mayo in particular. We are thankful however that Srimati Chandravati with true Indian modesty has left Miss Mayo's past life severely alone.

— G.

GUJARATI

We have received two parcels of books from the Commissioner of Education and Vidyadhikari Baroda State, containing the following books:

(1) The Wiles of the Spider: *By Bhanusukharam N. Mehta*, containing a delightful and scientific description of spider's life and ways.

(2) Jivan Rasayana Vidya: *By Jagannath P. Pandit*, a treatise showing how to preserve health.

(3) Mars: *By S. R. Gharekham, B.A., LL.B.* comprising all up-to-date information about the planet Mars.

(4) The Primeval Home of the Aryans; *By the same author* discussing the various theories about the place we originally came from.

(5) Sun: *By Bilwantrai H. Vira, B. Sc.*, a translation, rather difficult for ordinary readers to follow.

(6) The Living Organisms of a Lake: *By Bhanusukharam N. Mehta*, also a translation giving interesting details of the insects and other minute organisms found in lake-waters.

(7) Sthanik Swarajya ki Sansthao: *By Rajji R. Pawar, B.A., LL.B.*, an original work on Local Self-Government.

(8) The Liver: *By Ghanashyam N. Mehta*, a small book on the construction and functions of the liver.

(9) England and India: *By the late Satyendra B. Divatia.* a translation of R. C. Dutt's well-known work of the same name.

(10) The Education of the Londoner: *By Narhari-sankar S. Shastri, B.A.*, a translation of "Londoner's Education", showing the vast extent of expenditure incurred in educating Londoners and the success of the methods employed therefore.

(11) Jivan Prabhat of Italy: *By Lalitaprasad Shriprasad Dave, B.A., LL.B., B.Sc.*, an independent work showing how Italy rose in the scale of nations.

(12) The History of the Baroda State: *By Chunilal Maganlal Deshai*, a complete work of the annals of the Baroda State. IV.

(13) Napoleon Bonaparte, Part IV. *By Gokuldas Mathuradas Shah, B.A., L.L.B.*, constituting the last volume in the series, finished after 15 years' labor.

(14) Siddhanta Darshan: *By Chhotalal Nursheram Bhatt*, a translation of a Sanskrit work. very important philosophical treatise.

The list shows how varied and useful the activities of H. H. the Gaekwar's Educational Department are.

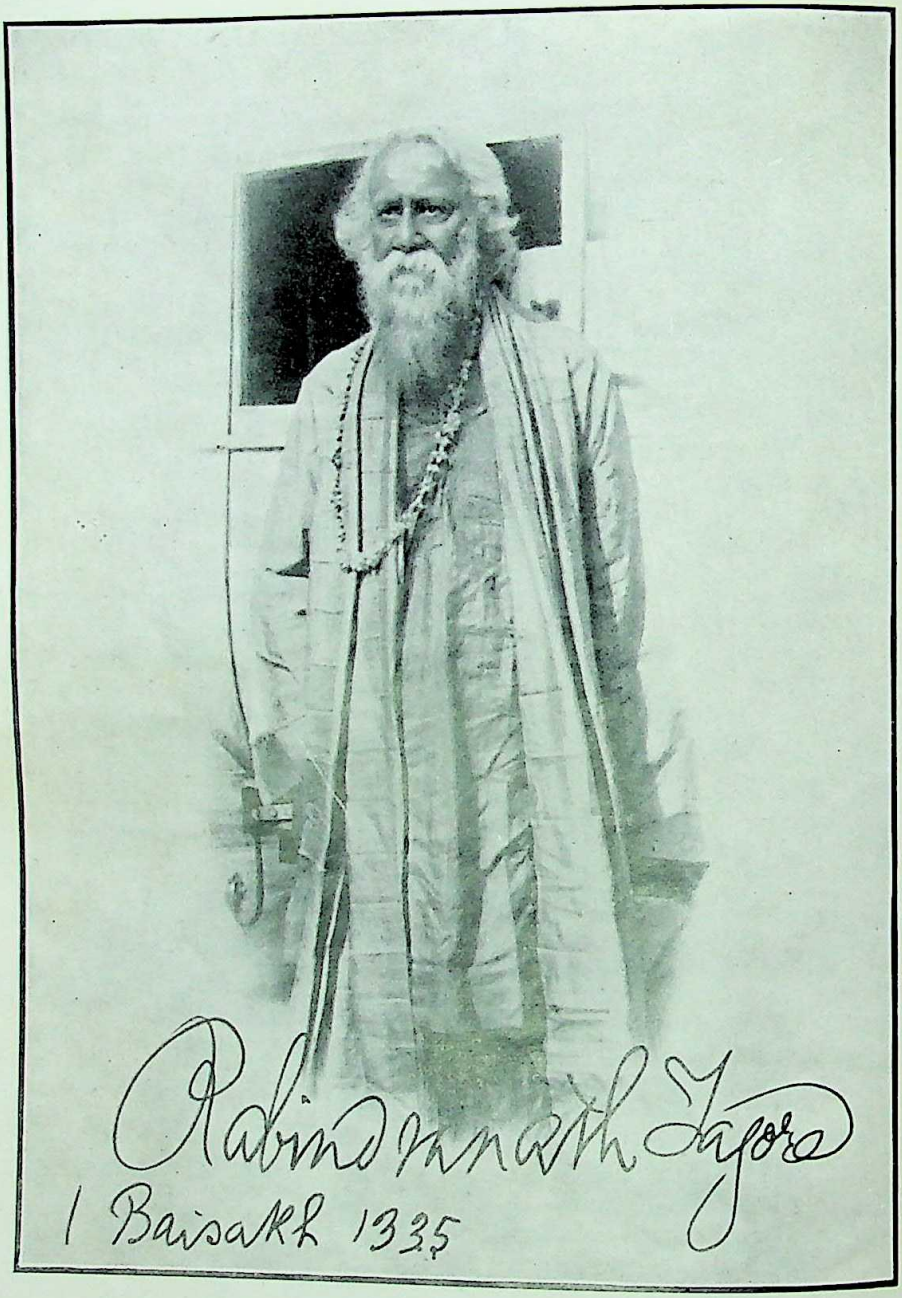
Dardi: *By Gopalsankar V. Bhachech. Printed at the Jnan Mandir Press, Ahmedabad. Cloth bound pp. 136. Price Re. 1-4-0 (1927).*

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SJ. RABINDRANATH TAGORE

(Photo taken on April 14, 1928)

PRABASI PRESS, CALCUTTA.

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An autobiography of the author who rose from a mere clerkship to a Deputy Collectorship and later to the Divanship of Jamnagar, teaching a lesson of staunch faith in oneself, and determination to overcome difficulties. It contains poems on metaphysical subjects also.

SUBHA SANGRAHA, PART II: *Published by the Society for Encouragement of Cheap Literature, Ahmedabad and printed at its own press. Cloth bound, pp. 686. Price Rs. 2-8-0 (1927).*

A bulky volume containing 260 articles on various useful subjects; from the life of Prof. Jadunath Sarkar to Atma Jnan (self-knowledge). These articles are collected from various newspapers and periodicals and show the very wide range of reading of the selector.

DARSHAN: A tiny little booklet of ten pages, *by Chandravadan C. Mehta, B.A.*, containing feeling verses on bereavement.

K. M. J.

RAM MOHUN ROY

BY RABINDRANATH TAGORE

WHEN the Great Ones of the world come, they bring conflict with them; or their coming had no significance. The multitude which drifts down with the stream places its trust in the ebbing current of humanity. But, for him who would work the boat of life up the stream, there is unending toil. When Ram Mohun Roy came to this country he refused to go along with the moving mass of turbidity which was ever flowing out downstream and which fought him as an enemy every minute up to the very last. The height of the Himalayas is measured only from the different level of the plains all round; it is the hostility of the unenlightened that measures the magnitude of the Great.

In the history of a nation, Man marches onwards, ever amending, ever conquering himself with his own innate, conscious principle, only so long as the vital nature is all-powerful. This is, in fact, the very process of life—this never-ending fight. As we walk, our every step is a challenge to the constant pull of the earth; inertia besets us on all sides, and each of the organs of the body is ever engaged in fighting it. The heart goes on, night and day, in sleep as in waking; the enormous passivity of things stands up against that unremitting exertion; it is building up, every minute, barricades of fatigue, to be fought down by the heart as long as it has the strength.

The air flows all around us in its blind laws; but the Vital Nature forcibly drags this air along into its own system of channels. The germs of disease, and conditions favourable to their growth, are everywhere, both within and without us; the army of health is all the time engaged in an unceasing combat against them. The life-process is, in fact, this never ending struggle, this continual warfare between the inert and the living forces, between the battalion of ill-health and the battalion of health. If this relentless struggle weakens, if the forces of rigidity, as against the forces of movement, gain the upperhand in the corporal economy, then the human body begins growing more and more clogged with the accumulating filth of wastage. At last Death, in its mercy, comes down to remove this battle-weary defeat from the world of the living.

The social body, too, is a living organism; and all its evils find their opportunity when its own energy grows sluggish. Its life-force, too, trained in fighting, has ever to keep up hostilities against dull intellect, feeble will, against narrow knowledge and poverty in sympathy and loving-kindness. The most powerful of its enemies is apathy of the mind. When the mind weakly surrenders its rightful dominion and wishes to remain immobile, the garbage of slovenliness accumulates and imprisons it. It is through this besetting that Death gradually advances in the field of life. The Great Person who appears at this period, brings along with him a powerful antagonism against the drag of this dead grossness. The feeble spirit, enchained by indiscriminate customs, cry out in anger and pain

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against the pressure of his onward urge. The history of India had been standing stagnant for a long time, giving up in weariness of spirit all independent seeking of truth, all adventures of life, and initiation of intelligent operations for its internal and external cleansing; venerating its own deterioration, it had ceased from attempting any readjustment with the changing ages. One by one, almost all the lights of its life had become dimmed through poverty of food, poverty of health and poverty of knowledge. Its defeat had been extending from century to century. Man's defeat comes when his own will abdicates and some external will occupies the vacant throne, when his personal intelligence retires and he clings as a parasite to some foreign intelligence, be it borrowed from his own dead past or imposed upon him from the present of some stranger nation. That is man's defeat when the activities of the spirit are arrested and when he blindly goes on turning the wheels of the machine of habit, fashioned through the succession of the centuries—when he ignores reason and accepts authority, when he lowers the dignity of his innate informing principles and exalts external observances. For him, wearied with the load of decrepitude, there is no escape, through any narrow short-cuts devised by any over-subtle artifice.

Ram Mohun Roy appeared in India at this very period, when the country, in its blindness extending over many centuries, had come to regard vegetation as holiness. Such an overtowering and sudden contrast to one's own country and age is very seldom found in history. and they in a shrill loud voice repudiated him. But it was by that impatient execration that his country proclaimed to all the ages his supreme greatness, and vehemently announced that he had brought the conflict of light against the darkness of the land. He did not follow the futile path of dull intellect by repeating well-worn feeble formulas; he refused the humiliation of being the far-famed leader of the flattered multitude using its stupidity as the foundation for his power; he was never frightened by the unintelligent antagonism of the threatening mob with its upraised stick; through temptation of the ignorant reverence of the crowd, even the slightest deviation from the path of truth was for him an impossibility. He had struck at the demon of unreason, enshrined through the ages in the altar, and that demon did not forgive him.

He knew that insult to the living spirit brings about a bankruptcy of initiative. For the animal, there is no Swaraj, for it is merely driven by its blind instincts. Man's Swaraj only extends as far as his own intelligent self, the master within him, occupies his social consciousness and inspires his creative activities. The history of man's progress is the history of this extension of Swaraj through the dominance of his self-thinking, self-confidence and self-respect.

The victory of the *atman*, of the higher self of man, has never been proclaimed from the heights of manhood anywhere except in India, with such an unhesitant voice. It was this message that Ram Mohun Roy brought anew, when in the India of his days it had become narrow and perverted, disclaimed in practice. For ages the major part of India was sunk in self-abasement through an unashamed acknowledgement of inferior rights for its multitude in religion and in social affairs, rendering the people unfit for the difficult responsibility of its self-expression. Not only did the mind of India of his times passively discard the claims of this highest right of humanity, but it actively denounced and wounded it.

The strange thing is that Ram Mohun was eager to invoke the message of the spirit not merely within the narrow boundaries of his own self-forgetful land; he assayed, by the test of the spiritual ideal, every great religious community which had in any manner obscured the true form of its own inner self in mere external forms and in irrational rituals.

Only a very few people in the whole world could, in that age, realize through the mind and spirit and express in their lives the Unity of Man as Ram Mohun had done. He realised that it was only when man regarded the external boundaries of his religion as more valuable than its infinite inner significance that man was jealously kept apart from man.

The worldliness of sectarian piety called up pride, hatred and strife, and muddied the whole world with blood, to a degree impossible for any secular cause. In that age of religious exclusiveness he had gained in his heart and expressed in his life the Universal background of Religious Truth.

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Though at that period, men had been able to find a place in the knowledge of every civilized man, they had not found the way to his heart. Even to this day, the realization of human unity is hampared, in this world, by so many prejudices born of blind instinct or bred by deliberate training. It is not possible to assert even to-day that a New Age has arrived—an age of solidarity on every side. In our age that wide highway must be opened which would bring together all the human resources in knowledge and in co-operation. A beginning has already been made in the domain of science where caste-distinctions in different departments of knowledge are being removed. Co-ordinated action, too, is gradually gaining in world-commerce—even though trafficking in trickery is still rife round the corners of that winding highway. It is also impossible to deny that a beginning has been made even in the realm of world-politics, though the way is beset with myriads of thorny obstructions. Ram Mohun Roy is the first and foremost of those brave spirits who have stood up, in the face of hostility and misunderstanding, and who in all their varied activities have eloquently welcomed the Spirit of this New Age. He was the herald of India, the very first to bear her offerings to the outside world, and accept for himself and his country the best that the world could offer. He had envisaged in its entirety the truth of man and therefore his service to his country became complexly many-sided, which never narrowed its path of welfare by following the line of least resistance and of immediate expediency.

Ram Mohun had to hew out the way in strenuous struggle, across the unexplored region of Bengali prose, when he was engaged in developing the potentialities of his own language for the self-expression of the people of Bengal. When eager to illuminate the Bengali mind with the philosophy of the spirit, he did not shrink from the difficult endeavour of expounding Vedanta in the yet-unformed Bengali prose to a reading public, some of whose learned men had ventured to scoff at the Upanishads as spurious and considered the Mahanirvana Tantra to be a scripture fabricated by Ram Mohun Roy himself.

Even in the West woman was really powerless and had her rights restricted on all sides, when Ram Mohun Roy stood up, alone, to support the rights of women in his own society.

There was not even a glimmering of political consciousness in the country when he had demanded respect for his countrymen in the world of politics.

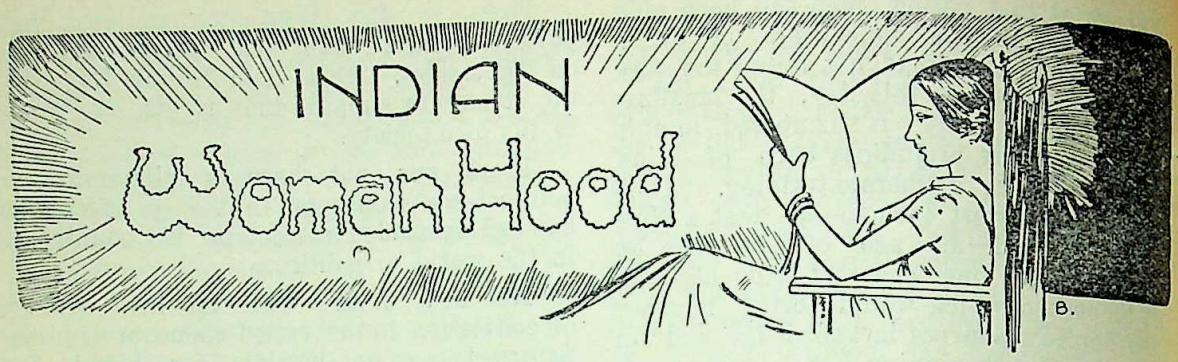
He had faith with all his strength of conviction in the varied elements of human nature. It was not possible for him to have a dwarf's vision of man in any way; for, in him manhood had an extraordinary fullness of manifestation.

More than one hundred years have now gone by; but the true recognition of his greatness still remains incomplete: even to-day it is not an impossibility for his countrymen to do him irreverence; that generous vision to which alone would his magnitude be clearly visible is still enshrouded in mist. But the mist has nothing for which it need be proud, even if it envelope the luminary and rob the morning of its majesty. The sun is the more indelible and the more magnificent. Greatness goes on doing its own work even in the midst of rude obstructions and is not obscured even when light is withdrawn from it.

The force that Ram Mohun had set into motion is still operative to-day; and a day will yet come when the country will attain a translucence of mind freed from dense superstitions and will climb up to an altitude of unobstructed perspective which are essential for realizing Ram Mohun's place in our history and his strong unthwarted magnanimity. Those of us, who have received from him the inspiration to accept man in the completeness of his truth even against profuse contradictions, may feel deeply hurt at each insult levelled at him, but when he was alive the hundreds of insults that were his share could not in any way weaken his beneficent power, and it is this unperturbed power which even after his death will continue, in the face of all contempt and contumely, to sow seeds of fulfilment in the very heart of ingratitude itself.

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The Bardoli Satyagraha struggle is over and Bombay government have at last conceded most of the demands put forward by the tenants. In this connection mention must be made of the signal services rendered by Mrs. Sharadabai Sumant Mehta, Miss Mithuben Petit, Shrimati B. Desai and other ladies of aristocratic families who sacrificed their ease and comforts and stood by their suffering sisters and brothers in their hour of trial. Their action proved a tower of strength to the workers, and no small credit is due to them for the successful termination of this peaceful struggle



Srimati Ratnakumari Devi

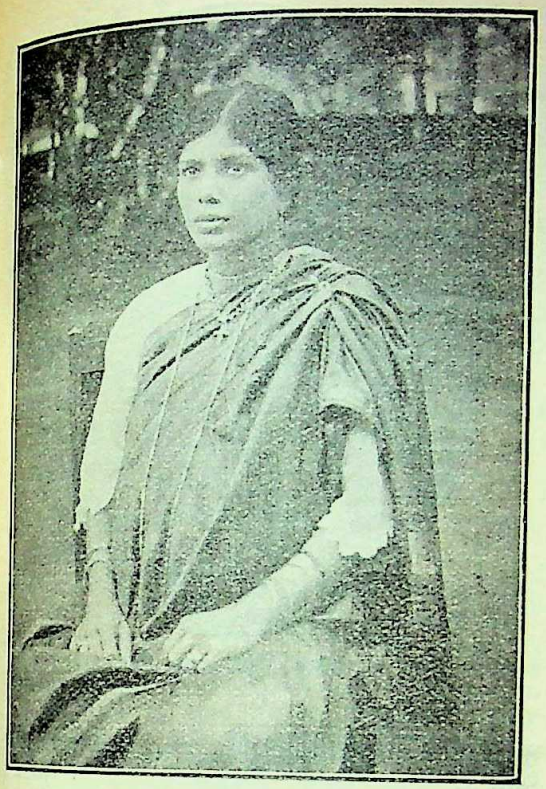


Mrs. Sharadabai Sumant Mehta

Miss Chandrabai Ponkshee, B. A. LL. B. has been enrolled as a pleader at Poona. She is the first Marathi lady to achieve this distinction. Miss Ponkshee is a niece of the late Gopal Krishna Gokhale.

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Mrs. Leonissa Fernandez



Mrs. Balkrishna Menon



Miss Seeta Devadoss



Miss Saradabai Naidu

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Miss Chandrabai Ponkshee



Miss Mithuben Petit

Miss Seeta Devadoss, b. a., Bar-at-law daughter of the Hon. Mr. Justice Devadoss has been enrolled as an Advocate of the Madras High Court. She is the first lady Barrister in the Madras Presidency. Her mother Mrs. Devadoss is also a prominent social worker of that proviuce.

Shrimati Ratankumari Devi, *Kavyatirtha*, daughter of the Hon'ble Seth Govind Dass of Jubbulpore, has passed this year, the highest title examination in Sanskrit literature conducted by the Calcutta Sanskrit Association. She is the first Marwari girl to pass this title (*Kavyathirtha*) Examination. Her age is only fifteen years.

Miss Saradabai Naidu, who just completed her training in the Poona Seva Sadan Society, has proceded to England for post-graduate studies in Public Health and Nursing at the Bedford College, London. She has been awarded a scholarship of £200 per annum by the League of Red Cross Societies.

Mirs. Leonissa Fernandez has been appointed as a special Magistrate of Udipi (Madras Presidency).

Mrs. Balkhishna Menon is the first lady in Cochin State to be appointed as an Honorary Magistrate.

CLIFF DWELLERS, NEW MEXICO

By KATHRYN WHITE RYAN

Climbers of cliffs are an enchanted race.
They trust, they trespass, and they leave no trace.
They give back to the earth each thing they took.
They give all back, manos and shepherd's crook.

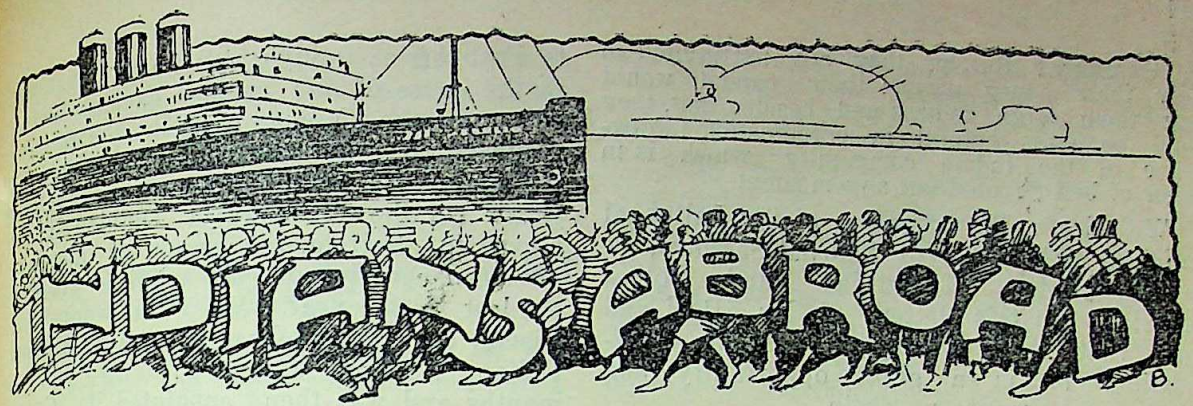
Ladders that knew the upstretched reaching hand
And idols are together under sand.

Arrow and bowl and blanket on the loom
Have disappeared from every hollowed room.

Time smooths the cliffs in secrecy of how
Such trust in them earth chose to disavow,
These tiered, sun-healed incisions on a ledge
Give silent proof earth makes no one a pledge.

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By BENARSIDAS CHATURVEDI

Indian Settlement In Tanganyika

Mr V. R. Boal writes from Dar-es-Salaam, Tanganyika :—

Very few in India know about Tanganyika, one of the East African Territories administered under a mandate by His Britannic Majesty. This is apparently due to Tanganyika Indians being always under the impression that because India is a member of the League of Nations their position is secure and will for ever remain unaltered. But things are now entirely changed. The European propaganda, encouraged and supported by some hidden forces behind it, is being carried on with a view to bringing about the federation and this indicates that there is a fly in the ointment and that it is necessary for Indians to carry on a very strong propaganda for the purpose of safeguarding and strengthening Indian Settlement.

The number of Indian settlers (by settlers I mean producers and not merchants and traders) is very small. Messrs. Karimji Jiwanji and Nanji Kalidas are the only two names, Indians can point to with some degree of pride. But what are they when compared with the ever increasing number of Britishers and Germans penetrating into the Territory with a view to exploit it to its fullest extent? We want Indian capitalists to settle in Tanganyika, which has a very brilliant future before it, and the descriptions of which I briefly give below.

The area is about 373, 500 square miles, which includes about 2,000 squire miles of water. Along the coast lies a plain, varying in width from ten to forty miles, behind which the country rises gradually to a plateau consistituting the greater part of the hinterland. This plateau falls sharply from a general level of 4,000 feet to the level of the lakes (Tanganyika, 2, 500 feet, Nyässa, 1, 597 feet) which mark the great valley extending northwards to lake Naivasha. The highest points in the Territory are in the north-east, where are the extinct volcanoes, Kilmanjaro, which rises to 19,720 feet, aud is snow-capped and Mount Meru (14, 960 feet). In the South-West are the Livingstone Mountains, where the highest peak is over 9,000 feet. The climate of the territory varies greatly according to the level of the several districts. Roughly, four climate zones can be distinguished, namely : (i) the warm and rather damp coast region with its adjoining hinterland (ii) the hot and moderately dry zone between the coast and the central plateau (300 ft.—2000 ft,) (iii) the hot and dry zone of the central plateau between 2000 feet and 4000 feet in height and (iv) the semi-temperate regions around the slopes of Kilmanjaro and Meru, of the Usambara highlands, the Ufipa plateau and the mountainous areas of the South-western area (5,000 ft.—10,000ft). There are two well-defined rainy seasons annually, Generally speaking, the rains begin in February or March and last for two or three months, while a short rainy season extends from October to Novermber but the rainfall is low for a tropical country, and droughts are not infrequent. The seat of Government is Dar-es-Salaam, a modern town founded in 1862 by the then reigning Sultan of Zanzibar and subsequently occupied by the Germans in 1887. The second town in importance is Tanga, 136 miles north of Dar-es-Salaam and 80 miles from Mombasa. According to the census of 1921 the population of the territory was, Europeans 2447, British Indians 9411, Goan and Portuguese Indians 798, Arabs 4041, Baluchis 352 and Natives 4,107,000. Since 1921 there has been considerable increase in the European and Indian population. The principal domestic exports consist in Sisal, Groundnuts, Coffee, Cotton, Copra, Hides and Skins, Grain, Simsim, Beeswax, and Chillies. Diamond, Gold, Tin, Coal and Mica. Mines are being worked progressively and great care is taken by the Government to see that the Mining Industry is fully developed. The territory is at present served by two railways and construction of other railways is under contemplation. The administration is carried on by a Governor assisted by a Legislative council consisting of the Governor and 13 official members and 10 unofficial members nominated by the Governor, of whom two are Indians. Towards the end of this year the proposed Indian Central School with provision for education up to the matriculation will be established in the capital of the territory and the Government propose assisting other Indian schools in the interior by grants-in-aid.

Such is the country to which Indian capitalists are invited to settle. In cities like Bombay Calcutta and Karachi there are numerous wealthy Merchants, Bankers and Millowners. Is it not possible for a few of them to form companies and take advantage of the opportunies offered them as is being done by peoples is England, America

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and Germany? Surely, they are not invited to throw their money away: their capital would bring them large returns and besides that, they would be most helpful in perpetuating the existence of the Indian community which is in danger of being rooted out any moment.

We draw the attention of Sir Lallubhai Samaldas Mehta, Shriyut Ambalal Sarabhai, Sir Purushottamdas Thakurdas and other capitalists to this letter of Mr. Boal and hope that they will give it serious consideration. It is a great opportunity and may never come to us again.

Mr. U. K. Oza in East Africa

Level-headed workers who are of strong convictions, yet ready to see the opponents' point of view, who can be firm yet moderate



Mr. U. K. Oza.

in their writing and speeches and who take a long view of things are as rare in Greater India as in India itself. Our people in East Africa should be congratulated on having such a worker among them and he is none else than Mr. U. K. Oza of Bhavnagar. It was by a mere accident that Mr. Oza went to East Africa though his heart was always in the cause of our people overseas and as editor of the Voice of India he was ever ready to do what he could for our cause. After a year's useful work in Tanganyika as editor of the Tanganyika Opinion Mr. Oza moved to Nairobi, the capital of Kenya and has been carrying on his activities there for the last one year. Mr. Oza worked as a special organising officer of the East African Indian National Congress for two or three months and was then appointed its General Secretary. The success of the last meeting of the Indian Congress at Nairobi was to a great extent due to the untiring efforts of Mr. Oza. He had also to work hard for the reopening of the question of Common Roll, which has strengthened the Indian case and has become a live issue again. It must be admitted here that Kunwar Maharaj Singh and Mr. R. B. Ewbank, the representatives of the Government of India, performed their duty admirably in this matter as well as in persuading the Indian community to show a united front to the Hilton Young Commission. The complete boycott of the elections on a communal basis by the Indian community in Kenya was a step that produced a great impression on the European community in the Colony. Indeed, we in India thought that such a strong attitude could not possibly be taken on account of the loss of morale by the Indian community after the death of that sturdy fighter, Mr. M. A. Desai, the great Indian leader of East Africa The credit for this work must go to other Indian leaders as well as to Mr. Oza and if we have singled out the latter in this note it is not because we minimise the work of people like Messrs Phadke and Achariar, Malik and Verma, Pandya and Jeewanjee, but because we feel that Mr. Oza has been doing his work at considerable self-sacrifice resisting the temptation to return home where things are getting more lively and where a journalist of his qualifications can easily get a prominent position in the press. Mr. Oza, I understand, has been busy carrying on conversations with some reasonable Europeans about the Indian question in Kenya. I have no right to give any piece of advice from this end, for our people in East Africa are the best judges of the situation; but I should, as a worker in their cause, request Mr. Oza and his friends not to hurry up things. They should move very cautiously and should take the Indian

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masses in Kenya with them. Any wrong step at this stage will not only ruin the cause of our Indian population in East Africa but will also do an irreparable harm to Greater India of the future.

Honourable Mr. Husein Hasanally Abdool Cader Bar-at-Law. M. L. C

We must heartily congratulate H. E. Sir Hugh Clifford, the Governor of Federated Malaya States for the admirable statesmanship that he has shown in appointing Mr. Abdool Cader Bar-at-Law as the successor of the late lamented Mr. Nambiar of Penang in the council of the Straits Settlement. The whole future of our countrymen in the colonies depends on cordial relations subsisting between the different Indian communities more than on anything else and if Communalism once sets in, it is bound to wreck the whole thing within a decade. The appointment of Mr Abdool Cader will give a great relief to those who, like ourselves, were much upset on account of that deplorable speech of the Governor which put the Indian population on the wrong track of communalism. We also congratulate Mr Abdool Cader who, to use the words of the Tamil Nesan, is an Indian first, Indian next and Indian last. Here is a short sketch of our compatriot :—

Mr. Husein Hasanally Abdool Cader, Bar-at-Law (Lincoln's Inn London) Advocate and Solicitor, S. S. and F. M. S. was born in Surat, Bombay Presidency in 1890 and is the eldest son of Mr. H. A. Cader J. P. a well-known merchant of Penang. After being educated in Surat and afterwards at Raffles School, Singapore and the Free School, Penang Mr. Abdool Cader proceeded to England in May 1905 and joined the County High School, Ilford. He matriculated there in 1908 and later he joined Lincoln's Inn and Christ's College, Cambridge University and took up Law Tripos. He was called to the bar in 1912 and had the honour of being presented to His Majesty King George V on March 11th 1912.

He returned to Penang in April 1912 and was admitted to the Straits Settlements Bar in November of the same year and to the F. M. S. Bar in 1915. Since then he is practising in Penang. He is the President of the United Indian Association, Penang and he is a representative of the Indian community on the Municipal commission. Penang since January 1925. He holds certificate for French from the Royal Society of Arts, London. He has travelled extensively on the continent and in India. He is connected with several recreation clubs as the Christ's College Club, Cambridge, National Indian Association, London etc. His principal recreations are association foot-ball, tennis and rowing. His office is at George Chambers, 39, Beach Street, Penang, S. S.

Appointed Member of the Legislative Council of the Straits Settlements 23rd July, 1928.

With two such sturdy nationalists as Honourable Mr. Veerasamy in the Federal Council and Honourable Mr Abdool Cader in the Straits Council our countrymen in Malaya are assured of amiable relations between the Hindus and Mohammedans in that colony. We are fighting against the demon of Communalism at home and we know what mischief it can do if it raises its head in the colonies also.

The Agent of the Government of India in Malaya

An esteemed correspondent writes :—

Rao Shaib Subbaya Naidu, the present agent to the Government of India in British Malaya has been trying hard to bring about the Standard wage



Rao Shaib Subbaya Naidu.

system for the Indian labourers in rubber estates in the F. M. S. In fact, the Indian labourer has worked not a little for the steady advancement and prosperity of Malaya and there can be no

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justification for the planters to set aside the claim of the Indian labourer for a minimum wage. This question has been fought very well by the Rao Sahib soon after his coming to the office and as a result of his labours the Standard wage system is to come to force very shortly. Besides this Mr. Naidu has started co-operative societies among the labourers which are working smoothly and to him goes the credit of bringing important changes in the Malayan Labour code.

Mr. Subbaya Naidu is a graduate of the Madras University and has to his credit a long service in the Madras Provincial Government Service. He became the Agent to the Government of India in the F. M. S. after relinquishing his office of Acting Assistant secretary to the Local Self-Government Department of the Madras Secretariat.

We wish Mr. Naidu every success in his admirable efforts for our people in Malaya.

Mr. Sastri in South Africa

The following estimate of the Right Honourable Mr. Srinivas Sastri's work in South Africa by the Natal Mercury will be read with great interest by our countrymen in India :—

So admirably has Mr. Sastri, the Agent of the Government of India in the country, identified himself with the public life of the Union, so completely has he won the respect of all classes of the community, that it is difficult to realise that he arrived here over a year ago and that before very long we shall have to contemplate the end of a term of office already extended by six months. But we sincerely trust that not for some considerable time shall we find ourselves deprived of those services which Mr. Sastri has so signally rendered to this country to his own and to the Empire as a whole.

Mr. Sastri sacrificed a great deal when he accepted the office of Agent-General in South Africa. And it might seem unreasonable to expect him to sacrifice still more. Apart from his duty to his own country and to the Indian in this country, his personal inclinations, to say nothing of his family ties, naturally draw him strongly towards India itself...Nevertheless we feel that the Agent-General could best serve India if by that high sense of duty to which he has always listened he could be prevailed upon to remain beyond the year as the servant in South Africa of his Government. Much of the value of the Indian Agreement depends upon its interpretation and the manner of its interpretation. Mr Sastri, by his culture and personality and by his really statesmanlike qualities has been ideally suited to the office he has occupied. He has been able to reveal to the vast majority of South Africans a new type of Indian opinion, to show us India and her people in an entirely new light. Moreover, he has gone a long way towards reconciling those differences in the Indian community which have for so long been a barrier to any settlement. There is one paramount consideration which we would strongly urge on Mr. Sastri, however. South Africa to-day stands at the verge of a political change. A General Election looms in the near future, Fresh personal factors are bound to emerge as a result of the appeal to the electorate. And it is absolutely vital to the success of the Indian Agreement that when the change comes the Indian Government should have in this country an Agent who possesses not merely the intellectual stature of a statesman but also great gifts of culture and personality. We have that man at the moment. It depends entirely on Mr. Sastri whether we have him when the time arrives that he may be most urgently needed.

It is to be noted that the Natal Mercury has the reputation of being unfriendly to the cause of our countrymen in South Africa. This shows what a great effect Mr. Sastri's charming personality has produced even on our opponents. We hope Mr. Sastri will see his way to prolong his stay in South Africa at least for a year.

The work of Indian educationists in South Africa

After spending seven months in South Africa, where they were sent by the Government of India to assist the Natal Government to put Indian education on a sound basis, Mr. K. P. Kichlu and Miss C. Gordon have returned to India. The Indian opinion of South Africa pays the following tribute to their work in connection with the Indian Education Enquiry Committee of Natal :—

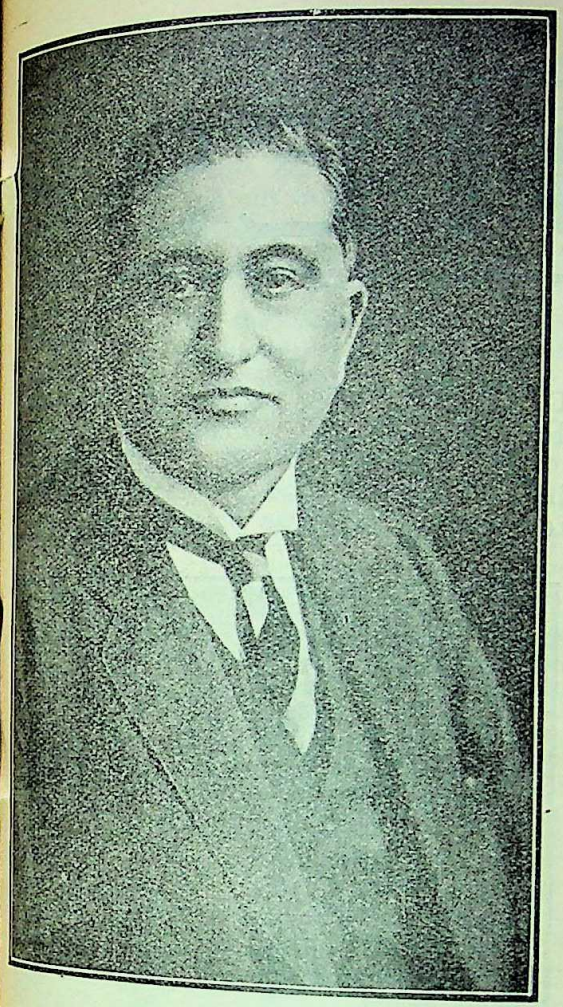
While we do not wish to minimise in any way the work of the Indian Government representatives who have come to this country in the past in connection with the Indian question, we would say this, without the slightest hesitation, that the work that has been done by the Indian Educational Experts has been the most practical of all and the good fruits of their labours we are already beginning to experience. It may be said that it is the Education Enquiry Committee that is to be thanked for the benefit we are able to derive. While that is so it should hardly be forgotten that the Committee could never have come to the conclusions it has, had it not been for the convincing evidence laid before it by the Indian community and most of all, had it not been for the very important memorandum prepared by Mr. K. P. Kichlu in which Mr. Kichlu has proved to the hilt the injustices done to the Indian community in regard to their education by the Provincial Administration.

Mr. Kichlu, we believe, is the first representative of the Government of India who will leave the shores of South Africa with the satisfaction of seeing with his own eyes the fruits of his labour. They may be poor at present but let us hope that they will be richer in time to come.

While both Mr. Kichlu and Miss Gordon are Government officials they have by their simple and amiable ways won the hearts of the Indian people. They were above the ordinary

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Mr. Kailas Prasad Kichlu, M. A.,
Vice-Chancellor of the Agra University.



Miss. C. Gordon, B. Ed.,
Associated with the Female Training College,
Saidapeth (Madras).

officialdom and mixed freely amongst Indians and entered into their very life.

Mr. Kichlu has not spent a minute in vain. He had come in connection with the educational conditions in Natal but we understand, he has required also into the condition prevailing in the Transvaal and has prepared a very important and useful memorandum which, while it may not be published, will be of immense giudance to the education department.

Mr Kichlu and Miss Gordon deserve the gratitude of the Indian public for the splendid work they did in South Africa and we must also congratulate the Indian Government on their excellent choice. It will be good if the Government sends these educationists to East Africa, West Indies, Fiji Islands and Mauritius also to assist the Colonial Governments with their expert advice regarding the education of Indian children abroad.

THE CERTAIN CALM

By ETHEL ROMIG FULLER

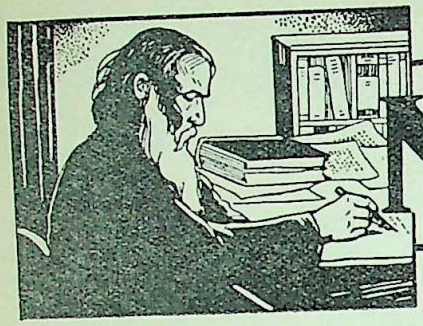
For harassed minds, for hearts assailed by ills,
For all abrasions of the soul, all scars,
There is a panacea of tall hills,
The healing balm of rediscovered stars;
The scent of dew on sleeping ferns and grass,
The flight of homing winds to waiting trees,
And there are clouds that brush the moon and pass...
Shadows and dark's pulsating subtleties.

Before the constancy of night and sky;
The certain calm; the peace...if any grieves,
He'll shed unhappiness and let it lie
As maples drop their weight of yellow leaves
And so detached from pain and comforted,
May even for a space forget the dead.

—*The Christian Century, Chicago*

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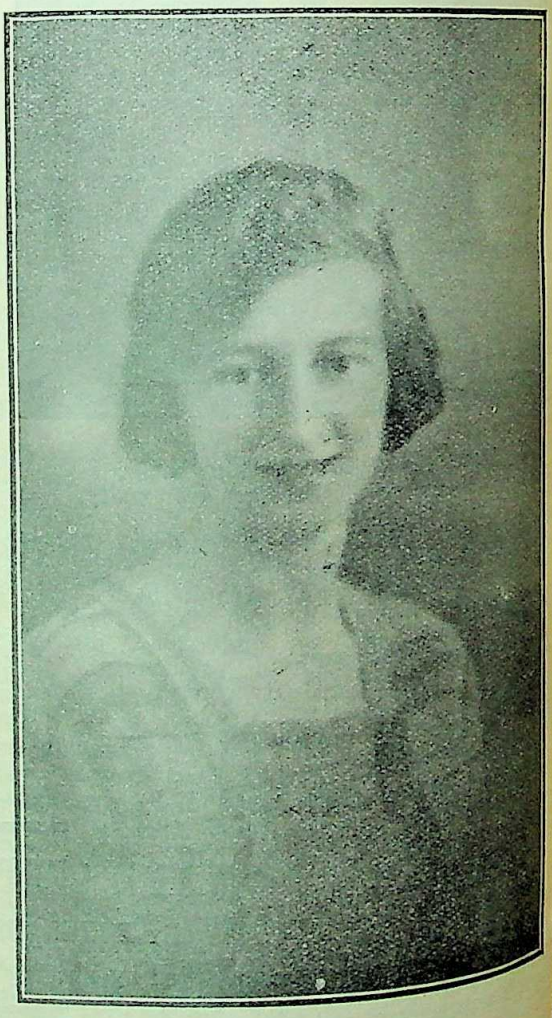
Portraits of Raja Ram Mohun Roy

Of the three portraits of Raja Ram Mohun Roy published in this number, the one forming the frontispiece is reproduced from a photograph of the oil painting in the Bristol Art Gallery, by H. P. Briggs, R. A. This is a contemporary portrait. Another, reproduced from a steel engraving forming the frontispiece to the second London edition of his "Precepts of Jesus," published in 1834, may also be considered contemporary. The third one is enlarged from a small photograph of the painting, by Miss Rolinda Sharples, of "The Trial of Colonel Brereton" after the Bristol riots in 1831. The following particulars relating to this picture are taken from a descriptive list of paintings in the Bristol Art Gallery :

> The court-martial of Colonel Brereton for his negligence in handling the troops at his disposal during the Bristol riots, 1831, and declining to take vigorous action in the suppression of the rioters, was opened on the 9th January, 1832, in the Merchants' Hall Bristol,.. .. The proceedings were abruptly brought to a close, after four sittings, by the suicide of the unhappy defendant,... Amongst other local notabilities in the picture may be seen, seated with her back to the spectator, Mrs. Sharples, the mother of the artist, and to the left, with her sketch-book open in her hand, Miss Sharples herself, behind the Rajah Ram Mohun Roy."

In this painting the Raja has a youthful appearance. But at the time of the Brereton trial he was about 60 So, it is probable that the artist merely drew a sketch of the scene on the spot and afterwards painted the different figures from portraits procured by her, and the portrait of Ram Mohun Roy which she could get was perhaps one painted in India years before he left for England.

For the photographs of these portraits and the other pictures illustrating the article on the "Foundation of the Brahmo Samaj" in this issue, we are indebted to Mr. N. C. Ganguly, the writer of the article. He was able to obtain the permission of Dr. Herbert Bolton, Director of the Bristol Museum and Art Gallery, for the reproduction of these portraits through the good offices of Miss Gladys Stevens of Bristol, a member of the Society of Friends.



Miss Gladys Stevens

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(Quakers). She is an admirer of Raja Ram Mohun Roy, a convinced pacifist and internationalist and keenly interested in all liberal movements. It was through her efforts that the picture of the Brereton Trial was secured, together with its key and history. She is trying to find out other relics of the Raja in Bristol, London and Liverpool.

In the Memoir prefixed to the second London edition of the *Precepts of Jesus*, published soon after the Raja's death, he is described as "a remarkably stout, well-formed man, nearly six feet in height, with a fine, handsome and expressive countenance." Victor Jacquemont, a young contemporary French scientist who was personally acquainted with the Raja in Calcutta, gives the following pen-picture of the great Indian reformer in his *Voyage dans l'Inde*, Tome I, Paris, 1841, pp. 183-188 :—

Before coming out to India I knew that he was an able orientalist, a subtle logician and an irresistible dialectician ; but I had no idea that he was the best of men....

Ram Mohun Roy is a man of about fifty years of age, tall, stout rather than fat, and of a middle complexion among the Bengalees. The portrait in profile which they have made here, is a close likeness, but the front view is not so good ; his eyes are too small for his large face, and his nose inclines to the right side. He has a very slight moustache : his hair, rather long behind, is thick and curly. There is vigour in his physiognomy, and calmness, dignity and goodness. His dress is of the simplest, differing from that of well-to-do Indians only in the socks and shoes of European pattern which he used instead of wearing slippers on bare feet. He wore no trinkets, not even the sacred thread, unless he had it under his dress....

...He never expresses an opinion without taking precautions on all sides....

...He has grown in a region of ideas and feelings which is higher than the world in which his countrymen live ; he lives alone ; and though, perhaps, the consciousness of the good he is accomplishing affords him a perpetual source of satisfaction, sadness and melancholy mark his grave countenance. (Translation by N.C. Chaudhuri)

—

Lord Haldane

By the death of Viscount Haldane at the age of 72, Great Britain loses a philosopher, jurist and statesman whose equal she perhaps does not possess. There may be greater statesmen, greater jurists, or greater philosophers, but there does not seem to be any whose combined record in these several spheres of work equals his. He was educated at Edinburgh Academy and University and at Gottingen, was called to the Chancery bar in 1879, and in 1890 was made a Q. C. He was Liberal member for Haddingtonshire in 1885-1911. Thereafter he was raised to the peerage. With Kemp, in 1883-86, he translated Schopenhauer; and wrote a life of Adam Smith. His Gifford Lectures at St. Andrews University on the fundamental problems of philosophy and theology were published in 1903 as *The Pathway to Reality*. He insisted on educational reform in *Education and Empire*, published in 1902. As Secretary



Lord Haldane

for War in the Liberal ministry from 1905, he reorganised the army in 1907, creating a small expeditionary force always ready for war, and displacing the old Volunteer by a new and more efficient Territorial force. He was Lord Chancellor under Mr. Asquith from 1912 till 1915, when his former work for a better understanding with Germany viewed in the war temper of the time, combined with the fact that he had received part of his education in Germany, resulted in his exclusion from office in the first Coalition

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ministry, and in his retirement for a time from politics. His *Reign of Relativity* appeared in 1921 and his *Philosophy of Humanism* in 1922. As his political sympathies had been given for some time to the ideals of the Labour Party, he became Lord Chancellor in the first Labour Government. He was an ideal host. He was a classfellow of Professor Dr. P. K. Ray, who is happily still in our midst.

—

Viscount Haldane on Indian Thought

Lord Haldane tried to cultivate a sympathetic understanding of the ideals and outlook on life of races and peoples other than his own. This was exemplified in his keen and deep interest in Indian philosophy and in Indian students of philosophy. His article on "East and West" in the July number of *The Hibbert Journal,* which is perhaps his last published literary production, illustrates our remark. In the course of this article he observes :—

About what has been done in the West in developing knowledge we are well-informed. But we are not as well-informed about the contributions to reflection that have come from the East. We ought to have diffused among us information that we have not. There are competent students of Indian philosophy, in Europe and America, but they are relatively few in number and the results of their researches have not penetrated widely. In the East itself this is less true. There are to-day at least some Oriental students of philosophy who know Western thought as well as Eastern, in a fashion which would stand high in the West itself. They have published books, but these are known only by very few in Great Britain or America, and hardly by more on the Continent. This cannot be right if the Oriental writers have anything to tell us. The purpose of this article is to answer the question whether they have a lesson to teach us and what it is. We must make a start by getting rid of the current idea that because things have been expressed in words that are not our words, therefore, what they tell us may be passed by.

"To refer first to resemblance in teaching," says he, "it is striking to observe how the doctrine of the highest teachers of Buddhism is akin to that of our Christian teaching. .....Both religions seek to effect the deliverance of mankind from sin."

But there are divergences which are deep, though they hardly touch the basic principle. One of these divergences is that the Buddhist scheme proclaims the ultimate salvation of all beings. Christianity in its historic forms, on the other hand, divides by a gulf the saved from the unsaved.

The writer then gives in brief some idea of the teachings of Buddhism and of the Upanishads. In connection with the latter he quotes some sentences from Professor Radhakrishnan's *Philosophy of the Upanishads.* Of living Philosophical writers in India Lord Haldane writes :—

The University of Calcutta has produced a series of professors of high gifts who have not only worked out the subject but have written about it in admirable English. Radhakrishnan, Das-Gupta, Haldar, are among them.

Being himself distinguished for intellectual curiosity, it is not surprising that he should write :—

It has been for long in my mind that we in the Western world have been deficient in intellectual curiosity. We have not explored the philosophical systems of India and the East with the same keenness that we have brought to bear on philosophy and science in Europe. There have been exceptions, such as Schopenhauer and in a less degree Hegel. But the work has been mainly left to scholars, great of their kind, but insufficiently trained in philosophical research.

The result has been unfortunate. In India it is thought, by competent Indian students, that we do not appreciate, much less understand, the work that has been done by a long series of Hindu metaphysicians. No doubt it is true that until recently the latter have not really shown familiarity with European philosophy, and have expressed themselves largely in images and metaphors. But it is said against us that underlying the popular creeds of India there is a system of analysis in truth not less comprehensive than that of the idealism of the West. It is, of course, far less precise in its language, and has suffered from insufficient training, on the part of those who wield it, in the theory of logical forms. Still, it is added, there is the analysis and there are the ideas which have resulted. It is said that we over here are the more open to reproach because contemporary Indian writers of philosophy have not only shown in their works that they have mastered the principles of our idealists, but have displayed alongside of them the fruits of speculative development in India.

I do not think that the reproach is one which is wholly without justification or ought to be any longer ignored, and I wish to say something illustrative of it in connection with a book which has recently been written by a distinguished Hindu Professor of Philosophy, Professor Das-Gupta, late of Cambridge University here, and now Professor of Philosophy in the Presidency College at Calcutta.

The book is called *Hindu Mysticism* and was published last year by the Open Court Publishing Company. It consists of a series of lectures delivered in the United States, and is popular in style. It is in part a defence of a form of reasoned mysticism, grasping spiritually the aims and problems of life in a more real and ultimate fashion than the author considers possible for mere abstract reason. Its importance is the account it gives in outline of the development of

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this and other types of thought in the story of Indian philosophy,

The writer then devotes about one-third of his article to a summary of Prof. Das-Gupta's book on *Hindu Mysticism*, and observes :—

In the passages from his Lectures which I have summarised Professor Das-Gupta gives us an interpretation of the Hindu mind which we do well to remember. For, in its foundations it resembles much in our own views. Religion all over the world and in all ages seems to have more of a universal foundation than we commonly imagine, We may be right in our preference for what has developed in the West. We may think that the infinite is disclosed in it more fully. But many millions of people in India think otherwise. and do not seem likely to cease to think otherwise. The reasons for their attitude I have tried to state in outline in this article.

Lord Haldane then shows that the sympathetic understanding of Indian thought is necessary not merely for satisfying intellectual curiosity ; it has a bearing on practical affairs also.

Whatever the truth in the Indian view, there is something that it compels us to recognise. Beliefs with such old and wide foundations influence profoundly where they exist the outlook of the people, not only on religion, but on practical and political affairs. We have, as the Professor says, succeeded admirably in "policing" India. We have done much for her, and have protected the various peoples who make up her population. But have we secured in exchange the faith and confidence of that population ? He would be a bold man who would say that we have. Their gratitude for having kept the peace we may have secured, but even this not ungrudgingly. Not the less in that gratitude do they look on us as strangers who do not enter into what they value most. The sound of the flute of Krishna has not reached us. To the inhabitants we are as folk of a different faith.

The "policing" and protection have been done mostly to the extent and in the directions necessary for promoting British interests.

To guard against misapprehension Lord Haldane observes in conclusion :—

Now, no one suggests that we or our representatives should, when we go there, adopt the faith of India. That would be one thing. It is quite another thing, however, that we should not understand it or even have an understanding account of it. The spirit is all-important in our approaches to Hindus and Mohammedans alike. Yet when we send a Commission to India to devise a better form of Government, the last thing we think of is the spirit. We propose to confer with politicians, but not with the leaders of native thought of different schools who inspire the people in various forms. We seem to be determined, in this case as we were when dealing with the Irish, to put the cart in front of the horse. I doubt very much whether our political efforts can succeed until after a long day's work has been done, and the sympathy and confidence of the spiritual leaders in India has been gained by a further and different effort on our part. We have surely to convince them that we understand their outlook, though it is not ours, and that we have set ourselves to accord to them the fullest liberty and help in working out their own point of view. Some things we have already done, though on a comparatively small scale. We have founded Hindu and Mohammedan Universities. But we are far behind in effort to provide the children of India with primary education, and there remains everything to be done in securing co-operation in social reform. It is tasks like these that we have to enter on, and to get for ourselves in our work the sympathy and help of the leaders of Indian thought seems a condition even more necessary of fulfilment than that of the secondary stage of seeking co-operation from leaders in political subjects.

Here it may be observed that it is more necessary for Indian leaders to secure the co-operation of the British officials in social reform than for the latter to obtain the co-operation of the former.

The purpose of what I have now written is not to take sides in what must inevitably remain for long a matter of controversy. It is to draw attention to the fact that under wholly diverging forms the great religions of the East and of the West have more of a common substratum than we here at least commonly suppose. If this be true it is well that we should realise and rely on it.

For common principles, if discovered, may lead us to see that East is not so wholly dissevered from West in the foundations of faith as we are apt to assume in our practice. That assumption once got rid of, a new task is opened up, the task of learning to govern India through a mutual understanding and sympathy which may carry us a long way towards the solution of a problem that seems insoluble largely because we have made it so.

When Lord Haldane says, "We have surely to convince them that we understand their outlook, though it is not ours, and that we have set ourselves to accord to them the fullest liberty and help in working out their own point of view," the sentiment has our cordial approval. But when he concludes his article by observing, "That assumption once got rid of, a new task is opened up, the task of learning to govern India through a mutual understanding and sympathy . . .," he says something which is at variance with the idea, supported by him, of according to us the fullest liberty and help in working out our own point of view.

—

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Prof. Sylvain Levi at Santiniketan

Prof. Sylvain Levi visited Santiniketan on the 9th August last and stayed there till the 13th. This was his second visit to Visvabharati. He was very much pleased with the work done in the Research Department of that institution. On the 12th August he spoke there on the *Maison Franco Japonaise* at Tokyo of which he was the first Director. This new institution is something unique and has for its object a literary rapprochement between France and Japan. There was a friendly relation, Prof. Levi pointed out, between the two countries from the time of the last Shogun. In 1867 a Japanese gentleman named Viscount Shibusawa came to Paris. It was he who started the first bank in Japan and became the greatest Japanese financier. This gentleman was the first to entertain the idea of founding a *Maison Franco-Japonaise*. Up to 1890, said Prof. Levi, French influence in Japan was very strong. Some of the most prominent Japanese statesmen came to France to have an idea of the West. But after this period English and German influence predominated in that country. At the present time America is pressing Japan very hard. The American missionary is regarded as an unwelcome visitor in Japan. After the great war England abruptly dropped Japan to become friendly with the United States. Japan resented this very deeply. Again, Bolshevic Russia is becoming as serious a menace to Japan as Tsarist Russia ever had been. Bholshevism has already affected a certain class of students in the universities. The old politeness and cleanliness are disappearing amongst certain groups of students in Japan. France is par excellence the land of the bourgeoisie and therefore the enemy of Bolshevism. Naturally Japan would like to cutivate friendly relations with France. In 1922 a committee with Viscount Shibusawa at its head proposed to collect money for the scheme of a *Maison Franco-Japonaise*. The earth-quake of 1923, however, stood in the way of getting funds. He approached the Japanese Government. Viscount Kato, the Japanese Premier, was an admirer of France, and he promised 30,000 yen per annum if the French Government gave the same amount. The French Government consented to this proposal. A Japanese multimillionaire, Mr. Murai, who was at first a Christian but who became afterwards a devout Buddhist, promised Prof. Levi a fine house in Tokyo for carrying on Buddhistic studies. Unfortunately, this gentleman died before the Professor could go to Japan. The idea of the *Maison Franco-Japonaise* is that a French Professor with his family should stay in Japan with a group of students knowing French and carry on studies of Japanese literature and culture, while a Japanese professor with his family with a group of Japanese students should proceed with similar work in France. At present M. Demiéville, a lecturer in Indo-Chinese history, a French student who knows Japanese and two commercial students are studying in the *Maison Franco-Japonaise*. They get a monthly allowance of 400 yen (about 600 rupees) and get free lodging. The work which is at present being done in the *Maison Franco-Japonaise* is the preparation of the Buddhist Cyclopaedia, the *Hobugirin*, from Chinese and Japanese sources. Sections A, B, C are now ready and the work will be complete in 3 years more. Japan is taking a national pride in this work. In these days there is a strong revival of Buddhism in Japan. Much money is being spent by Buddhist organisations to combat American missionary work. More interest is being taken in Sanskrit language and literature. The impetus which Jiun (Maitrimegha)—a Japanese movement—gave to Sanskrit studies in the beginning of the 18th century never died out altogether and the study of it is now being taken up again in right earnest. Besides the teaching of Sanskrit in the important Buddhist monasteries there are special chairs of Sanskrit in the Imperial and private universities of Japan. In the Imperial universities of Korea and Formosa chairs of Sanskrit will soon be introduced. Prof. Levi concluded by saying that Indian students, who know French, may also join the *Maison Franco-Japonaise*.

C.

—

School for Indian Studies in England

A recent issue of the London *Times* made the following announcement:—

A school for the study of Indian history, religions, and present-day problems will be held at the Theological College, Lichfield, from July 21 to 30. The chairman will be Sir Stanley Reed, and the lecturers will include Lord Ronaldshay, Lord Chelmsford, Sir William Vincent, Sir Edward Gait, Sir Verney Lovett, Sir Robert Erskine Holland, and Miss Lena Sorabji.

There are many competent Indians in England who would have been glad to

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participate in the conference; but the object of the so-called school for Indian studies is not to present the Indian point of view but to propagate the views of Christian missionaries and ex-Indian British officials who are anxious to keep India under subjection at any cost Is this another form of subtle anti-Indian propaganda, under the guise of educating the public opinion of England?

T. D.

—

Bardoli Satyagraha

The *Satyagraha* at Bardoli will bear tangible fruit if, as the result of the enquiry to be conducted by a judicial and a revenue officer, the assessment of land-revenue is revised in such a way as to satisfy the cultivators. But the intangible results are far more important. It is a great thing that men, women and children in humble spheres of life have preferred not to submit to injustice even though their resolve has exposed them to much pecuniary loss and suffering, insults and great risk. They have acted heroically under their brave and wise leader Mr. Vallabhbhai Patel. The men and women from outside Bardoli who helped him to carry on the struggle, some of whom were sent to jail, have also made history. Every bloodless fight against wrong is a moral gain to humanity.

—

Festival of the Rains at Visva-bharati

In our last issue we gave a description of the festival of the rainy season at Visva-bharati. In this issue are printed a sketch of the tree-planting ceremony, drawn by Sriyut Nanda Lal Bose, the artist, and two snapshots of the festival of tilling the soil.

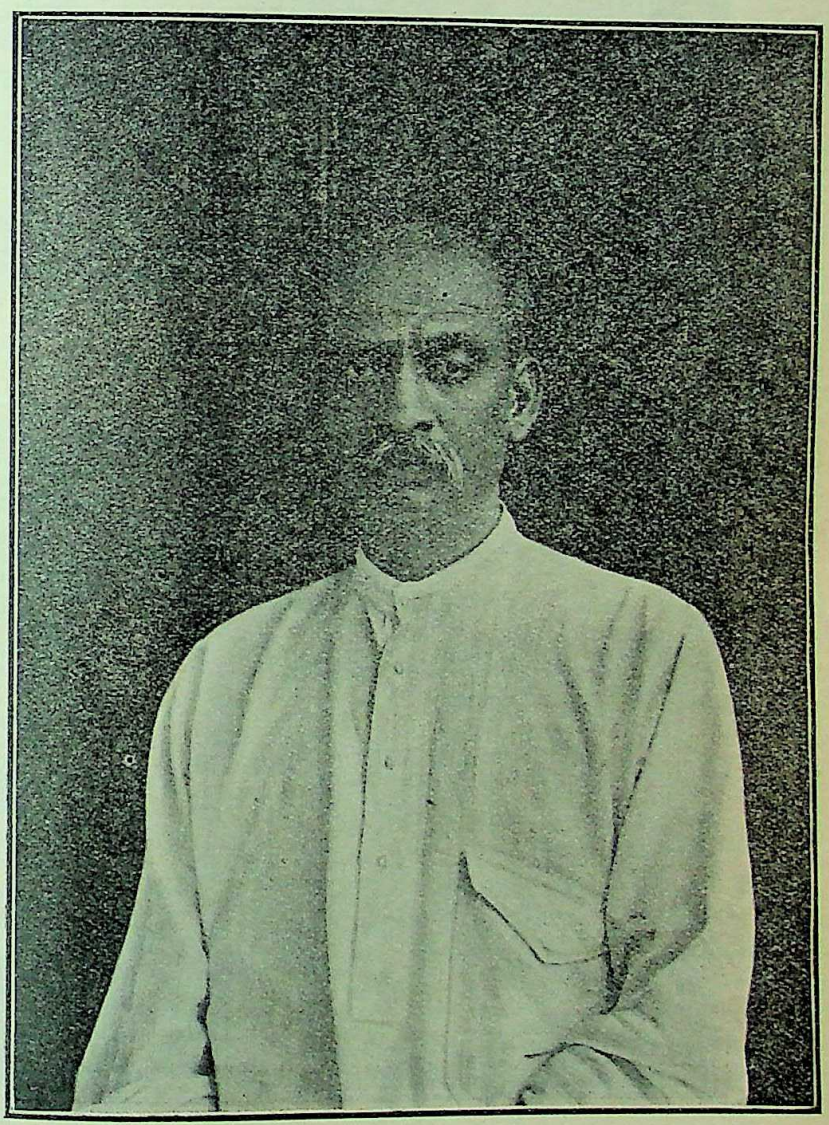
Artists need not be told that the sketch is not realistic.

In one of the photographs the Poet is seen singing a song from one of his books. In the other he is seen putting his hand to the plough and starting the ploughing.

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Ram Mohun Roy at Rangpur

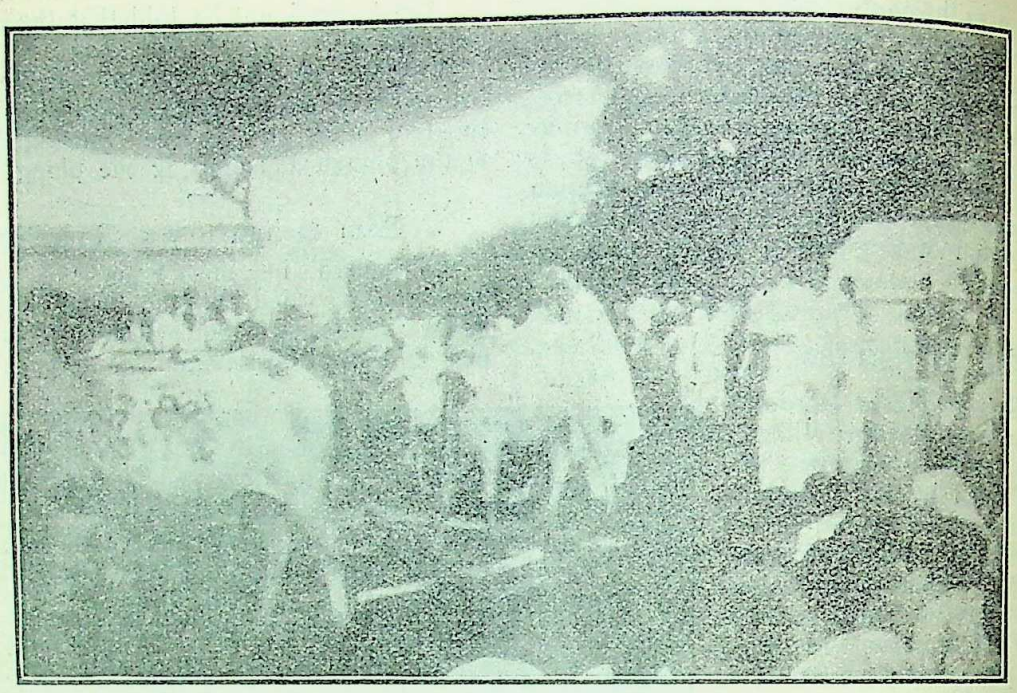
Elsewhere in this issue the fact will be found recorded that the Board of Revenue never confirmed Ram Mohun Roy in the post of Dewan of Rangpur, carrying a salary of only one hundred and fifty sicca rupees, though John Digby, Collector of that district, repeatedly drew attention to his high character, great ability, and knowledge of the



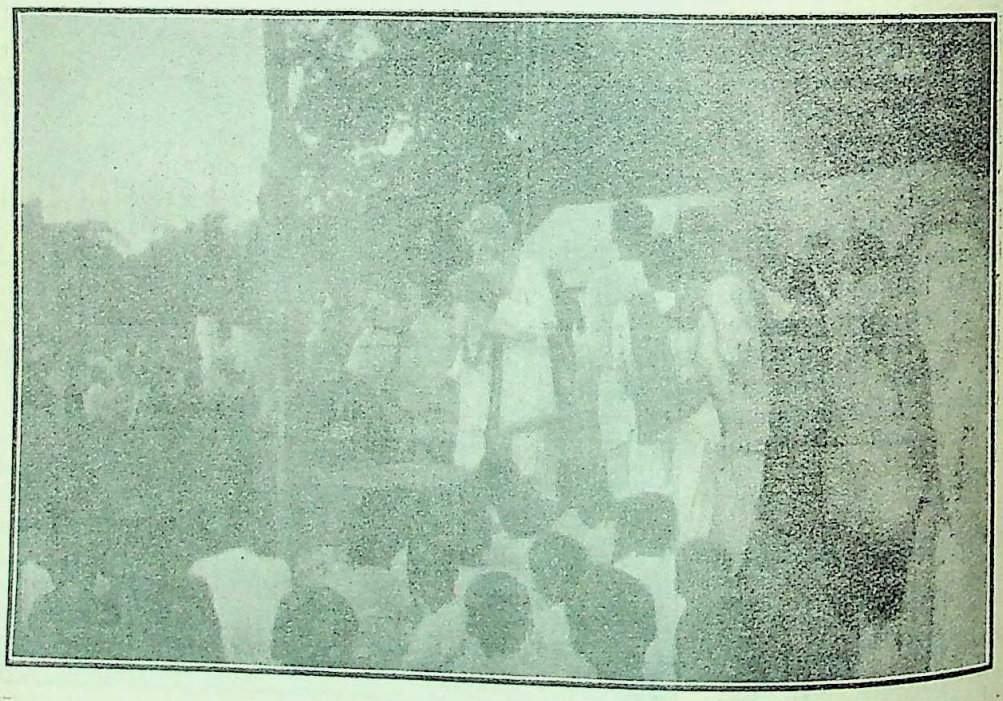
Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

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Rabindranath Tagore Singing a Song from One of his Books



The Poet putting his hand to the plough and starting the ploughing

work of collecting revenue, and met all the objections of the Secretary to that board. What could have been the reasons? It is a strange irony of history.

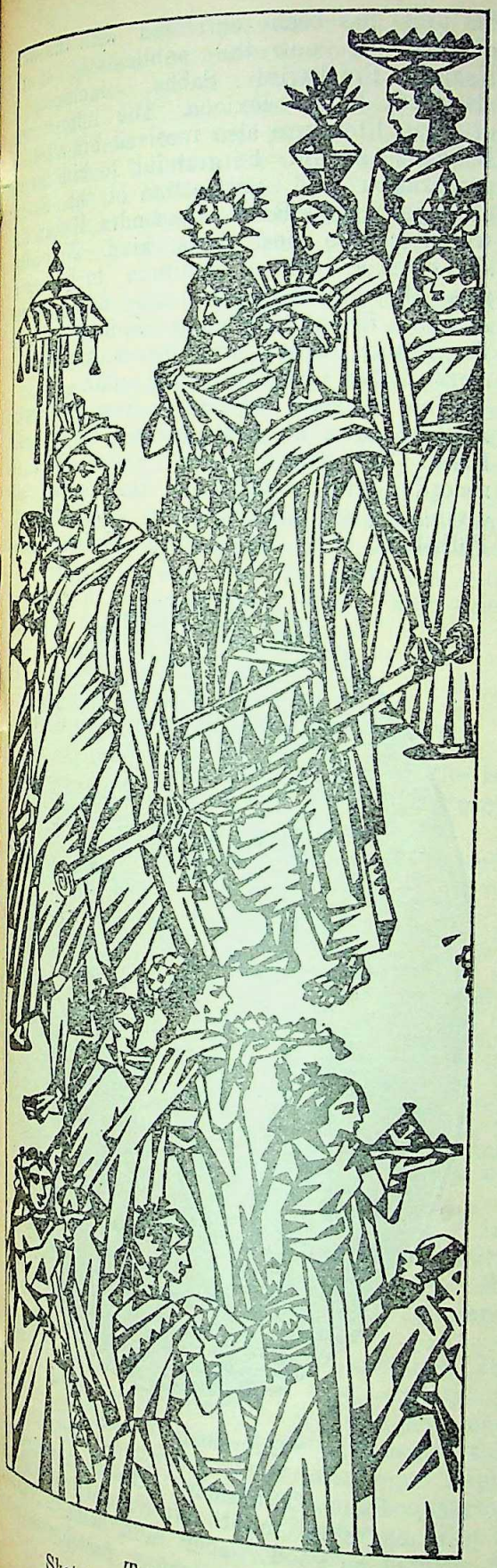
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Kemal Pasha and the Afghan Princess

There has been a persistent rumour that Kemal Pasha will marry the sister of King Amanulla Khan of Afghanistan, and news

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Tree-planting
Sketch By Syt. Nanda Lal Bose



Mustapha Kemal Pasha

of a contradiction has also been published. If the contradiction be like the general run of official contradictions, the marriage may yet come off. And in that case, people would consider it a diplomatic one.

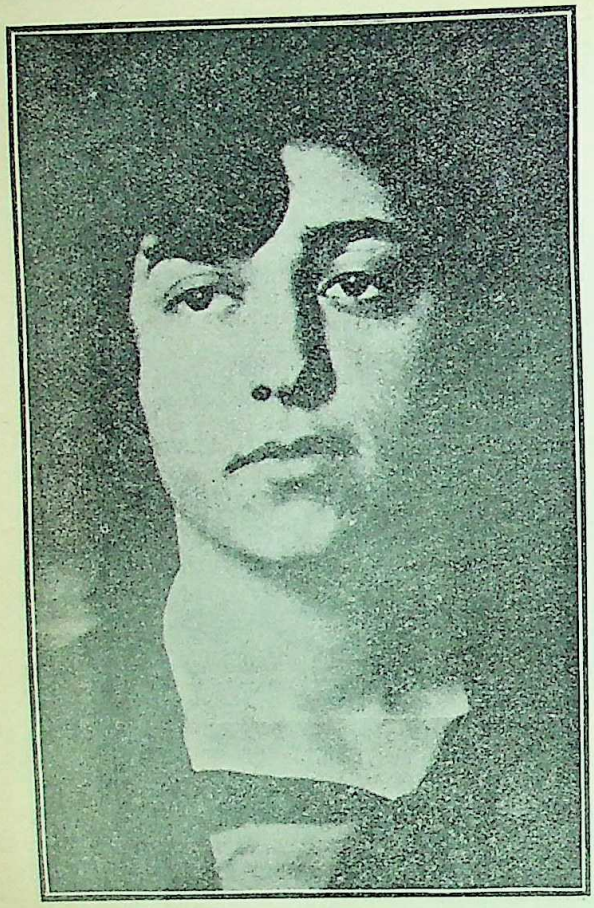
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Chintamani Ghosh

By the death of Babu Chintamani Ghosh at the age of full 74 years Allahabad has lost a citizen of whom she could be justly proud. He never was nor ever sought to be in the lime-light. He was a self-made man in the literal sense of that term. He came to Allahabad when he was not yet 13 and obtained a clerkship in the *Pioneer* office on a salary of ten rupees per mensem at that early age. After serving there for some time he got a job in the Railway Mail Service. Finally he obtained a clerkship in the Meteorological Office at Allahabad carrying a salary of Rs. 60. He retired from Government service comparatively early in life when earning Rs..

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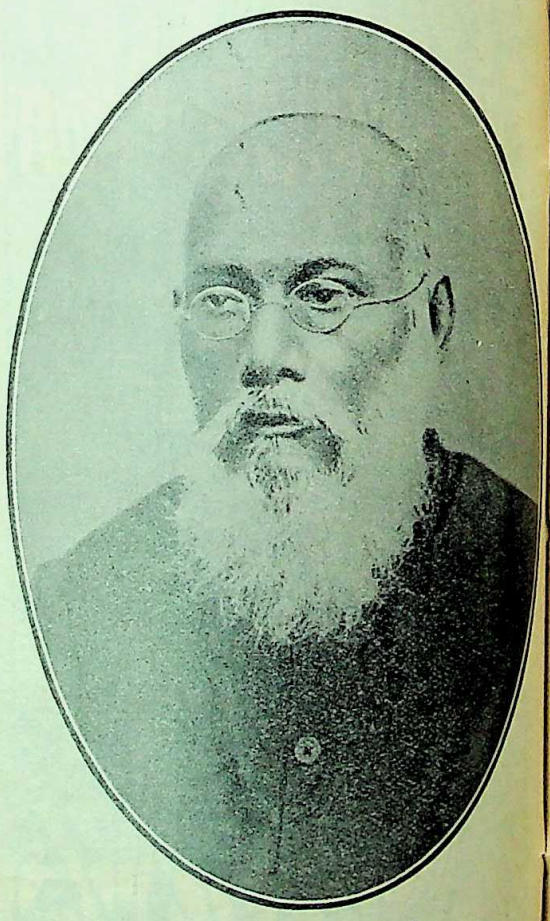
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The Afghan Princess

100 a month, and started business as printer and publisher. As a man of business, he always kept before himself a high standard of excellence. His press has always stood for high-class printing. He was never afraid of spending considerable sums of money for attaining and keeping up a high standard of typography. The Hindi, Urdu, English and Bengali books printed at his press are noted for their neat get-up. Though Allahabad is not in Bengal, any press in Bengal would be proud to print Bengali books like some of those turned out by the Indian Press. It was never the desire of Babu Chintamani Ghosh to publish catch-pennies. Hence, he always insisted on securing good text books and other books by competent authors for publication. He rendered signal service to the cause of Hindi literature by the publication of a standard illustrated edition of Tulsidas's Ramayan, of a Hindi translation of the Mahabharat, of numerous other Hindi works, and of the high-class Hindi monthly *Saraswati*. Latterly his press has been entrusted with the work of bringing out the publications of the Nagari Pracharini Sabha, including its standard Hindi lexicon. The improvement of Urdu literature also received his attention. Bengalis should be grateful to him for the preparation and publication of the Bengali dictionary by Babu Jnanendra Mohan Das, which is the best of its kind. Journalism also owes a debt of gratitude to him, as he was the publisher of the now defunct *Indian Union* and the *Indian People*. The Indian Press has branches at Benares, Agra, Patna, Calcutta and Nagpur.

The present writer's Bengali monthly *Prabasi* was at first printed at the Indian Press. The work was well done. He records with gratitude that when, after giving up the principalship of the Kayastha Pathshala, he started the *Modern Review*



Chintamani Ghosh

also, Babu Chintamani Ghosh brought out that magazine month after month, excellently printed on good paper and with unvarying punctuality, never asking for payment be-

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leaving the editor-proprietor to pay when he could, which he began to do only when the journal was many months or perhaps a year old. But for this generous attitude of friendliness on the part of Babu Chintamani Ghosh, this monthly would perhaps never have seen the light of day, or, if at all born, would have died an untimely death. For its editor-proprietor had no savings to finance it.

Babu Chintamani Ghosh died a comparatively rich man possessed of property worth many lakhs. But his wealth was not accumulated by shutting his ears entirely to the cry of suffering humanity. He founded a general charitable infirmary for the benefit of the poor, provision being made for surgical operations in a separate building. He gave liberally to more than one educational institution and helped many poor students. *The Pioneer* states that "he made the cause of Indian widows his own, and spent lavishly in ameliorating their lot."

—

Foolish and Perverse Favoritism

In reporting the proceedings of the last meeting of the Calcutta University Senate, *The Bengalee* writes :—

In discussing the proposal to put Dr. Nagendra Nath Gangulee, Professor of Agriculture, a son-in-law of Dr. Rabindranath Tagore, a member of the Agricultural Commission—on equal footing with other professors of the University, some of the members of the Senate opposed it on the ground that Dr. Gangulee could show no merit in his particular profession. Others supported the resolution on the ground that it would look awkward if Dr. Gangulee was not brought in line with other professors in respect of pay. Dr. Nilratan Sircar held that Dr. Gangulee fully deserved it. He said that it was due to his (Prof. Gangulee's) initiation that the Agricultural Commission was appointed. The resolution was put to vote and carried by 25 to 17 votes.

Agriculture is not one of the subjects taught in the Calcutta University. It was not taught in 1921, when Mr. Nagendra Nath Gangulee was appointed professor of agriculture; nor is it taught now. When he was appointed, the late Sir Asutosh Mookerjee held undisputed sway over the university. We will not now discuss why at that time he made this perfectly unnecessary appointment—he might have had reasons of his own, unconnected with the work of the University. But it may be charitable to *imagine* that it was in contemplation at that time to add agriculture to the subjects taught in the university. But that has not been done or even attempted to be done, though seven years have since past; and hence that piece of imagining can have no foundation in fact. The result is that a man has drawn thousands of rupees from the university funds in the shape of salary, etc, for doing absolutely no work for the university. This is nothing short of criminal waste of public money. Those who support such waste deserve the severest condemnation.

It is highly to be regretted that Dr. Rabindranath Tagore's name should have been mentioned in this connection He had, of course, nothing to do with the appointment when it was originally made, nor, it goes without saying, had he anything to do with the proposal carried at the last meeting of the Senate. That his name should be dragged in and exploited by anybody for a selfish purpose is a tragedy.

That a man is a son-in-law of any particular person is no qualification for a professorship. Even if Dr. Gangulee *had* shown "merit in his particular profession," that would not have entitled him to be the paid professor of a subject not taught in the university. It is also quite idiotic to suggest that a man deserves higher salary for being professor of such a subject because he was a member of the Agricultural Commission. The appointment itself, when made, was indefensible from any and every point of view. The supporters of the proposal under discussion should have first proved to the public why Dr. Gangulee's services were and are required;—they should have satisfied the public that for the money he has already received he has done sufficient or *any* university work. The question of an increment could have then been brought forward and discussed. But the facts are that, agriculture not being a subject taught in the university, the university never stood in need of his services, that he has done no work for the university, that, therefore, his post should never have been created and should be abolished, and that, *a fortiori*, the question of increasing his emoluments could never have arisen. It has been argued "that Dr. Gangulee fully deserved it." We should like to know in detail how he has deserved it, *in terms of university work done.* Assuming that the Agricultural Commission was appointed at the suggestion of Dr. Gangulee, it has still to be proved by the logic of facts that that commission was a desideratum and

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is or will be a blessing to India. But supposing it is or will be a blessing, and that, therefore, Dr. Gangulee deserves some *bakhshish* for his suggestion, why should the gratuity have come, both retrospectively and prospectively, from the funds of the university, which, it is said, is unable to meet some absolutely necessary items of expenditure?

The proposal was to put Dr. Gangulee on an equal footing with other professors; and it was argued that it would look awkward if he was not brought in line with other professors in respect of *pay* (not of *work*!). But the supporters of the proposal were blind to the fact that his university *work* could not be placed on an equal footing with that of the other (active) professors, because he had no such work; and that it was amazingly unjust, absurd and awkward that a perfect sinecurist should have drawn and should draw a salary, etc., far greater than those of many a competent and devoted professor actually doing educational work in connection with the University. "No work, no pay. Equal work, equal pay", should be the motto of all who are impartial and not devoid of intelligence.

It has been our lot to criticise the Calcutta University for many of its doings, but perhaps the one commented upon in this note is one of the most absurd, idiotic and perverse that have come under our notice. It is to be hoped that it is not a sample of the things to be expected during the Vice-chancellorship of the Rev. Dr. Urquhart.

—

German Industrialists Secure South African Railway Contracts

The Johannesburg correspondent of the *Times* (London) gives the following interesting news-item :—

Johannesburg, July 17.

The South African Railway Board has given a contract for seven narrow-gauge locomotives of the Garret type to the Hanomag group of Hanover, at £4.427 each, f. o. b. Hamburg, delivery within 22 weeks.

The German tender was not the lowest, but the British quotation was £5,613. It is pointed out that, however well-disposed the Railway Board might be towards British manufacturers, it cannot afford to ignore the question of prices, and to have given the present contract to the lowest British tenderer would have involved an Imperial preference of 27 per cent. It is suggested in business circles here that there must be something wrong with British methods of tendering, or that the British tenderers were not very anxious to secure this contract.

From this, it is clear that the South African Government is not in favor of "Imperial Preference" which may cost the South African people considerable amounts for the benefit of the British manufacturers, who cannot compete with Germans and others. The British authorities regard India to be the "dumping ground" for British manufactures and they in the past followed a policy of destruction of Indian industries to promote the British economic control of India. The South African attitude of independence may serve as a lesson for Indian statesmen opposing "Imperial Preference."

T. D.

—

Co-operation Between The Anglo-Indian Association and the European Association of India

At a recent meeting of the Anglo-Indian Association held at London, over which Mr A.B. Kunning presided, Lord Meston and Lord Winterton supported the claim of special privileges for the Anglo-Indians :

Lord Meston said the Anglo-Indian community had now reached the position which had lately been attained by minorities in many powerful and ancient nations all over the world. Those minorities were recognized and definitely protected under the ægis of the League of Nations. Following that analogy, the Anglo-Indians were as much entitled to claim minority rights as the Croats in Yugoslavia or the old Germans in Czechoslovakia. Their point of view should not be that of mere defence against stronger forces but that of a minority which by virtue of being so had its rights and privileges.

Mr. C. B. Chartres, president of the European Association, India, said his association made it one of the first articles of its policy to try to work in co-operation with the Anglo-Indian Association. Both had been considering the views to be put before the Simon Commission. There had been joint meetings of their councils, and in the memorandum the European Association was submitting to the Commission next week it was supporting many of the views and claims which the Anglo-Indians had put forward.

Anglo-Indians want to enjoy the advantages, if any, of being considered Indians by claiming to be statutory Indians, and they want the privileges of their partial non-Indian descent, too!

If the membership of the European Association of India includes persons from all the European countries residing in India, then the above news-item of co-operation between the European Association and Anglo-Indian Association has international significance.

The Anglo-Indians are interested in

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securing the co-operation not only of Britishers at home and abroad to preserve control over Indian affairs, but they have in addition taken steps to cultivate the support of European nations through their European members and propaganda methods.

It is needless to emphasise the point that at the present juncture all Indian political groups should unite to maintain Indian rights in India. Indian political bodies should formulate a programme of joint action so that the alien rulers of India may be dispossessed of their special privileges and Indians may recover control of India. They should also take steps to cultivate international co-operation (especially Asian co-operation) in their efforts to recover their national freedom.

T. D.

—

British "White Australia" Policy

Lately the "White Australia Policy" has taken a new shade of particularism. A few weeks ago the ex-Premier of Australia, the Rt. Hon. Mr. Hughes, openly declared that "the Italians are undesirable aliens and there should be certain restrictions against their coming to Australia". This remark evcked rage in certain Italian quarters ; and they reminded the Australian statesmen of the ancient civilization of Rome and the re-awakening of Italy, which will not submit to any national insult from any quarter.

Now Mr. Bruce, the Federal Prime Minister of the Commonwealth, has come out with his programme of keeping Australia 98 per cent. British. The London *Times* reports :—

> Mr. Bruce, the Federal Prime Minister, speaking at Heidelberg, said that the Commonwealth Government had determined to maintain in Australia 98 per cent, of British stock.
>
> Australia's obligation to observe a "White Australia" policy, he continued, had not been received enthusiastically by other nations. It was not desirable that Australia should "antagonize" the white nations as it possibly antagonized the coloured races on this issue. It would not be wise, therefore, to exercise a power which the Commonwealth undoubtediy possessed to exclude foreigners from the Commonwealth. The question had to be approached with a little more tact.
>
> The arrangement with Italy and other Southern European countries, by which a limited number of their nationals would enter Australia yearly, had been made with the utmost cordiality and goodwill and without any suggestion of quota systems. In this way Australia would maintain the British character of her population rather than by throwing out a defiance to the whole world.

"The tact" of Mr. Bruce imposes indirect restriction against all so-called white men and women unless they are "British." This is a peculiar caste-system or class discrimination, based not only upon colour-prejudice but also racial vanity.

History teaches us that racial or religious solidarity becomes short-lived among peoples of two nations, if their economic and political interests come into conflict. During the World War the British whites were willing to starve the German women and children by blockade and sought the co-operation of Moslem Egyptians, Arabs, Hindus, Siamese, Chinese and Japanese ; whereas the Germans, Austrians and Bulgarians sought Turkish support. The Catholics of Belgium, France and Italy fought the German and Austrian Catholics.

The populatlon problem—the problem of human migration—is as old as the history of the human race. In the past, pressure of population swept away many artificial racial barriers raised by privileged communities which wanted to fence the most fertile portions of the world as their exclusive property. As the discriminated people of the so-called coloured races form more than the half of the human race and they are audibly thinking about "racial equality" and "equal opportunity for migration to all parts of the world," it may come to pass that their demands will receive some consideration, inspite of all the arrogance of the so-called British "white men" who think themselves a little bit superior to all other "white people."

T. D.

—

All Parties Conference Report

The Report of the Committee appointed by the conference to determine the principles of the constitution for India is an able and very sober production. The time at the disposal of the Committee was not quite sufficient for drafting such a report. The result of their deliberations is, therefore, all the more praiseworthy. The three appendices, for two of which they acknowledge their indebtedness to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, add to the value of the report. It is well got-up and furnished with two maps, reproduced elsewhere, to show the comparative numerical strength of the Hindn and Muslim communities in the Panjab and Bengal.

Those who are out and out advocates of

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India's political rights in the abstract will not be satisfied with the report. For it is drawn up on the assumption that Dominion status will at present satisfy the majority of politically-minded Indians, whereas there are very many who cannot reconcile themselves to anything short of freedom and absolute independence. *The Modern Review* stands for freedom and absolute independence. But as the Conference was an all parties conference, as one and all of the parties do not want independence at present, and as none of the principal political parties, to the best of our information, want anything less than Dominion status, we think the Committee have been well advised in their assumption that the constitution should be framed on that basis. Absolute independence and freedom can be won by a successful armed rising or by some other movement which would put equivalent pressure on the British Government and people. To be free, Ireland brought both violent and non-violent pressure to bear on Great Britain. But she did not succeed in winning absolute independence and freedom —though she may do so yet. India is not yet in a position to put greater pressure of either description on Great Britain. Hence, though one may have the most ardent longing for freedom and independence for India, one may, for the present, agree to put forward a claim for something less, without prejudice to a higher demand. History shows that even the most despotic and absolute autocracy has not stood in the way of nations winning full freedom. Therefore, Dominion status cannot be a bar to the attainment of full freedom—rather, on the contrary, it may facilitate the carrying on of an absolute independence movement. There is no finality in politics. Moreover, "Dominion status has come to mean something indistinguishable from independence, except for the link with the Crown."

It has been argued that Great Britain would be as unwilling to agree to a Dominion status for India as to absolute independence. We do not think so, though opinions may differ.

—

Dominion Status and Responsible Government

The Committee are right in stating that "the attainment of dominion status is not viewed as a remote stage of our evolution but as the next immediate step." They have given a convincing reply to certain false issues and fanciful theories raised in official circles with a view to defeat or delay the establishment of any form of responsible government in India. They have succeeded in tearing to shreds Sir Malcolm Hailey's thesis that full dominion self-government is of somewhat wider extent than responsible government and that responsible government is not necessarily incompatible with a legislature with limited or restricted powers. "There is no half-way house between the present hybrid system and genuine responsible government...The real problem, to our mind, consists in the transference of political power and responsibility *from the people of England to the people of India.*"

—

The Settlement of the Problem of Minorities

The kind of settlement of the problem of minorities recommended in the Report does not conform to any principles of abstract justice. If any safeguards are to be provided in the interests of minorities, they should be available to all minorites; and the weaker and less numerous a minority, the greater the safeguards it requires. But the Committee have recommended safeguards for the strongest minority community in India. In this they have followed the rule of expediency. The Muslims have been the most clamorous and insistent in their demand for separate treatment, and hence their demand has received attention. It is also true, as the Report states, "that there is no such sharp cleavage between them (the non-Muslim minorities) and the majorities among whom they live as there unfortunately is between Hindus and Muslims"

"We would, however, point out that the problem of minorities is not peculiar to India. The existence of that problem in other countries has had to be faced in the framing of their constitutions after the war, but has never been treated as an argument or reason for withholding from them self-government in the fullest measure. We would earnestly recommend to the conference that if, in addition to, or in substitution for, our recommendations, the settlement of the problem of minorities is possible by agreement on any other basis, such basis should be accepted in the larger and more abiding interests of the country."

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The all important Question Now

The all important question now is how we can obtain the same power and responsi-

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bility in the affairs of our country as other peoples have in theirs. The respective shares of different communities in that power and responsibility is a minor and a domestic problem. If by agreeing to a temporary compromise, *for ten years*, the main object can be gained, one may be expected to be reasonable enough to accept such a compromise. But, of course, it is allowable to doubt whether the acceptance of the compromise by all parties in India would lead to the admission by England of our demands as just. We have also seen the doubt expressed somewhere that once the Muslims obtain a privilege, they will never agree to give it up. But if they accept it on the understanding that it is only for ten years, it will have to be given up automatically at the end of that period. If they want it permanently or for an indefinite period, there would be no compromise, and the settlement would fall through.

—

"The Communal Aspect"

Hindus form 65.9 per cent. and Muslims 24.1 per cent. of the total population of India and Burma. But, says the Report,

> In the Punjab, the Muslims are 55.3 per cent. and in Bengal 54.0 per cent. In Sind they are 73.4 per cent. and in Baluchistan and the N.-W. F. province they are overwhelmingly strong.
>
> A new comer to India, looking at these figures and at the strength of the Muslim community, would probably imagine that it was strong enough to look after itself and required no special protection or spoon feeding. If communal protection was necessary for any group in India it was not for the two major communities—the Hindus and the Muslims. It might have been necessary for the small communities which together form 10 per cent. of the total.

But,

> Logic or sense have little to do with communal feeling, and to-day the whole problem resolves itself in the removal from the minds of each of a baseless fear of the other and of giving a feeling of security to all communities. In looking for this security each party wants to make for itself or to retain, a dominating position. We note with regret that the spirit animating some of the communal spokesmen, is not one of live and let live. The only methods of giving a feeling of security are safeguards and guarantees and the grant, as far as possible, of cultural autonomy. The clumsy and objectionable methods of separate electorates and reservation of seats do not give this security. They only keep up an armed truce.
>
> The Committee's solution of the communal problem consists in giving the fullest religious liberty and making provision for cultural autonomy, "although people may not realise it." In the absence of details we do not quite understand the latter part of this solution.

It is stated in the Report that the status of the N.-W. F. Province and Baluchistan must be made the same as that of other provinces. It is added: "We cannot in justice or in logic deny the right of any part of India to participate in responsible government." We agree. But does it follow that "any part of India" has the right "to participate in responsible government" *as a separate provincial unit*? Baluchistan has a population of 4,20,648, N.-W. F. P. 22,51,340, and Sind 32,79,377. All these, according to the Committee, have the right "to participate in responsible government" *as separate provincial units*. Why then should Ajmer-Marwara with a population of 4,95,271 be denied that right? And Berar with a population of 30,75,316? And each of the overwhelmingly Muslim Bengal districts of Bogra, Rajshahi, Pabna, Noakhali, Mymensingh and Tippera, with populations of 1048606, 1449675, 1389494, 1472786, 4873730 and 2743073 respectively? There seems to be more of expediency in the Committee's decision than of logic and reason.

As regards Sind the Committee observe that, for the last eight years, since the National Congress made Sind into a separate province, no voice was raised in protest. But that was done for the purposes of Congress elections, etc, not for any administrative, legislative, executive, judicial or revenue purposes. So why should any voice of protest be raised?

It is satisfactory to find the Committee saying: "We agree that the Muslim demand for the separation of Sind was not put forward in the happiest way."

They observe:

> To say from the larger view-point of nationalism that no "communal" provinces should be created is, in a way, equivalent to saying from the still wider international view point that there should be no separate nations.

Both these statements have a measure of truth in them. But the staunchest internationalist recognises that without the fullest national autonomy it is extraordinarily difficult to create the international state. So also without the fullest cultural autonomy, and communalism in its better aspect is culture, it will be difficult to create a harmonious nation.

It would be beside our purpose to examine the above statements here too critically. Assuming their general truth, may we ask,

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is it the absence of Sind's separate provincial existence which has stood in the way of the Sind Moslems' "fullest cultural autonomy"? How is it, then, that though the Muslims do not live in a separate "communal" province of their own in the U P., where they are only 15 per cent. of the population, they have been able to establish the fullest cultural autonomy in Aligarh ? If in spite of the lesson conveyed by the example of Aligarh, it be argued that the Sind Muslims cannot have the fullest cultural autonomy unless Sind be made a separate province, would that mean that the largest portion of the educational expenditure of Sind must then be devoted to the promotion of Islamic culture ? In that case, would there be sufficient money left for the fullest cultural autonomy for the Sind Hindus, who would naturally and rightly want Hindu cultural equipment on the Islamic scale ? Or, are only the majority community in each province to have the fullest cultural autonomy ?

We are afraid most of the arguments brought forward in favour of the constitution of Sind, N.-W. F. P., and Baluchistan as separate provinces are mere after-thoughts, and the real reason for supporting this Muslim demand is to be found in the reluctance or inability to negative the "novel suggestion" referred to as follows : "The Muslims being in a minority in India as a whole fear that the majority may harass them, and to meet this difficulty they have made a novel suggestion—that they should at least dominate in some parts of India."

—

Disadvantages of Separate Electorates

The following observations of the Committee should be seriously considered by all advocates of separate electorates :

It is admitted by most people now that separate electorates are thoroughly bad and must be done away with We find, however, that there has been a tendency amongst the Muslims to consider them as a "valued privilege", although a considerable section are prepared to give them up in consideration for some other things. Everybody knows that separate electorates are bad for the growth of a national spirit, but everybody perhaps does not realise equally well that separate electorates are still worse for a minority community. They make the majority wholly independent of the minority and its votes and usually hostile to it. Under separate electorates, therefore, the chances are that the minority will always have to face a hostile majority, which can always by sheer force of numbers, override the wishes of the minority. This effect of having separate electorates has already become obvious, although the presence of the third party confuses the issues. Separate electorates thus benefit the majority community. Extreme communalists flourish thereunder and the majority community, far from suffering, actually benefits by them. Separate electorates must, therefore, be discarded completely as a condition precedent to any rational system of representation. We can only have joint or mixed electorates.

—

"A Sprawling Province"

The Committee state on page 34 of the Report that among the various proposals about reservation of seats in legislative bodies for majority and minority communities one was, "Amalgamation of the Punjab and N.-W. F. Province, with no reservation of seats." They have no objection to this proposal. But as they do not know how far this will meet the different view-points of the parties concerned, they have not made any recommendation in regard to it. Then they go on to state:—

"A similar but more far-reaching proposal was made to us, namely, that the Punjab, the N.-W. F. Province, Baluchistan and Sind should all be amalgamated together, and that there should be no reservation of seats, unless the minority desires it, in this area. We were unable to entertain this proposal. It would mean the creation of an unwieldy province sprawling all over the north and north-west.

The description of "sprawling" applies more or less to the Bombay Presidency and Bihar, Chota Nagpur and Orissa also. It is not a serious objection. Unwieldiness is an objection. A province may be unwieldy as regards area or population or both. Let us see in what respects the proposed amalgamated area may be considered unwieldy. The Punjab has an area of 99,846 square miles; N.-W. F. Province, 13,419; British Baluchistan, 54,228; and Sind, 46,506; total area, 213,699. The biggest Provinces in the Indian Empire are Burma (area 233,707 square miles) and Madras (area 142,260 sq m.) So the amalgamated province would not have been the most unwieldy in area. As regards population, the total population of the combined areas is, according to the census of 1921, 26,636,389, which is greatly exceeded by Bengal, U. P., Madras, and Bihar and Orissa. So the combined areas would not have been more unwieldy in population than these. It would not have been nearly as heterogeneous, too, in population as some existing provinces; *e. g*, Burma with its Burmans, Shans, Karens, Kachins, Chins,

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Arakanese, Talaings and Palaungs, besides Indians, Chinese, etc, : Assam with its Mai-thals, Mikirs, Garos, Naga tribes, Kacharis, Lushei Kuki clans, Khasis, Angami Nagas, Sema Nagas, Lhota Nagas, Lalungs, Rabhas, Syntengs, etc., besides the Assamese and Bengalis.

Still we would not urge the creation of this "sprawling" province. But as neither Sind, nor N.-W. F. Province, nor Baluchistan possesses a population or revenues sufficiently large for meeting the expenses and other requirements of a separate provincial existence, we would suggest the amalgamation of these three and their formation into one province. The combined area would then be 114,153 square miles, with a population of 5,951,365. This area is exceeded by three of the existing "Governor's Provinces" and nearly equalled by one, while this population is exceeded by those of all the "Governor's Provinces." So this province would not be considered unwieldy.

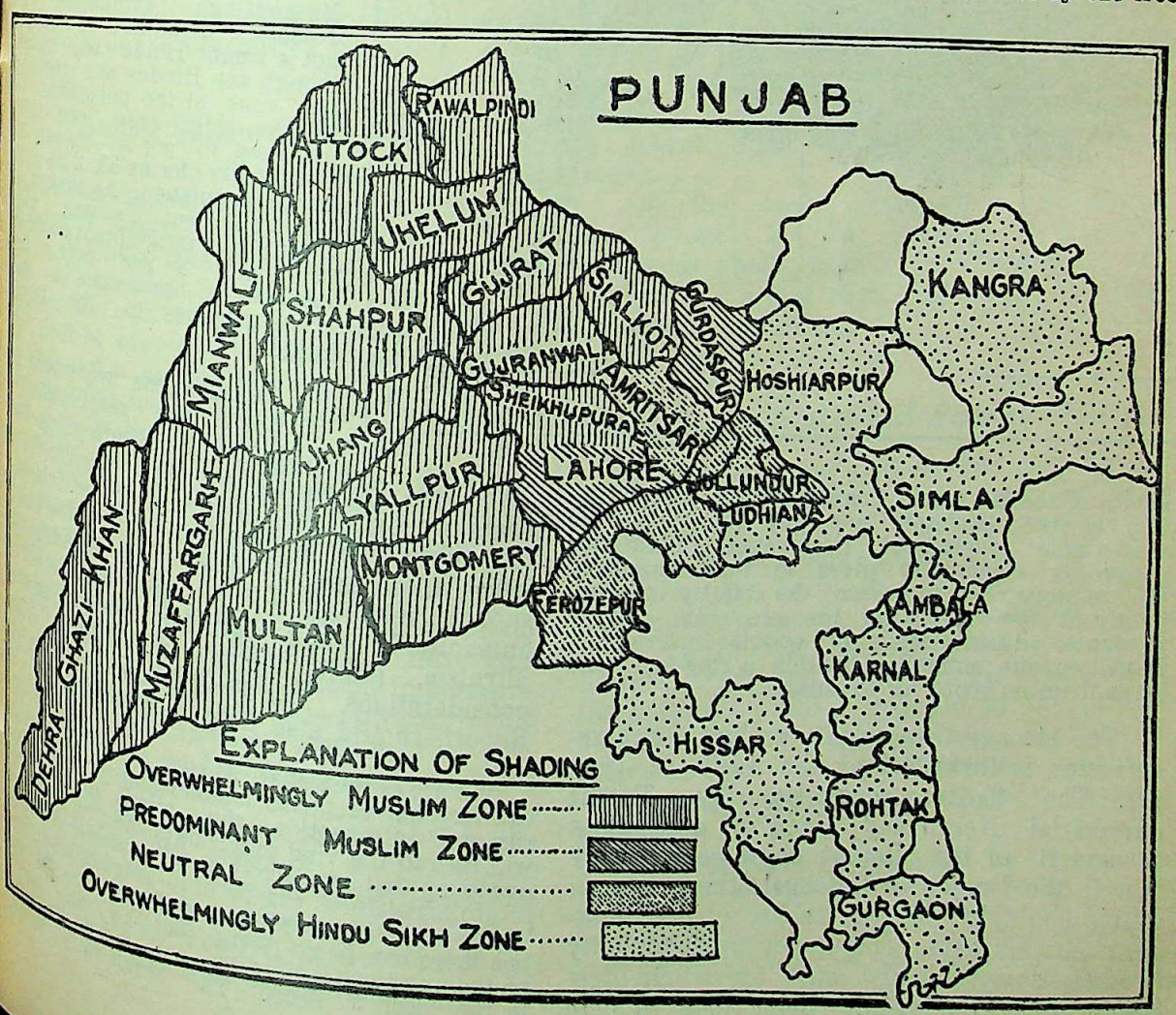
Our suggestion may be considered for what it is worth. We are opposed to making any area a separate "Governor's Province" which cannot be financially self-supporting. None of the existing provinces can afford to contribute to the maintenance of any financially parasitic province. Some of them have to remain disease-stricken, illiterate, poverty-stricken and economically undeveloped for want of funds.

—

Reservation of Seats for the Majority

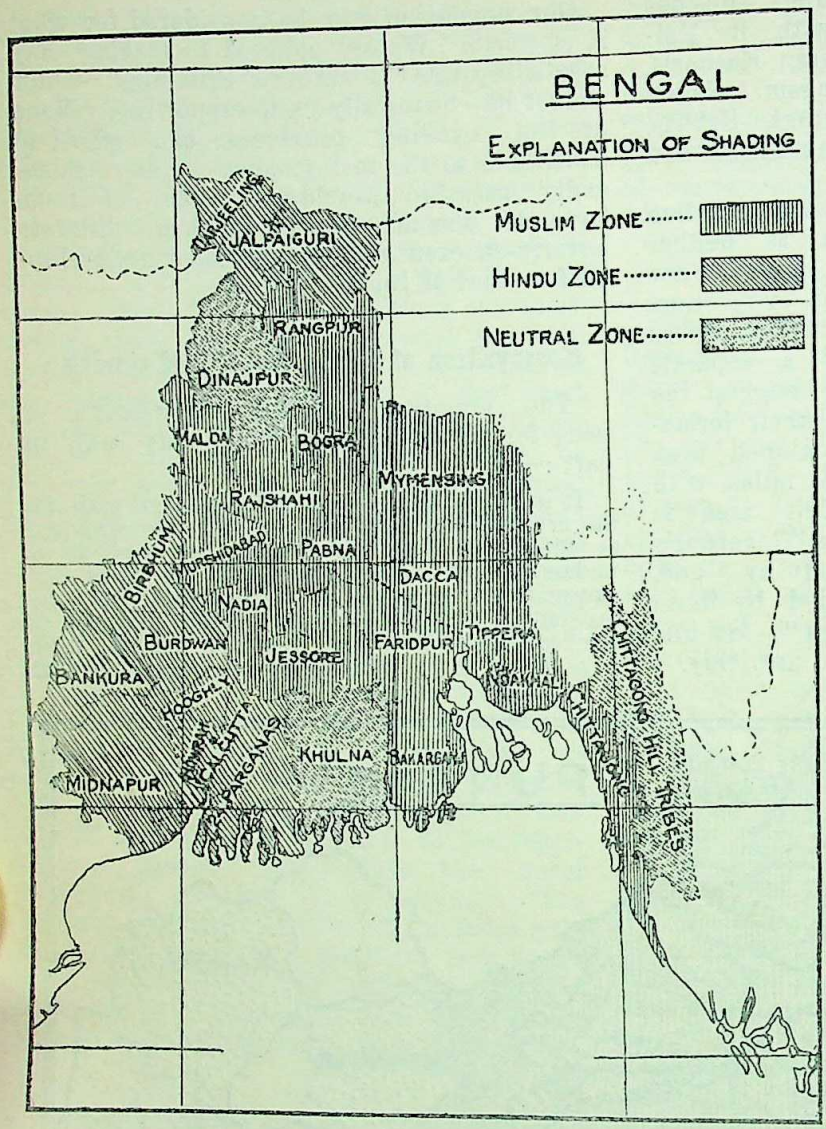
The argument against reservation of seats for the majority is thus ably put in part :—

It is absurd to insist on reservation of seats for the majority and claim full responsible government at the same time. Responsible government is understood to mean a government in which the executive is responsible to the legislature and the legislature to the electorate. If the members of the executive with the majority behind them have all got in by reservation and not by the free



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choice of the electorate, there is neither representation of the electorate nor any foundation for responsible government. Reservation of seats for a majority community gives to that community the statutory right to govern the country independently of the wishes of the electorate and is foreign to all conceptions of popular government. It will confine minorities within a ring-fence and leave them no scope for expansion.

The strongest argument against such reservation is furnished by the facts as they are. The figures compiled by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and given in appendices A and B of the Report show conclusively that in the Punjab and Bengal there are an overwhelmingly Muslim zone, a predominantly Muslim zone, a neutral or predominantly Hindu zone, and an overwhelmingly Hindu zone, the result being that in both the provinces, humanly speaking, Muslims would be assured of a clear majority in the legislature. This, of course, presupposes adult suffrage for both sexes, which the Committee have recommended. For details see the Report.

In Bengal, "the Hindu minority, although it is a very big minority, is highly likely to suffer in numbers in an open general election without reservation." This is no imaginary fear, as the Bengal district board elections show. Though the voting strength of the Muslims there is now less than it be with adult suffrage,

Yet we find that they made a clean sweep of the Hindu minority in three districts—Mymensingh, Chittagong and Jessore. In the first two of these not a single Hindu was elected, though the Hindus are about 24 per cent of the population, and in the third only one Hindu managed to get in, though the community forms 38. 2 per cent of the population. As against this we find that Muslims, where they are in insignificant minorities of 3 and 4 per cent., have managed to send one to three representatives to the District Board.

Nevertheless we would not advocate the reservation of seats for the Hindu minorities. For separate electorates and reservation of seats are evils and ought not to be tolerated by those who oppose them, because others insist upon having them. All communities should rely solely on the growth of a humanitarian and national outlook and of altruism, public spirit and ability. Other considerations, reproduced below from the Report, should also help to dispel fear.

We are certain that as soon as India is free and can face her problems unhampered by alien authority and intervention, the minds of her people will turn to the vital problems of the day. How many questions that are likely to be considered by our future legislatures can be of a communal nature? There may possibly be a few now and then, but there can be no doubt that the vast majority of the questions before us will not be communal in the narrow sense. The result will be that

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parties will be formed in the country and in the legislature on entirely other grounds, chiefly economic we presume. We shall then find Hindus and Muslims and Sikhs in one party acting together and opposing another party which also consists of Hindus and Muslims and Sikhs. This is bound to happen, if we once get going.

—

Reservation of Seats for Minorities

The Committee have, for reasons stated in the Report, recommended, as a necessary evil, the reservation, for ten years, of seats for Muslim minorities, both in the Central and Provincial legislatures in strict proportion to their population, with the right to contest additional seats. The last-mentioned right is "calculated to advance the Muslim on national lines" and to enable non-Muslims to influence them by fraternization. Non-Muslim minorities are allowed reservation of seats on similar terms only in the N.-W. F. P. and Baluchistan. Is it or is it not understood that if Sind be made a separate province, non-Muslims there, too, will have this "right"?

On the whole we consider these recommendations of the Committee politic.

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Redistribution of Provinces

It is stated in the Report "that the present distribution of provinces in India has no rational basis." This is not quite true. Nor is it quite true to say that "it is merely due to accident." In most parts the distribution *is* due to geographical or historical or economic or linguistic reasons.

It is not a correct statement of facts that Hindustani is to-day the common language of half of India, though we do not object to efforts being made to make it the *lingua franca* of India. Of course, the use of English will not and cannot be prevented ; rather would it be necessary to encourage it.

The Committee favour redistribution of provinces on a linguistic basis, provided the people concerned so desire. "A third consideration, though not of the same importance, is administrative convenience, which would include the geographical position, the economic resources and the financial stability of the area concerned."

We have not been able to appreciate the difficulties in the way of the Committe favouring the unification of Utkal nearly to the extent that they favour the unification of the Karnataka. The Oriyas have been agitating for it for at least a quarter of a century, there is a considerable amount of literature on the subject, Government deputed some officers to enquire into the matter, and the Committee also "have received a small book giving the case for Utkal." Yet they say, "we regret we have been unable to consider it in the absence of any special memorandum or representation!" Did the Utkal people forfeit the favour of the Committee simply because their *small* book did not take the form of a memorandum or representation ? If so, it is sad that our own leaders were prevented from doing their duty because of such a characteristically bureaucratic technical objection,

Regarding the demand for the amalgamation of the Bengali-speaking tracts in Assam, and in Bihar and Orissa, the Committee only say that their colleague, Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose, is of opinion that it is reasonable and legitimate. The Committee, *minus* Mr. Bose, neither have nor express any opinion, though as regards Sylhet at least there have been resolutions and debates in councils and Government statements. It would be idle to speculate what would have been the result if the Bengali-speaking Muslims had made the demand.

About Sind we have already written much.

On the whole, everywhere we should be opposed to the creation of linguistic provinces which cannot be financially self-supporting. Other wise, we would not raise objections any where.

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The Indian States and Foreign Policy

The official and anti-Swaraj case for the Indian States has been stated and is being prepared in such a way as to prevent India from ever being united and free. This case, so far as it is available, has been thoroughly exposed and been made mince-meat of in the Report. Only one small extract from the letter of Sir Leslie Scott, the learned counsel engaged by the princes, published in the *Law Quarterly Review*, will suffice to show the Machiavellian ingenuity with which the anti-Swaraj case is being prepared :

"The British Government as paramount power has undertaken the defence of all the States, and *therefore to remain in India with whatever military and naval forces may be requisite to enable it to discharge that obligation.* It cannot hand over these forces to any other Government

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to a foreign power such as France or Japan ; to a dominion Government such as Canada or Australia ; nor even to British India" (*italics ours*).

We support the recommendations of the Committee relating to the Indian states.

—

Federal and Unitary Types of Government

So far as we can see from a cursory perusal of the Report, the Committee have not discussed the advantages and disadvantages of federal and unitary types of government, nor the question of having two houses in the provincial legislatures. These topics will not, therefore, be further referred to here.

—

The Recommendations

As the Committee were entrusted with the work of indicating the principles of the constitution, many details, to be expected in a fully drawn up bill, cannot obviously be found in the Report. So, generally, we shall not try to say what is wanting. We shall offer only a few suggestions and comments on some of the Recommendations, most of which merit cordial support.

Among the fundamental rights, (xiii) is stated as follows :

"No person shall, by reason of his religion, caste or creed, be prejudiced in any way in regard to public employment, office of power or honour and the exercise of any trade or calling".

After the word "creed" we would add, "or the province or place of his or his ancestor's birth," or words to the same effect.

We are not satisfied that the election of members of the Senate by the Provincial Councils is quite the best method, as it leads to loss of touch with the people, and responsibility becomes rather indirect and remote. In the United States of America the senator's re chosen by direct popular vote.

As in the case of the Senate so in that of the House of Representatives it should be stated explicitly that the allotment of seats to the provinces will be on the uniform basis of population, as indicated on page 91 of the Report.

Clause 21, pp. 107-8, should be so distinctly worded as to convey the sense that our Parliament is to have the same final power of making laws as the U. S. Congress possesses ; in the wording as it stands it is not clear what will happen if the Governor-General does not signify the King's assent when a bill is "again presented to the Governor-General for the signification in the King's name of the King's assent." In the U.S.A, the practice is : "Every bill which passes Congress must have the president's signature to become law, unless after he has returned it with his objections, two-thirds of each house support it and pass it over his veto." We ought to have some such rule. The King's veto may be a dead letter as regards his white subjects in Great Britain and the white men's dominions, but we should not expect it to be so here.

Recommendation 38 lays down : "If the Governor withholds his assent from any such bill the bill shall not become an Act." This makes the Governor the final authority in legislation, which is entirely undesirable. There ought to be a provision, like the American one, for the passing of a law over the veto of the Governor.

Recommendation 23 (*b*) states : "The Prime Minister shall be appointed by the Governor-General and the ministers shall also be appointed by him on the advice of the Prime Minister." It is not stated whether these officers must be chosen from the elected members of Parliament and whether after their appointment they would continue to have a seat in Parliament. In the case of the Provincial Executive also, similar information is not given. Such things ought to be explicitly stated. In the absence of such information, further comment is not possible. In the U.S.A., "the President chooses a cabinet of ten members, each having charge of an administrative department, but none of them having a seat in Congress."

It is not clear from the Recommendations how the central and provincial legislatures are to make the central and provincial executive respectively responsible to them. In fact, in the case of the Provincial Executive it is not even stated that it shall be responsible to the legislature.

According to Recommendation 81, the Indian Parliament may make laws for regulating the sources and methods of recruitment of the civil services in India. It is nowhere stated in the Report, this why Parliament is not to make laws similarly for regulating the sources and methods of recruitment of the army, navy and air services, nor, if Parliament is not to do it, who else is to do it.

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If such laws are required for the civil services, it stands to reason that similar laws would be required for the military, naval and air services also.

—

Division of Subjects into Central and Provincial

In Schedule I of the Report the control of mines is mentioned as one of the central subjects, whereas in Schedule II the development of mineral resources is mentioned as a provincial subject. Hence the control to be exercised over mines by the central government will have to be clearly defined in such a way as not to hamper the development of mineral resources by the provincial governments.

—

Electoral Constituencies

Recommendation 9 lays down that members of the House of Representatives shall be elected by constituencies determined by law. In the introductory address to his Swaraj Constitution Mr. C. Vijiaraghavachariar of Salem says :—

I am one of those who believe that these (electoral) constituencies should have no reference whatever to the boundaries of administrative provinces; but on the other hand the whole country should be divided entirely on a population basis without any regard to geographical or administrative conditions. This is one sure way of getting rid of parochial patriotism and particularism among members of Parliament, where, more than anywhere, broad harmony and outlook should prevail without factions and with only parties advocating broad and profound policies for the government and advancement of the country.

The idea seems to us very attractive, and the object still more so. It should be seriously considered whether the plan is feasible.

—

Centenary of the Brahmo Samaj

A century ago on the sixth day of *Bhadra*, corresponding this year to the 22nd August, Ram Mohun Roy and a few friends and followers of his met for the first time in a hired house in Upper Chitpur Road to worship the Supreme Spirit in an unsectarian manner. In that unpretentious manner were the seeds of the Brahma Samaj sown a hundred years ago. So, in the month of August this year the Brahmos have begun to celebrate the centenary of Brahmoism. As the first Brahmo house of worship, known as the Adi Brahmo Samaj Mandir, was erected in 1830, some Brahmos hold that the centenary should be celebrated in 1930. So, by way of reconciling both the views, the centenary celebrations will be continued in different ways and in different places till January 1930.

In Calcutta divine services have been conducted, addresses delivered by the followers of different religions, including Brahmos, conferences held for the discussion of problems relating to the community and the country, women's and children's festivals celebrated, and future programmes of work outlined. Brahmo men, women and children attended from many parts of India.

The principal day of the celebration was the 22nd August. That day in the morning Rabindranath Tagore, in spite of illness and weakness, spoke from the *Vedi* of the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj Mandir and read a brief address in Bengali on Ram Mohun Roy, which will be published in *Prabasi*. His English version of this inspiring address is published in this issue of the *Modern Review*.

The faith and ideals of the Brahmo Samaj have a universal appeal. Brahmos can fraternise with men of all creeds, colours, and countries. Ram Mohun Roy bore witness to the faith that was in him both in India and in foreign lands. Keshub Chunder Sen, Pratap Chunder Mozoomdar, Sivanath Sastri and others have done so. They all went westwards. It struck some ardent souls that, in however humble a way, the message of the Brahmo Samaj should be made known in the Far-East. So, two of our brethren, Mr. T. C. Khandwala and Mr. G. Y. Chitnis, have started for Japan, carrying with them the hopes, good wishes and prayers of their fellow-believers. On the return journey they will visit Burma and some other regions.

The Brahmos are an extremely small community, numbering only 6,388 out of 318,942,480, the total population of India, according to the census of 1921. But they are happy and hopeful that many of them have been able to serve their country and humanity in different fields of work—spiritual, moral, social, educational, literary, philosophical, scientific, artistic, political and economic. That they have been able to render this service is due, they think, to the fact that their faith gives them spiritual and social freedom. They believe that they

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can be worthy of the name of man only to the extent that their spirits are serene and free, their reason unfettered, and their conscience unclogged.

Many Brahmos of the present generation are deeply discontented with their present condition, achievement and influence. They are humbly praying and hoping for a full measure of new life.

—

Syed Amir Ali

Though for years Syed Amir Ali had ceased to be in India, he was and continued to be of India. He was a distinguished lawyer and judge. But he will be remembered longer as a scholar and author. His works on Muslim culture and history have served to give their readers new ideas of Islam. He raised and administered many funds, on different occasions, for the relief of foreign Muhammadans. Mahatma Gandhi has written in *Young India* that, throughout the Indian *satyagraha* in South Africa, Syed Amir Ali was on the side of his Indian fellow-countrymen.

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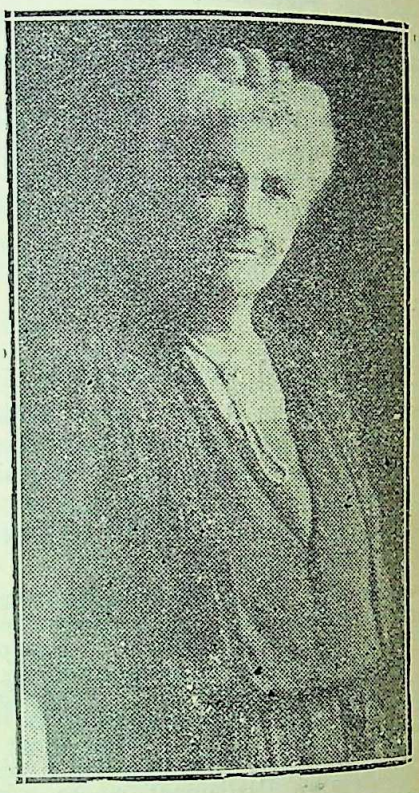
A Notable French Publication on India

Madame Andree Karpeles and her husband Mon. Hogman, both ardent lovers of India, have started a series of publications relating to Indian culture, named "Feuilles de l 'Inde' or The Leaves of India. The first volume of the series, which we have had the pleasure of receiving recently, is entitled "India and her Soul" (L' Inde et son ame). It is a beautifully printed volume of over 500 pages, presenting for the first time in French an anthology of the messages, thoughts, poems, stories, songs and of the scientific and artistic utterances of modern India. A detailed review of the book will be published in our next number. Here we simply wish to express our hearty congratulations to the organisers of this series, who have shown a rare taste in selecting the pieces and in publishing the first volume decorated with 40 woodcut designs by the talented artist Andree Karpeles. The volumes under preparation are also of capital interest : No. 2 will be the "Fireflies" of Rabindranath Tagore. No 3. "The Ho Legends." No 4. "The Cradle Songs of Bengal" by Abanindranath Tagore, etc. We wish the publishers all success and recommend the opening volume "India and her Soul." to the general public interested in contemporary India and her creative artists and thinkers.

—

The Late Mrs. Villard

Elsewhere in this issue we publish an article on Mrs. Fannie Garrison Villard, an apostle of peace and freedom, by Srimati Ragini Devi. Her portrait is published here.



Mrs. Fannie Garrison Villard

—

Ram Mohun Roy's Last Illness

The life of Dewan Ramcomul Sen by Peary Chand Mittra (1880) contains extracts from some letters written to the former by Professor H. H. Wilson. In one of these, dated the 21st December, 1833, he wrote:

In a letter I wrote to you I mentioned the death of Ram Mohun Roy. Since then I have seen Mr. Hare's brother, and had some conversation with him on the subject. Ram Mohun died of brain fever; he had grown very stout, and looked full and flushed when I saw him. It was thought he had the liver, and his medical treatment was for that and not for determination to the head. It appears also that mental anxiety contributed to aggravate his complaint. He had become embarrassed for money, and was obliged to borrow of his friends here ; in doing which he must have been exposed to much annoyance, as people in England would as soon part with their lives as their money. Then Mr. Sandford Arnot, whom he had employed as his Secretary, importuned him for the payment of large arrears which he can-

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arrears of salary, and threatened Ram Mohun, if not paid, to do what he has done since his death, claim as his own writing all that Ram Mohun published in England. In short, Ram Mohun got amongst a low, needy, unprincipled set of people, and found out his mistake, I suspect, when too late, which preyed upon his spirit and injured his health. With all his defects, he was no common man, and his country may be proud of him.

Incidentally it may be pointed out out that this extract supports our remark in the *Modern Review* for May, 1926, page 562, footnote, that Sandford Arnot "was not quite reliable."

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Dr. Jolly's "Hindu Law and Custom"

The Greater India Society now publishes, for the first time, an authoritative English translation of the German work "Recht und Sitte" published as early as 1896 by Dr. Jolly, the venerable professor of Sanskrit and Indology in the University of Wurzburg. Though published more than thirty years ago the book is still the most comprehensive and critical history of Hindu Law. The translator, Mr. Batakrishna Ghosh, a talented Sanskritist and research worker of the Society, has spared no pains to bring the book up-to-date with the valuable suggestions of the learned author, who is too old (over 78) to revise his book in the light of the latest researches into Hindu law. Dr. Jolly in revising the English version of Mr. Ghosh generously praises the translator for his fidelity to the original German text as well as for his careful revision and annotations. The learned German savant writes in his Foreward:

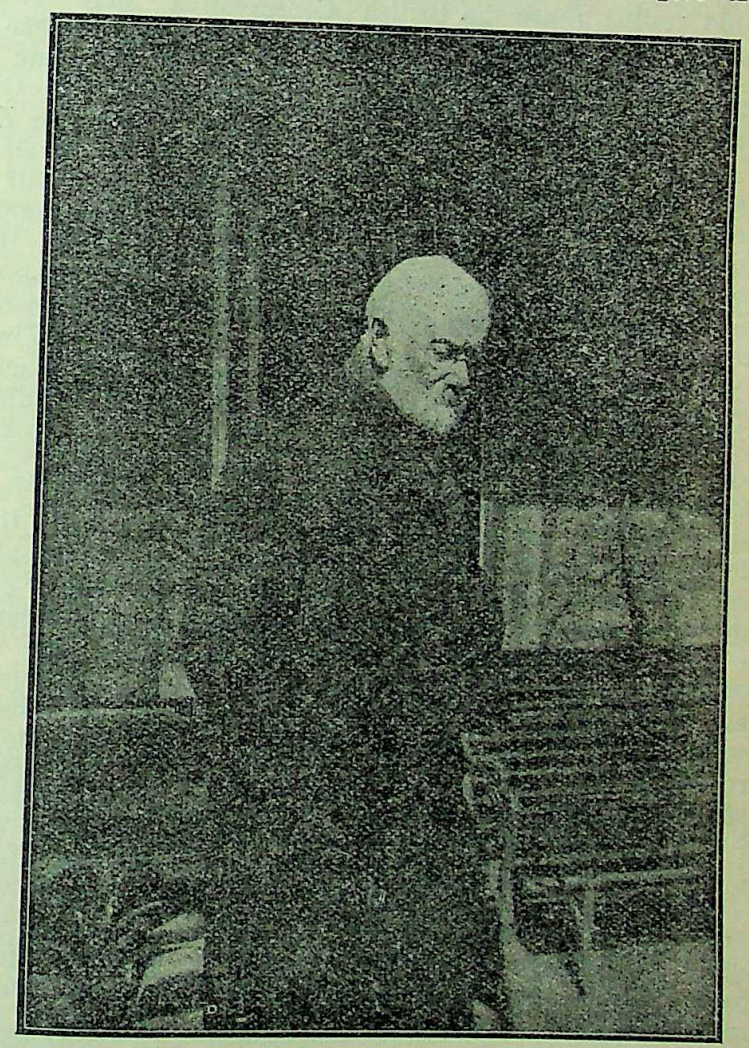
"During the more than thirty years which have elapsed since the publication of 'Recht und Sitte' the study of Sanskrit law-books has been progressing with rapid strides and it is a matter of regret that my advanced age and ill-health should have prevented me from bringing my work thoroughly up-to-date before it was translated into English. It is hoped, however, that the learned notes added by the translator will to some extent supply this deficiency."

He further wrote to Mr. Ghosh: "The translation is excellent and its value has been greatly enhanced by your very interesting and instructive notes."

Dr. Jolly discusses further in his Foreword the value of a comparative study of Dharmashastra and Arthashastra. The latter "though a text-book of polity is replete with useful information on Law and Judicature as well."

The veteran German historian of Hindu Law pays a warm tribute at the end to the Indian scholars and publishers working in the same field.

"Important additions to our knowledge of Dharmashastra literature have been supplied by the publication in India of such valuable texts as the *Balakrida* of Visvarupa, the earliest gloss of Yajnavalkya, Apararka's commentary, on the same work and Balambhatta's (not Laksmidevi's) commentary on the Mitaksara.....The Tagore Law



Prof. Dr. Julius Jolly
Würzburg

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lectures, the Sacred Books of the Hindus, Madras Law Journal, Anandasrama texts and other periodical publications abound in valuable informations regarding Sanskrit Law..."

"Hindu Law and Custom" is the *second* in the series of the Greater India Society publications and it may be had either in the office of the Society (91, Upper Circular Road, Calcutta) or from M. C. Sarkar and Sons, sole agents (90-2A Harrison Road, Calcutta).

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The "Public Safety Bill"

We do not know if the Public Safety Bill has been drafted by the Government of India with a view to meet a real emergency or merely as a gesture to convince the present anti-communist cabinet in England of the wide-awakeness of the Government of India to problems and dangers which, whether real or non-existent, would readily rouse the British Conservative fighting spirit. Such a rousing of British passion, even if achieved by giving a false alarm, would doubtless have its desired effect. The British Conservatives would at once realise the urgency of keeping the power of such dutiful and devoted servants intact in India, the land of their financial hopes, however much the Indians themselves may agitate for the curbing of the irresponsible powers of the Anglo-Indian Bureaucracy.

Let us, however, assume that communist propaganda is rampant in India and a large number of foreign communists are daily moving about all over the country, preaching disaffection and violence against the established order. Assuming such a state of affairs, we do not find any justification for such legislation. If the draft bill is passed into law, Government will be in a position to use the same sort of irresponsible and lawless powers against foreigners as they have been for a long time using against the Indians themselves whenever the latter have protested with any degree of strength against British domination and exploitation of India. In this sense the Public Safety Bill is merely a Foreigners' Edition of Regulation 3 of 1818 and sister regulations, ordinances and "laws." A study of the draft Public Safety Bill clearly shows that, although it is theoretically directed against foreign communists of the violent type there is no guarantee that it will not be used (abused ?) against all foreigners who show or act in sympathy with Indian aspirations, economic as well as political. It is not necessary to discuss the clauses which describe the persons who are the object of this legislation; for the way in which the proposed law will be used is simply one great loop-hole for abuse. Under this new law if it is passed, the Governor-General in Council may order in writing any such (as described) person to remove himself from British India within such time and in such manner and by such route and means as are specified in the order. The Governor-General in Council or any officers authorised by them will have the right to enforce compliance with the order by "any and every means." They could, for example, command the master of any ship leaving India to carry any undesirable person and his dependants, if any, away from India and land him or them in any port specified by the officials to which the ship may be proceeding. That is to say, an American "Communist" with his invalid wife and infant daughter may be, by order of the Government of India, transported to Oslo or Zanzibar or any other port that may be available. The passage to this far off port will be graciously borne by the Governor-General in Council, *i.e.*, by the people of India. But no one knows how and where the American and his dependants will find necessary funds to maintain themselves in their enforced exile and to ultimately get back to America. Many foreigners stay in India to earn a living and their banishment will often deprive them of their means of livelihood. Who will compensate them for their loss ? Who will feed them until they obtain a job, let us say, in Constantinople, or Yokohama or wherever the ship chosen by the Governor-General may carry them ? What will they do if the Turkish, Japanese or any other government in whose territories they will be so peremptorily landed, orders them to leave their country forthwith ? One can easily see that this new piece of proposed legislation is full of posibilities for all foreigners who desire to be persecuted, tyrannised over, tormented and tortured in every moral, physical, economic and political sense. And there is no surety that the foreigner who will be so maule by the Government of India will be one who deserves such treatment.

No court shall take cognizance of an offence under this section save upon a complaint made by an order of or under authority from the Governor-General in Council.

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AND

No removal order shall be called in question in any Court or by or before any other authority whatsoever and nothing in section 491 of the Code of Criminal Procedure 1898 shall apply to any person who has been committed to custody under section 6 or any other person in respect of whom a removal order has been made and no suit, prosecution or other legal proceeding whatsoever shall lie against any person in respect of anything in good faith done or intended to be done under this Act.

God help the foreigner who incurs the displeasure of the Government of India !

We are, needless to say, not communists ; but we believe that communism is a serious economico-political view-point held by many serious minded and intelligent human beings, not all of whom are anti-social bomb-throwers. Even those who are advocates of bomb-throwing may legitimately contend that along with themselves many Imperialists, Monarchists, Democrats, Republicans, Fascists, etc, also believe in throwing bombs (from aeroplanes) for the promotion of their respective causes. So that, communists are not any extraordinary humans for whom any government should make extraordinary laws. If any communist breaks the normal laws of a country, he should be dealt with and punished in the usual legal way, just as a person would be who stabbed another fellow-man for not singing "God save the King" or "*la Marseillaise*". If an Indian or a foreign communist worked within the limits of law for the overthrow or reform of the existing order, we do not see why he should be punished. All causes have a right to be preached and supported by all legal means. Even a good cause has no right to be advocated illegally (as shown above). So that, repressive and extraordinary legislation directed against any social, political and economic view-point can never be justified. We read a lot about communism, its principles and methods, in such standard books as the Encyclopaedia Britannica and the Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics and in numerous special treatises. The Government of India do not prohibit the circulation of these books in India. Then, why should they adopt oppressive measures against persons who give out the same ideas by word of mouth ? And that in the barbarous way suggested in the proposed Public Safety Bill.

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India a Good Ground for Communist Propaganda

Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola has written a very pertinent and well-reasoned letter to the *Indian Daily Mail*, Bombay, in connection with the spread of communism in India. His standpoint is that to remove communist propaganda from India one must first remove the causes that foster the growth o communistic ideas among the Indian masses. Unless this is done, it is no use attempting its removal by force or in any other way. Says Sir Ibrahim :

The soil has been suitably developed in consequence of the economic backwardness of the people of India cannot, I think, be disputed. When large masses of people have not sufficiency of food and adequate clothing they would readily fall victims to any insidious propaganda which promises plentiful supplies for their daily necessities. With the masses contented with their lot in consequence of having adequate means of livelihood, such propaganda would fall on barren soil. Such is the the case especially in India. The people of this country follow in the main two principal religions in the world, namely, Hinduism and Islam, both of which enjoin contentment with the lot in life in which God has chosen to place them. They regard existence on this planet as a mere passing phase and as preparation for the next existence. But for this faith there would have been great trouble much earlier and even now on a much wider scale.

Agitators can and do preach

That want and insufficiency of food and clothing are due not to inadequacy of production but to the high cost of foreign administration and to exploitation of the land in the interests of foreigners. This policy produces insufficiency of food and clothing because the whole production in India is not available for the Indian people. This doctrine has gradually upset the cherished faith of the people of India, and when they are urged to be up and doing in order to retain all that is produced in India for the benefit of the people of India, it tells.

Sir Ibrahim next criticises the Government's revenue policy. He thinks that the sources chosen for raising revenue are provocative to the masses and the total of taxes paid by the people is excessively and unjustly heavy. We are told :

The food grains of the masses are subject to land assesment and the surplus produce has to pay heavily increased railway freights. Their clothing is taxed, their salt, their fuel, their kerosene, their sugar and even the grazing of their cattle are subject to taxation. The District Local Boards, the Municipalities, the Provincial Government and the Imperial Government are levying taxes, both directly and indirectly, which substantially reduce the savings, if any, in agriculture. The petty tyrannies of the village tax-gatherer and the village police are also some of the factors which affect the economic well-being of the masses. Is it any wonder that the masses, situated as they are under these conditions, should fall an easy prey to political or communist agitation ? They have really very little stake in the country. They stand to lose hardly anything, while rosy pictures

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drawn for their future prosperity cannot but have an unsettling effect.

The Government is not as keenly alive to the necessity for increasing the national income of India as they are to absorbing a disproportionately large share of it for purposes which mainly do not go to increase either the national income or the capacity of the people to produce more wealth. Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola says :

The whole problem, as it appears to me, is a problem of national income. If the national income of a country is insufficient to meet the cost of administration and to supply the minimum requirements of the people, that country must slide downwards to what depths it is difficult to realise.

In all clivilized countries it is the primary duty of the administration to devote all attention to increasing the national income of the people, and continuous action by the executive is one of the essential functions which the Government of a civilized country discharges. I wish I could say that the Government of India does this.

Portrait of Rabindranath Tagore

For the portrait of Rabindranath Tagore published in this issue we are indebted to Mr. Pinakin Trivedi of Santiniketan, who photographed him on the first day of the current Bengali year on his coming out of the Mandir after Divine Service.

Romain Rolland on Ram Mohun and the Indian Renaissance

To the special number of the internationalist French review "Europe," consecrated to the centenary of Tolstoy's birth, M. Romain Rolland contributes a paper entitled "The Response of Asia" (La reponse de l' Asie). While surveying therein the spiritual correspondence of Tolstoy with China, Japan, Persia and India, Rolland with the vision of a true historian traces the broad outline of the picture of the renaissance of Modern India :

"In 1828 one of the greatest spirits of our time, Raja Ram Mohun Roy, founded the community of the *Brahma Samaj*, uniting all the religions of the world into a religious system based on *faith in one God without a second*. Such an idea was necessarily confined at first within a group of *elite* and gradually ever since roused profound echoes in the souls of the great mystics of Bengal and through them, it is permeating, little by little, the masses of India.

"Europe is as yet far from imagining the prodigious *resurrection of Indian genius* which was announced about the year 1830 and which shone resplendent towards 1900. That was a flowering season, as sudden as it was brilliant, in all the fields of spiritual activity: in art, in science, in thought. The single name of Rabindranath Tagore, detached from the constellation of that glorious family, has shed its lustre over the entire world.

"Almost simultaneously, we find Vedantism renovated by Dayananda Saraswati, the founder of the Arya Samaj, also called the Indian Luther; and we see Keshub Chunder Sen making the Brahma Samaj an instrument of ardent social reforms and the ground of rapprochement between the Christian religious idea and that of the Orient. Above all, the religious firmament of India was illuminated by two stars of primary grandeur, suddenly appearing—or *reappearing* after centuries—(speaking after the grand Indian style of profound significance)—two miracles of spirit: Ramakrishna (1836—1886), the 'mad man' of God—who embraced in his love all forms of Divinity; and his heroic disciple, Vivekananda (1863—1902), whose torrential energy had reawakened in his exhausted people the God of action, the God of the Gita."

We know that Mon. Rolland, as a genuine and passionate lover of India's spiritual heritage, started his survey of this *renaissance* with "Mahatma Gandhi." We know also that he is devoting these days to the study of the Ramakrishna-Vivekananda epoch of this grand spiritual drama, which will soon be made public. We hope and pray that health and leisure may be granted to him to compose another of his *Symphonie Heroique* on Ram Mohun, the *precursor* and prologue of this grand Drama, thereby completing his trilogy on the Resurrection of India. —K. N.

New Light on the Brahmo Sabha of Ram Mohun

Mr. N. C. Ganguly, the author of the latest study on "Ram Mohun Roy", from which a chapter is printed in this issue, has discovered two new facts of capital importance. The Raja with his characteristic universality of outlook invited the members of every denomination then available in Calcutta to participate in his new religious service, Armenians, Jews, Eurasian Christians, all joining in the chorus of adoration and a Mahomedan musician, Ghulam Abbas, supplying the musical accompaniment with his pakhoaj.

The Raja further is found to have appointed one non-Brahman Biswambhar Das as the Secretary of his Brahma Sabha which was not therefore a close preserve for the Brahmans, as it was supposed to be. —K. N.

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THE PAST AND THE FUTURE
By Mr. Sudhin Ranjan Khastagir

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262

MESSAGE TO THE WORLD LEAGUE FOR PEACE

By RABINDRANATH TAGORE

A literal translation of the letter addressed to the Poet by the Director of the World League for Peace, Geneva.

Ligue Mondiale pour la Paix. Geneve, le 13 juin, 1928.

Honoured Sir,

Be pleased to permit us to approach you through the esteemed personality of Monsieur Romain Rolland, to pray that you be gracious enough to grant us an autograph for the Golden Book of Peace.

This work will consist of reproductions of the thoughts on peace from the most illustrious personages and the most eminent writers of each country.

We have received, up to this day, for this book, over 270 documents, among which are the autographs of Messrs. Heriot, Briand, Paul-Boncour, Poincare, Brieux, Marcel Prevost, Chamberlain, Stressemann, Ador, Henri Barbusse, Maurice Donnay, Vandervelde, Charles Richet, Quidde and others.

We pray that you believe, Honoured Sir, that we shall consider it a very great disappointment if you do not consent to honour the Golden Book of Peace with some reflexion emanating from your great heart.

We feel sure that you will undoubtedly approve of our effort and that you will contribute to its moral success by letting us have a few lines that we solicit from your generosity.

Be kind enough, honoured monsiuer, to accept the expression of our great admiration and the assurance of our profound gratitude.

(Sd-) Georges Dejean, Director, Ligue Mondiale pour la Paix.

A piece of vellum was sent for an autographed message from the Poet and he wrote the following lines and signed it both in English and Bengali :—

In our political ritualism, we still worship the tribal god of our own make and try to appease it with human blood. This fetishism is blindly primitive and angers truth that leads to death-dealing conflicts. To many of us it seems that this blood-stained idolatry is a permanent part of human nature. But we know in our past history, there have been things born of dark unreason producing phantoms of fear in our mind and ferocity of suspicion. Within the boundaries of night they also had loomed large and appeared as everlasting. But a great many of them have already vanished, making the social life of a fruitful peace possible in civilised communities.

Let us, to-day, by the strength of our own faith prove that the homicidal orgies of a cannibalistic politics are doomed, inspite of contradictions that seem overwhelmingly formidable.

(Bengali signature)

Rabindranath Tagore

The above was written on the morning of the 30th of September.

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UNITARIANS AND THE HALL OF FAME

OR

THE RELIGION OF EMINENT MEN

BY JABEZ T. SUNDERLAND

WHY does the American National Hall of Fame contain the names of so many Unitarians ?

This question is not one of idle curiosity. There is in it a lesson which may well be pondered by all churches and all persons who care for religion.

No other single event connected with the celebration (in April and May, 1925) of the Centenary of American Unitarianism was so picturesque as the march (Sunday afternoon, April 19th) of the great procession of men, women, and children, through the long corridor of the Hall of Fame in New York, when a group of little girls, dressed in white as the procession advanced placed wreaths of flowers on the busts or the tablets of the *twenty-two eminent Unitarians* who had places there among the nation's most honored dead.

What is the whole number of names in the Hall of Fame, and what proportion do the Unitarians bear to the whole ? The answer is, the total number is sixty-five and therefore the twenty-two Unitarians form a little more than one-third of all.

The names of these twenty-two (arranged alphabetically) are :

John Adams
John Quincy Adams
Louis Agassis
George Bancroft
William Cullen Bryant
William Ellery Channing
Peter Cooper
Charlotte Saunders Cushman
Ralph Waldo Emerson
Benjamin Franklin
Nathaniel Hawthorne
Oliver Wendell Holmes
Thomas Jefferson
Henry Wadsworth Longfellow
James Russell Lowell
Horace Mann
John Marshall
Maria Mitchell
John Lothrop Motley
Francis Parkman
Joseph Story
Daniel Webster

Is it not astonishing, that a group or body of religious people so small in numbers as the Unitarian Church should furnish so large a proportion of the men and women who are acclaimed by the nation as its greatest sons and daughters ? Is there not some mistake about it ?

If we turn to the census of the churches, perhaps that will help us. The 1924-25 issue of the Year Book of the Churches, edited by Dr. E. O. Watson, secretary of the Washington office of the Federal Council of Churches gives the total membership of Protestant churches in this country, in 1923, as 48,224,014, and the total membership of the Roman Catholic church as 18,260,793. Adding these we have 66,484,807 as the whole number of members of all the Christian churches in the United States. What is the total membership of the Unitarian churches ? It is about 110,000, or one six-hundredth part of the whole church membership in the land. Yet, this very small fraction, this one six-hundredth part of our Christian population actually contributes, as we have seen, one-third of the names in our National Hall of Fame.

Turning now from the census of the churches to the census of the whole nation, what do we find there ? We find something quite as favorable to Unitarianism ; the total population of the country is about 110,00,000. Of these, the Unitarians (110,000) form about one-tenth of one per cent. Yet it is this one-thousandth part of the whole population of the country that has furnished between thirty-three and thirty-four per cent of the names in our Hall of Fame, and seventeen per cent of the Presidents of the United States.

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Let us pursue our inquiry further still. Fortunately, one of our eminent American scientists has recently published book which throws very direct and very important light on the subject.

In his volume, "The Character of Races," issued in 1924, a work which gives the results of extensive scientific investigation of the causes which produce eminence or inferiority in races and in individual men, the author Dr. Ellsworth Huntington, of Yale University, calls attention to the remarkable number of distinguished men and women produced by the Unitarian Church. He says: "In proportion to their numbers the Unitarians, and especially their clergymen, have contributed a greater number of eminent leaders than has any other group of Americans for whom we have statistics." In the next paragraph he cites the fact mentioned above of the amazing disproportion of the Unitarian names in the Hall of Fame of New York University; and he adds: "The productivity of the Unitarians in supplying leaders of the first rank has been 150 *times as great* as that of the *remainder of the population*, while that of the *Unitarian ministers* has been *nearly* 1,500 *times as great*.

Since Professor Huntington wrote his facts, and conclusions have received confirmation from other sources. One of the most striking is that of investigations made by President Clarence Cook Little of the University of Michigan. On the 2nd of April, 1926, President Little gave an address before the Michigan Schoolmaster's Club, in which he affirmed his conviction that "intellectual leadership is closely connected with liberality in religion," and presented statistics which he had prepared, stating that persons belonging to various Christian denominations occur more or less frequently in "Who's Who in America" according to the liberality or illiberality of their creed.

President Little said that, using three letters of the alphabet, A. M. and W. he had tabulated four groups—medical men, scientists, authors or writers, and lawyers. The results, calculated on a percentage basis, when compared with the percentages of the various religious denominations in the whole United States, showed that Unitarians occur more than twenty-eight times as frequently as one would expect; Episcopalians ten and six-tenths times; congregationalists five and eight-tenths times; Universalists five and five-tenths times, and Presbyterians three and five-tenths times; while in marked contrast with these Methodists occour only about three-fifths as many times as expected; Baptists a little more than two-fifths, and Roman Catholics between one-quarter and one-fifth.

The difference between denominations apparently is greater among scientists than among lawyers,—an interesting fact when one considers that science continually looks for new truths while law has for its chief duty the maintenance of the existing order. Thus, among the scientists, the Unitarians are found to be seventy times as numerous as expected, and the Congregationalists nine and four-tenths times; while the Catholics are only about one-fifth as many as their occurrence in the general population would indicate that they should be.*

What is the explanation of these almost incredible facts?

"There is only one possible answer, as both Professor Huntington and President Little make clear.†

The explanation is *the superiority of Liberal Religion, the superiority of the Unitarian Faith, as a creator of the independent thinking, of intellectual strength, of moral character, and therefore of fitness and power to lead in the nation's higher life.*

In other words the explanation is to be found in the fact that Liberal Religion in all its forms, but especially Unitarianism, differs radically from all forms of "orthodoxy," in that *far beyond them all it trusts reasons, encourages investigation* in religion as well as everywhere else; *looks upon thinking as a religious duty*, as much a religious duty as believing, and necessary as a preliminary to all believing that is worth anything or safe; *welcomes science*; *rejects all backward-looking and mind-fettering creeds, and all external authorities imposed by priests*

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* It is worthy of notice in this connection, that when Sir Francis Felton, many years ago made his study of the scientific men of England published in 1874 in his "English Men of Science: Their Nature and Nurture", he found that a surprising number of them, a number out of all proportion to the whole, were sons of Unitarian ministers.

† "Perhaps it ought to be said, that neither of these two men is a Unitarian; both are associated with orthodox churches: hence they cannot well be suspected of bias in favour of Unitarianism.

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or churches; lifts the ethical above the theological, the practical above the ecclessiastical, deeds above profession; and dares to stand on its own feet and break new paths. These are *exactly the qualities which modern Unitarianism in all its history has fostered and striven to develop in its people.*

These facts and deductions are pointed out in no spirit of boasting, or arrogance, or self-praise, or as a "flourish of authority," but simply and only to make clear to the American people the *extraordinary value of the principles, the ideas, the religion for which the Unitarian Church stands,* in building up the higher intellectual and moral life of the nation, and in creating leadership in all that is best in Christian civilization.

ART IN THE WEST AND THE EAST

By NAGENDRANATH GUPTA

II

EUROPEAN writers in their references to Eastern art usually draw the line at Byzantium or Persia. Some writers have traced an affinity between Roman and Japanese arts. The land of the Chrysanthemum and the geisha has had a strong fascination for European travellers and holiday seekers, but no attempt was made to ascertain the indebtedness of Japanese and Chinese art to the ancient art of India. Much of the annals of Indo-Aryan civilisation is pre-historic but not mythic. History as such was never written by the Aryans, and their wisdom in this respect is justified by the doubtful truthfulness of many historical records. These ancient people in India recorded their thoughts on the tablets of their memory. So thoroughly saturated were their minds with a profound conviction of the illusory nature of the objective world, the evanescence of all worldly things and the transcience of kingdoms and empires that neither dates nor history had any interest for them. The Hebrew Preacher said, "Vanity of vanities, all is vanity." This is an obvious truth but to the Aryans in India it was deep and real philosophy colouring all thought and governing every action in life. The original meaning of the Sanscrit word *itihasa*, now translated as history, is tradition, and in this sense the great epics, the Ramayana and the Mahabharata, and several of the ancient Sanscrit dramas are historical. Cities like Ayodhya, Indraprastha and Hastinapur were not poetic inventions. Among the ruins around Delhi a mound of earth is still known as the site of Indraprastha, frequently named in the Mahabharata. In the same epic a detailed account is given of a splendid Assembly Hall built for the Pandava Princes.*

Architecture is the earliest form of formative and decorative art. It is mentioned that the hall was ornamented with many pictures and the floor was so cunningly devised that it produced an optical delusion. The famous Rishi Naroda, who was present as an honoured guest, gave King Yudhishthira elaborate descriptions of the assembly halls of some of the gods. In the *Mrichhakatikam* (Toy Cart) believed to be the oldest Sanscrit drama and supposed to have been written a hundred years before Christ, there is a minute and full account of seven chambers in the mansion of Vasantasena, the heroine. A man who has entered the house for the first time gives a description, beginning with the portico, or the various pictures and ornaments in the rooms. In the *Meghadutam*, or the Cloud Messenger, of the poet Kalidasa there is a wonderful, panoramic description of landscape, such as would be seen from an aeroplane sailing slowly over the country. Miniature paintings and likenesses from which an individual could be at once recognised

* The Mahabharata, Sabha Parva.

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are mentioned in the Puranas, dramas and other works.

Beyond these records there are no remnants, no ruins, no fragements of Indo-Aryan art of the Vedic or epic period, or even of the time of Vikramaditya, the patron of the famous nine intellectual gems, of whom the poet Kalidasa was the most brilliant, the promulgator of one of the two eras now in vogue in India. There is a wide gap of time between prehistoric Indo-Aryan culture and the remains of sculptural and other arts which are found at the present time. No real broad-minded lover or critic of art in the West of either the traditions or remnants of art in India had any opportunity of observation or study in the early period of British rule in India. Attention was first drawn to the evidences of Brahmanic and Buddhistic art by departmental Anglo-Indian writers, whose attitude of ill-disguised contempt towards the past of India was emphasised by their ignorance. Departmental archaeologists and antiquarians could not forget that they belonged to a race which now rules India, and the sense of superiority obscured their judgment. Pronounced scepticism and even denial of the great antiquity of the Vedas, utter ignorance of Aryan philosophy and literature, and the contempt for a race of heathens influenced their pronouncements upon the relics of Indian art. From the sculptures of the Gandharan school, admittedly the work of inferior Graeco-Roman artists and artisans, official English archaeologists rushed to the conclusion that India never had any original art, and everything was borrowed from ancient Persia, Greece or Rome. With a little more ingenuity these critics might have urged that Aryan mythology is borrowed from the Greek, that Krishna is merely an imitation of the Greek Orpheus, that the Mahabharata is a clever plagiarism from Homer, and, to complete the *reductio ad absurdum*, it may be maintained, with a sovereign contempt for chronological sequence, that the doctrine of *maya* must have been borrowed from Berkeley.

High above these pinchback professors of art and brummagen archaeologists stands John Ruskin, whose voice is heard as that of a preacher and prophet in his immortal books and of whom no one can speak without admiration and reverence. Ruskin himself wrote that he had seen every stone of Venice, but of Indian art he had seen nothing beyond the careless and unrepresentative collection of worthless modern work scattered about in the British and South Kensington Museums. The great writer had never heard of the sculptures of Elephanta and Ellora, the paintings of Ajanta and the works of Indian art in Ceylon and Java. The poor specimens that he saw he designated as "barbarous grotesque of mere savageness as seen in the work of Hindoo and other Indian nations."* The still more grosser form of the barbarous grotesque was to be found among "the complete savage of the Pacific Islands". Thus in the opinion of Ruskin the Hindoo and other Indian nations were only one degree removed from the complete savage and the cannibal. In another place treating of architecture and referring to India, Ruskin makes a curiously infelicitous suggestion about keeping the lamp of memory alight: "Let us imagine our own India House adorned in this way, by historical or symbolical sculpture: massively built in the first place; then adorned with bas-reliefs of our Indian battles and fitted with carvings of Oriental foliage, or inlaid with Oriental stones; and the more important members of its decoration composed of groups of Indian life and landscape, and prominently expressing the the phantasms of Hindoo worship in their subjection to the Cross."† If this idea had been carried out and a building of the India Office designed in accordance with these suggestions it would have been a daily affront to Indian visitors and a monument of political unwisdom. But if Ruskin wrote of Indian art and the Indian people in ignorance he wrote of the followers of the Church of Rome with full and finished knowledge, and he poured his vial of contempt on 'Romanist idolatry' with burning iconoclastic zeal:—"It matters literally nothing to a Romanist what the image he worships is like. Take the vilest doll that is screwed together in a cheap toy-shop, trust it to the keeping of a large family of children, let it be beaten about the house by them till it is reduced to a shapeless block, then dress it in a satin frock and declare it to have fallen from heaven, and it will satisfactorily answer all Romanist

* Ruskin, The Stones of Venice, Vol. III

† The Seven Lamps of Architecture. The Lamp of Memory.

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purposes."* Ruskin's literary judgment also is startlingly unconventional: "Cast Coleridge at once aside, as sickly and useless; and Shelley as shallow and verbose."†

Ruskin was far too great a man to wrangle with his early critics, but once, in the preface to the second edition of "Modern Painters" he replied to a critic in Blackwood's Magazine, and the first sentence may be quoted here: "Writers like the present critic of Blackwood's Magazine deserve respect—the respect due to honest, hopeless, helpless imbecility." The critic was none other than Professor John Wilson, 'the fair-haired Hercules-Apollo,' famous under his literary name of Christopher North. Language of such scathing contempt has not been applied even to the most ignorant critics of Indian art.

The word 'Hindu' is from the Persian word 'Hind' meaning black, and refers to the dark complexion of the people of India, but it has been accepted latterly by the Hindus themselves as distinctive of their religion. The word Hind occurs in the famous *guzal* of Hafiz:

"*Agar an Toork Shirazi badastarad dile mara.*

Bakhale hindyash bukshum Samarcando Bokhara ra.

If that Toork from Shiraz would take my heart in his hand I would make a gift of the cities Samarcand and Bokhara in exchange for the dark mole on his skin."

The word is an obvious corruption from the Sanscrit word Indu, the moon.

The illustrious Chinese traveller Hieuen-Tsiang, who travelled extensively in India, says that the country was called in ancient times Shin-tu (Sindhu), also Hien-tau (Hindu) but the right pronunciation of the word is in-tu (Indu). The explanation of this name may be given in the traveller's own eloquent words: "The bright connected light of holy men and sages, guiding the world as the shining of the moon, have made this country eminent, and so it is called in-tu (Indu), the moon." It will be more accurate to refer to early Indian art as Brahmanic, Jain and Buddhist, for the word Hindu was unknown until the establishment of Islamic rule in India.

Preconceived prejudice, inability to appreciate the orientation of Indian thought and Indian art, utter ignorance of ancient Indian theogony as contained in the Sanscrit scriptures, and of the hagiology of Buddhism and Jainism, and irresponsible empericism have combined to make supercilious outside estimates of ancient Indian art utterly valueless. But the appeal here is not that of embalmed mummies and the trappings of death which have turned archaeologists into grave diggers, but of living thought and a profound symbolism. As Indian philosophy and Indian thought have penetrated the thick armour of Western materialism so has Indian art been vindicated and raised to its rightful place in the world of art. Continental critics like Foucher and Rodin, himself a great artist, the patient and earnest labours of Mrs. Herringham and her Indian helpers, and Victor Goloubeff have represented Indian art in its true light. Havell's works on Indian art and ancient Indian civilisation display an insight, an understanding and an intimate knowledge worthy of high admiration while Coomaraswamy has brought all the resources of his scholarship and all the enthusiasm of his patriotism to bear upon his exposition of Indian and Ceylonese art. And they have been succeeded by others, including a number of Englishmen, who have borne enthusiastic testimony to the greatness of Indian art, which is rapidly winning admirers and adherents in the West.

Time alone is not responsible for the destruction of works of art in India. Almost all vestiges of religious paintings have been effaced by the blind and indiscriminate passion of iconoclastic zeal. In considering the relics of sculptural and architectural arts that are still left the first feature that has to be stressed is the selection of the sites. With all the modern facilities of travel places like Elephanta, Karle, Ajanta and many ancient temples in South India are not difficult of access now. In ancient times they were entirely removed and remote from the haunts of men, and the men who worked in the cave temples and on rock sculpture lived in a state of complete isolation. They only forethought that they showed was in choosing a spot where there was a supply of fresh water near at hand, a natural spring of clear water or some mountain stream gushing out near by. In other respects their abnegation was as complete as of the *yogis* who renounced the world and went to the forest for meditation. It was sacred art at its highest and holiest. Their studio was the

* Stones of Venice, Vol. II
† Elements of Drawing, Appendix.

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sea-girt island, or the steep mountain side. There were no admiring crowds to watch their work from day to day, no titles awaiting to reward their labours. It was a work of love, devotion and faith. The Greek sculptor chiselled out his figures or temples from blocks of marble or stone; the Indian sculptor attacked the whole mass of frowning unyielding and reluctant rock, and with hammer and chisel carved out colossal or small images, magnificent fluted pillars, wide, spacious monastic halls. It was the work of Titans done by humble and gentle laymen and monks, whose art was part of their religion. The physical peril was as great as the work was strenuous. The scaffoldings on which the sculptors worked must have been often erected over yawning chasms and a slip or a false step would have meant instantaneous death. Their indifference to fame was no less remarkable than their disregard of personal comfort and personal safety. There is no inscription, no memorial tablet to afford the slightest clue to the master artists who have left the impress of their handiwork on these rocks. Were they to obtrude their identity while making the images of the gods? Mr. Havell has written of the unknown Indian Michaelangelo, Tintoretto and Perugino who worked in the caves of Elephanta and Ajanta. In Western art we can easily reel off the names of ancient, medieval and modern artists, but in India not a single name has come down to posterity except the architects and sculptors of myth and fable, names like Visvakarma, the architect of the gods, and Moy, the demon builder. Ancient Indian art was an anonymous consecration of high talent, the culmination of self-surrender and self-effacement.

The second obvious feature of ancient Indian art is the greater attention paid to the durability of sacred structures as compared with secular. The Bharhut stupa is one of the oldest examples of Indian art and its date is approximately estimated about the third century B. C. There are no royal palaces of that date of which even the ruins have much attraction. The sculptures at Bharhut, Sanchi and Amaravati are not only of great artistic value but of considerable historic and educative importance. The great Chinese traveller Hieuen-Tsang when he visited India in the seventh century of the Christian era found the Nalanda University flourishing in all its glory but the old capital cities of Magadha and other parts of India were in ruins. The universities at such places as Nalanda, Ajanta, Sudhanya Kata and Takshasila were sacred institutions and sacred learning was imparted in them. In the Brahmanic temples was heard the rise and fall of the Vedic chant, in the Buddhist chaitya houses learned and pious monks expounded the Law, in the Jain temples learned priests and Munis discoursed on the great Tirthankars, the Pillars of the Universe, the saints whose colossal images are to be seen at Jain shrines. The importance of Ellora is due not only to the Kailash temple, a marvellous combination of the finest sculpture and architecture, but also to the contiguity of Jain and Buddhist shrines. The Indra Sabha at Ellora is a Jain temple with sculptured figures of Mahavira, the twenty-fourth and last Tirthankar and a contemporary of the Buddha. There can be no more conclusive evidence of the tolerance of religious faiths in ancient India than that a great Saiva temple should be seen near other temples of other religions.

Of Ajanta Mr. Havell writes:

"Very rarely in the world's history has there come together that true symphony of the three arts—painting, sculpture, and architectonic design—creating the most perfect architecture, which are so beautifully harmonised at Ajanta."

In many places in India there are numerous relics of the finest plastic art, but the Ajanta frescoes reveal the acme of pictorial art, in its perfect technique, the bold and sure sweep of the lines, the living reality of portraiture, the variety of designs, the vividness and graciousness of expression. The idealised likeness of Prince Siddartha, the Buddha that was to be, arrests the eye by the nobility of the countenance and the suggestion of latent spiritual splendour. A copy of a splendid fresco representing the Buddha after he had attained Enlightenment returning to Kapilavastu, with his beggar's bowl in his hand to see his wife Jasodhara and his son Rahul, was widely admired at the recent exhibition of Indian paintings at the British museum as "perhaps the noblest existing example of the art of the Gupta period, the classic age of all Indian culture." The pictures are not all hieratic and cover a wide range. Even in the sacred pictures there is evidence of the catholicity of the Indian mind. Brahmanic divinities are represented as freely as the Buddhist heavens. The Ajanta paintings cannot be dismissed as an

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isolated or fortuitous incident ; they are the remnants of a school of painting as gifted as the world has ever known. Buddhism undeniably gave the impulse to a period of unprecedented activity in art as it laid the foundations of the Empire of Asoka, a ruler and a saint as great as Constantine. Pataliputra, Asoka's capital, has been buried like other ancient cities of the world, but his monolithic pillar edicts, noble specimens of the sculptor's art, stand to this day as veritable sermons in stones.

Judged by territorial extent ancient Indian art wielded a wider influence than the art of Greece or Rome. In India itself the traces of Indian art are to be found from Gandhara to Gour in the north, from Rajputana down to the Bombay coast on the west, in Central India in the great stupas and temples, in the south in the temples and other structures at Mamallapuram, Srirangam, Madura, Rameswaram and Ceylon. Out of India on the west the famous capital of Mahmud of Ghazni was built by Indian architects, and the whole of far Eastern Asia was inspired by Indian art. The sense of the impermanence of things, "writes Mr. Binyon in *The Flight of the Dragon*, "the transitoriness of life, which in Buddhism was allied to human sorrow, became a positive and glowing inspiration in Chinese and Japanese art." Some of the finest Indian sculpture which has escaped the ravages of vandals and iconoclasts are to be found in Java. It is not in India but in the courtyard of a temple at Prambanam in Java that the finest series of relief illustrating the Ramayana has been found. There is no clear line of distinction between ecclesiastical and secular architecture, and "throughout all the many and varied aspects of Indian art—Buddhist, Jain, Hindu, Sikh and even Saracenic there runs a golden thread of Vedic thought." Some of the Jain temples and other buildings are as splendid as the best Brahmanical and Buddhist temples. The towers of victory at Chitore, the vaulted shrines at Mount Abu, the hill temples of Palitana and Girnar, the colossal images of Tirthankars at Sravanbelgola, Karkalu and elsewhere are notable achievements of architectural and sculptural art.

To the uninstructed and undiscerning observer from the West the imposing figure of the Trimurti at Elephanta, the four-headed Brahma, the five-headed Siva, the elephant-headed Ganesha will appear as grotesque sculpture to be classed with the centaurs, the satyrs and the fauns of ancient Greek art, monstrosities which are looked upon as divinities by a savage, heathen race. The difference between ancient European and Indian arts is that the former confines itself to the beauty of the figures whereas the latter suggests the beauty behind and beyond the figures. At its best the art of Greece and Rome is realistic in the sense that it seeks to typify and idealise beauty as perceived by the eye ; Indian art represents the divinities of the different Indian pantheons as conceived by the mind and visualised by the eye of faith. It is possible for a man or a woman to resemble a sculptored Greek god or goddess, but no one in India would dream of comparing a human being to the image of a god. In actual practice Siva is not usually represented as having five heads, nor did the imagers and frescoists of Ajanta often depict Parvati with ten arms. Greek art was entirely detached from Greek philosophy. The Greeks attributed human suffering and sickness to the envy of the gods ; the Indians ascribed them to Karma. The attainment of physical perfection in life was the great ambition of the Hellenic people and the Greek artist endowed his gods and goddesses with perfect symmetry of face and figure, the finest contour of the head and the most fascinating poise and grace of limb. The art of India is an academy of symbology. Even a flower like the lotus is a symbol of almost universal application : in architecture, in the theory of the creation, in the standing or sitting position of the gods, in ornamentation, the lotus recurs everywhere. No artists outside India ever thought of representing a god engaged in contemplation. In the classic art of Europe it is always the ripple of the muscle, the vivid vitality of the features, the dazzling outlook on life that arrest the eye ; here in India art has fixed the tranquillity of repose, it has conveyed the majesty of meditation, the sublimity of aloofness and withdrawal. This calmness is not inertia, but the flickerless steadiness of a flame lighting a closed temple. The Western artist always thought of pose ; the Indian thought reverently of posture. The great Buddha statue at Anuradhapura in Ceylon, the Trimurti at Elephanta, the statues of the Tirthankars, the Dhyani Buddha or Amitabha, the Bodhisattvas are all figures of physical restraint with intense

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spiritual vitality. The image of the Buddha in its inconceivable calmness and passionlessness is the very embodiment of the immutability of the Law that he preached and the serene consciousness of the final and full attainment of liberty.

On the other hand, the fine bronze figure in Madras of Siva as Nataraja dancing the *Tandava* dance, is a symbol of cosmic commotion, the effervescent joy of creation. The Greek and Roman imagers knew nothing of the symbolism and significance of the gestures of the fingers and hands, the *mudras*, and it was only after the introduction of Christian art that the upraising of two fingers as a symbol of benediction is to be found in European pictures. If we place a likeness of the Apollo Belvedere by the side of one of the Avalokitesvara at Borobudur in Java, and of the Venus of Milo by that of Uma in meditation on the Himalayas we shall easily appreciate the difference and the distinction between Western and Indian art. If the art of Greece at its strongest and best may be likened to epic poetry ancient Indian art may be compared to the solemn and sacred poetry of the Vedas and the Gathas.

With the eighth century of the Christian era began the decadence of art in India, the perversion of religious thought and the political disintegration of the country. Some time later the repeated raids of Mahmud of Ghazni swept over parts of India like a hurricane of fire and destruction, the famous temple of Somnath was plundered, and destroyed and ten thousand temples in Kanauj were rased to the dust. With the coming of the Great Mughals there was a change and the conditions of life and occupation became more stable. Of the six Mughal Emperors from Baber to Aurungzeb it may be truthfully said that there is no other example in history of such remarkable heredity in conspicuous ability for six generations in lineal descent, but while the three greatest Mughals, Akbar, Jehangir and Shah Jehan, devoted themselves to the work of construction and consolidation, in Aurungzeb was born anew the unrestrained passion of iconoclasm and the fanaticism of bigotry, and his great energy was spent in the destruction of temples at Benares and other places, and in unwittingly sapping the foundations of the Mughal Empire. Akbar was one of those men to whom greatness comes from within, without help or guidance. Unlettered, he was wiser than other men steeped in learning; untaught in religious dogma, he had the widest tolerance in religion; uninitiated in statecraft, he was one of the greatest statesmen the world has seen; ignorant alike of books and art he was one of the greatest patrons of art and letters and held some of the soundest views on art. As builders Akbar and Shah Jehan rank very high, but it is misleading to designate Mughal architecture as the Indo-Saracenic style. That would imply that there are different branches of the Saracenic style of architecture with certain features common to all. It would be clearly erroneous to make such classifications as Hispano-Saracenic, Turko-Saracenic, Arab-Saracenic and Indo-Saracenic, for Mughal architecture in India has nothing in common with any Saracenic style out of India. The Taj Mahal, the apogee of Mughal art, is essentially Indian in design, the groundwork, the central dome and the four small cupolas being conceived in the *pancha ratna* style. The decadence of Indian art did not mean its extinction. It became renascent in a modified form under Mughal patronage. At Agra, Fatehpur-Sikri and Jehanabad, Delhi, there are clear indications of a great and beautiful art, imperial in the magnificence of its proportions, and stamped by the individuality of Akbar and Shah Jehan. Mr. Havell very happily describes the Taj Mahal as a living image of Mumtaz Mahal herself in all the glory of her radiant beauty. In all inlaid mosaic work, whether in the Taj Mahal, Itmad-ud-daula or the tomb of Sheikh Salim Chishti the Koranic inhibition has excluded all living things, but the leaves, the plants, the vessels and the flowers are shown with consummate, skill the coloured stones and the pearl and ebony being arranged with an excellent eye to effect. The 'fairy-like tracery windows'* of the marble tomb of Sheikh Salim Chishti at Fatehpur-Sikri, the Pearl Mosque in the Agra Fort for the ladies of the Imperial harem, the perforated screens of marble are the productions of a delicate and dainty art. The mausoleum of Jehangir at Lahore is designed with great simplicity, the imperial idea finding vent in the great quadrangle on the four sides of the tomb and the roof with its impressive spatial effect.

Mughul painting as seen in miniatures,

* A. K. Coomaraswamy, The Arts & Crafts of India & Ceylon.

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oil paintings, portfolio pictures in water colours, illuminated manuscripts and illustrations of books owes its origin to several influences. The Timurias were lovers of art and beauty in nature and Akbar whose views on all subjects, including religion, were extremely liberal, defended and justified painting on the ground that a painter was bound, while painting anything having life, to think of God as the Giver of life since the work of the painter stopped at the mere resemblance of the body. Persian and Chinese influence had a share but the tradition of painting in India had a larger and more definite influence. It is at this stage of the history of Indian art that the word 'Hindu' can be accurately used, for the word was then in use and the religious distinction between Hindus and Mussalmans was clearly defined. The fact that Akbar employed a large number of Hindu artists is proof sufficient because he would not have employed novices, and the similarity between Rajput and Mughal painting is unmistakable, though the contrast is equally obvious. The Rajasthani and Pahari groups of painting, the first from Rajputana and the second mostly from Kangra, Chamba and Poonch in the Punjab are older than Mughul painting which they survived till the last century. It is both sacred and secular whereas Mughal painting, which had a life of about two hundred years only, was of necessity merely secular and courtly. The Rajput arists, following ancient tradition, have left no means of identification behind them and their pictures bear no names; it is a repetition of the anonymity at Ajanta, Sarnath, Elephanta and a score of other places. Moghul portrait painting is of high merit and true to the life unless the artist had to paint a patron who required to be flattered. Moghul paintings bear names and the majority are Hindu names. Mansur, however, was a Mussalman and an artist of a high order, his portraits of animals being wonderfully life-like. Akbar and Jehangir admitted famous painters to intimate personal friendship. Artistic skill was not unknown in the zenana of the Emperors and the great nobles. Names have come down in history of cultured and highly intellectual queens and princesses and great ladies, some of them past mistresses of statecraft, others gifted artists and musicians, and authors of graceful verses. The impenetrable and inviolable secrecy of the purdah had kept all their achievement from the notice of the world of men, but still the world knows of the saintly and vestal lady, a Princess of the Blood, Jahanara,* daughter of Shah Jahan, who devoted her life to the service of God and in ministering to her imprisoned father, and whose last request was that she should be buried in a pauper's grave with the green sward for a cover and the dome of heaven for a cupola, and who left the following simple and touching verse as an inscription for her resting place :—

"*Bur mazare ma gariban, na chirage, na gule,*
Na pare parwana suzad, na sadai bulbule!

On the grave of poor people like us there should be neither lamps nor flowers; nor should the wings of moths be burned, nor should there be the wailing of a nightingale."

It is reported that Rembrandt and Reynolds saw Mughal paintings and admired them and the former copied some of them.

The revival of Indian art and art tradition has begun in Bengal and is associated with the school of which Abanindranath Tagore is the leader. Their work has been appreciated and admired out of India. The influence of Japanese art is noticeable in their earlier work, but they have outgrown this stage and have produced original paintings conforming to Indian classic art. To keep alive the tradition of Indian art Indian artists, while fully receptive and responsive to modern and contemporary influences, and the far wider sweep of the vision of life, must seek inspiration in the ancient epics and dramas, in the symbolism of ancient sacred literature, in ancient philosophical thought and the multitudinous conceptions of supernal beauty. Mere portraiture and painting from animated or still life can never be a high incentive to art, and this is one of the reasons why Mughal art, cramped by its limitations and debarred from dealing with all sacred subjects had such a brief career. And it is not only the artist who must be true to tradition and loyal to the ancient ideals of devotion, enthusiasm and selflessness, but our countrymen must return to the fold from which they have strayed and learn once again to breathe the atmosphere in which the ancient Aryans lived and had their being. How

* She lies buried near the tomb of Nizamuddin Aulia in Delhi.

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many of the graduates of Indian universities have read the Ramayana and the Mahabharata. how many of them know even the names of Sanscrit dramas? The higher Vedic literature, the systems of philosophy are difficult subjects requiring special study, but there can be no excuse for educated Hindus being ignorant of literature and ideals which are still living forces in Hindu homes and Hindu lives. Modern manners and modern culture do not surely require that we should consign the past to oblivion.

In the present European sense painting means pictures in an oil medium. Auctioneers and professional dealers call paintings in water colours drawings. Indian artists have to be careful in the media they choose for their work. Sir Joshua Reynolds was praised as one of the purest colourists but his colours were sometimes so ill-chosen that some of his paintings are already fading. Well-known painters in Europe used sometimes lamp-black as an under-tint with the result that it came up to the surface and discoloured the upper coatings of different colours. Paintings at best are easily spoiled or loose colour even if they are not destroyed. Are the Indian artists who are attempting a revival of genuine Indian art satisfied that their work will endure as long as the Rajput and Mughal paintings? The paper, the pigments used by those artists are no longer in use. Is it not worth while to make an attempt to procure and reintroduce them? All the meterials now used, the paper, the paint and the brush are brought from Europe. Artists' colourmen in Europe have put on the market more than two hundred colours of which less than twenty are reliable. The thought is disquieting that modern coulours may not prove even so fast as those that were in use in India three or four hundred years ago. This is a matter that concerns primarily the present artists of India.

Truly has Ruskin said, "all great Art is praise": praise of all that is in nature, of all that has life, of the human form divine but above all what the mind and the spirit can conceive but the eye cannot see, of the noumena behind phenomena, of the thought symbol behind the projected object, of the absolute behind the concrete. Art is suggestion as well as representation eloquent not only by what it expresses but also what it leaves out. The aim of true art is not merely to produce fac-similes and verisimilitudes but to stimulate thought so that the mind of the beholder may endeavour to interpret the idea of the artist as outlined in the picture. The concentration of the true artist is as intense as that of the earnest worshipper. If there is joy in the artist's work, if there is pleasure in watching a thing of beauty grow under his hand there is reverence also in his devotion to this ideal, to the thought-image that he endeavours to shape in stone or trace on paper. It is the faculty of praise that tends to uplift man's nature and praise finds a noble expression in art. The original mainspring of all art in all lands is a conception of the divine. The form of faith may vary, but the divine transcends the human in all aspects and every thought of the deity is praise.

Since I began with a brief sketch of the history of art in the West these observations may be brought to a close by a reference to the prospects of art in that part of the world. The cultivation and development of art is among the triumphs of peace, but there is no real peace in the West. So real was the menace of extinction in the last war that the instinct of self-preservation has led the nations of Europe to establish the League of Nations, but the real guarantee of peace is in the heart and not in any tribunal or institution created for that purpose. The air is surcharged with jealousy and suspicion and thoughts of revenge are secretly nourished by the nations which were defeated and humiliated. There is no relaxation of tension, no relinquishment of agressive vigilance. There is always a hint of rupture behind diplomatic relations, a chronic scepticism in professions of friendship. In the Far West across the Atlantic we see a new and great race founded originally by colonists and settlers from England and Ireland, and subsequently augmented by the interfusion of emigrants from the other nations of Europe. In industry and wealth the United States of America have left Europe far behind, but the nation is neither troubled nor stimulated by any memories of the past, nor does it recognise any tradition that has to be maintained. There are great names like Abraham Lincoln and Ralph Waldo Emerson, Benjamin Franklin and Thomas Alva Edison, but there have been no precursors of a great literature, or a great art, and it may be fairly doubted whether the Americans will achieve more

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than they have already done. The architecture of America has introduced no new or attractive style. The great ambition is to erect sky-scrapers, piles of buildings high as the Tower of Babel. The usual comment of an American tourist when he sees some famous buildings in the Old World is that America has buildings twenty or thirty times as large. Since the Declaration of Independence America has not produced a single famous painter. The New World has introduced a new cult : Mammon and Megalomania sit throned on high, and the crowd bows down to them and worships them. Staggering figures of the fabulous wealth acquired by individuals are announced from time to time, but one looks in vain for any signs of any striking use made of this hoarded treasure, of any liberal patronage of the arts, the erection of a structure that should arrest the eyes of the world, or any large endowment likely to benefit the cause of humanity. The great name of Andrew Carnegie alone has to be excepted. In ancient times wealthy men became famous because of the use they made of their wealth since there is no merit in the mere piling up of gold. Megalomania is a delusion of power and greatness that is considered a malady, but it has become a universal national failing. It is an omen of evil because the obsession of greatness is not good either for the individual or the nation. The auguries are not promising of a revival of great art in the Far West.

THE INDIAN STATES INQUIRY

By A. RAMAIYA M.A., F.R. Econ. S. (*London*)

WHEN it was announced by His Excellency the Viceroy that a Committee had been appointed to inquire into the relations between the Indian States and the Government of India, it was expected by all people both in the States and British India, that the Committee was going to examine the various problems concerning the States and make suggestions regarding the future constitutional relationship between them and British India. This expectation was also strengthened by the appointment of the Statutory Commission, and it was thought, not unnaturally, that while the Committee would be engaged in finding out the best way in which the States could be made to fit in with the Government of British India, the Simon Commission would report about the further steps to be taken in developing self-governing institutions and extending responsible Government in British India. The exact terms of reference and instructions issued to the Committee have not been published. But during the course of the Committee's stay in India it has been made clear that its task is very limited and its terms of reference do not extend to more than examining the Treaty engagements with the ruling Princes and reporting as to how far the position required modification in the light of modern developments. The whole work of the Committee in India has been from beginning to end conducted *in camera*, and no chance whatever has been given either to the subjects of the States or the people of British India to have their say in the matter of the Inquiry or express their views on any of its aspects, and except the movements of the members of the Committee from one State to another and their final departure to England from Bombay, nothing has been made known to the public in India. It would appear that even some of the princes were not enabled to understand the exact scope of the Committee's inquiry, for as the press reports of the proceedings of the Princes' Conference held at Bombay on the eve of the Committee's departure from India, would indicate, a good many of the Princes themselves were under a delusion that the Committee's scope of inquiry extended to an investigation of the constitutional position as between themselves and their subjects on the one hand, and as to the place which the States should occupy in any federal constitution of India which the Statutory Commission

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might propose, on the other. It has now been made clear by authoritative information obtained by the Simla correspondent of the Calcutta '*Statesman*,' that the Committee will strictly confine itself to reporting about relations between the Princes and the Paramount Power, that is to say, regard to the rights, privileges, dignities, and prerogatives of the Princes and their political and diplomatic relations with His Majesty's Government, and will not, except perhaps collaterally and incidentally, deal with questions regarding either the relations between the Princes and their subjects or the States and British India From the standpoint of the constitutional progress of the country as a whole, nothing is now more urgent than a thorough examination of the necessity for and introduction of some sort of constitutional Government in all the Indian States, at least to the extent to which it has been received by the people of British India as well as the possibility of fitting them as part of a Federated India. These imperative questions have not been touched upon by the Committee during their stay in India and not one who is competent to speak on any of these matters has been interviewed or examined. And if the information of the Simla correspondent of the *Statesman* is correct, even the standing committee of the Chamber of Princes was not to be given an opportunity to discuss constitutional schemes for which they were prepared with some proposal of their own under the leadership of their legal adviser, Sir Leslie Scott. At the same time it has also been made evident from the printed pamphlet issued by the Simon Commission with regard to the various topics to be dealt with by them, that the problems regarding the States are not to come within the scope of their inquiry either. The result is that as things stand at present, not only is the relation between the Indian Princes and their subjects to be left wholly untouched but the place which the States are to occupy in the future constitution of the country, whatever it may be, is not to be determined even by the Statutory Commission. This probably shows that the Commission is not going to recommend any far reaching changes with regard to the political organisation of India as a whole Unless, after the publication of the Report of the States Inquiry Committee, it should propose to review these matters on the basis of that Report.

Whatever the Committee or the Commission is actually going to do, an investigation of the two matters—the relation between the ruling Princes and their subjects, and the position which the States should occupy in the future constitution of India is essential from the standpoint of the Indian nation as a whole. Without it, any proposals that may be made by the Simon Commission with regard to the development of self-governing institutions and responsible government in British India, must necessarily be incomplete.

With regard to the first point., *viz*, the relation between the Princes and their subjects, it was stated by the Montagu-Chelmsford Report that the British Government was bound by treaty obligations not to interfere with the internal administration of the States, but it was hoped that constitutional changes in British India would not leave the States untouched and "must in time affect even those whose ideas and institutions are of the most conservative and feudal character." Of course, the political ideas and ideals prevalent in British India and the constitutional progress made there have exerted considerable influence on the peoples of various States in spite of the general ignorance of the masses and the rigorous steps taken by some of the rulers to prevent political education spreading into their territories, and hastened the setting up by enlightened rulers of some sort of representative institutions in their States. But most of the ruling chiefs are conservative and firm believers in their own divine right to rule over their subjects. Leaving aside the most enlightened of them, who are certainly conferring good government on their subjects, in some respects even superior to what we have in British India, in the vast majority of the States despotic administration in more or less arbitrary fashion is the general rule. It is now well-recognised in all civilised countries that the following conditions are essential for ensuring good government :—

(i) The separation of the private purse of the ruler from the general revenues of the State and the fixing of a civil list.

(ii) A sound system of finance and taxation in which revenues are assessed and collected not arbitrarily but under fixed rules and regulations,

(iii) A regular system of annual budget and auditing,

(iv) An independent judiciary and the

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introduction of the reign of law and elimination of arbitrary personal intervention with law and justice on the part of the ruler,

(v) Securing for all people in the State the ordinary rights of citizenship such as freedom of movement, freedom of speech, rights of property, freedom of the press, etc.,

(vi) The training of the people in some sort of responsible government by the introduction of representative institutions for purposes of legislation, and interpellation on all matters of administration.

In many of the Indian States all or some of these elements are lacking. Now, as the Montagu-Chelmsford Report itself pointed out, in spite of the varieties and complexities of treaties, engagements and *Sanads* which govern the rights and obligations of the ruling Chiefs, there is a general responsibility on the part of the Paramount power for the good Government and welfare of the people in the States, and if so, the attitude of non-intervention in matters of internal administration advocated by the same Report is hardly justifiable so long as even the elementary principles of good government as judged by modern standards, are found lacking in many of the States. It is a matter for regret, therefore, that a committee specially appointed for the purpose of inquiring into the relation between the States and the Paramount Power should have its task limited to an examination merely of the prerogatives, privileges and rights of the Princes arising under treaty engagements or established practice, and not also make a survey of the conditions of government in their respective States, which duty equally arises under the same treaty obligations.

Again, if the British Parliament is to stand by the announcement of August 20, 1917, *viz.*, that 'the policy of His Majesty's government is the gradual development of self-governing institutions with a view to the progressive realisation of responsible government in India as an integral part of the British Empire' (note the use of the word "India" and not merely "British India") it is but proper that steps should be taken for solving the important problem of bringing the States into some sort of constitutional relationship with British India. Whatever may be the kind of reform that the Statutory Commission is going to recommend it cannot be disputed that having regard to the terms of the announcement of August 1917, which relates not merely to British India but to the Indian States as well, any inquiry into constitutional matters should properly include an examination of the position of the States in the political organisation of India. Various practical suggestions have been made by thoughtful Indians for a federation of the whole of India as a single State and even enlightened Princes have allowed their minds to turn in this direction. The Maharajah of Alwar, one of the ablest of his class, has declared: "My goal is the United States of India, where every province every state working out its own destiny in accordance with its own environment, its tradition, history, and religion will combine together for higher and imperial purposes each subscribing its little quota of knowledge and experience in a labour of love freely given for a noble and higher cause." When thus the attention of princes and people alike in the country is engaged in working out a constitution for the whole of India the avoidance of an inquiry into the question both by the States Committee and the Statutory Commission is open to grave misgiving.

Though the States are many and found in varying stages of political development and there is no political unity between any of them and, British India, the country being a geographical whole, the peoples are brought together and closely united by common bonds of race religion, language culture and social and commercial intercourse, and they have also recently begun to exhibit common political aspirations. Until last year the people in the States took no part in the Indian National Congress and for the first time during the recent Congress held in December 1927, an attempt has been made to bring home to the minds of the people of both British India and the States that their interests and aspirations are so identical that, unless they unite there was no hope of realising *Swaraj* in the country. However much the Princes may resent this new development, it must in course of time, inevitably affect their position as rulers in their respective States and unless they accede to the establishment of some sort of responsible government and assure at least as full rights of citizenship to their subjects as the people of British India enjoy, serious political disturbances may occur, which may even shake the very foundations of their position; in which event it will be a very delicate matter

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the Paramount power to interfere on behalf of the princes who would not move with the times and introduce constitutional government in their States even to the limited extent to which it has been introduced in India.

With regard to the relation between the States and British India there are, besides the establishment of harmonious political relations between them, other matters of considerable importance which being of common concern to the whole of India, require investigation at the hands of either the States Committee or the Statutory Commission, even if no political changes are to be introduced and the present state of things should continue. In the first place, the States are agitating for a share of the customs revenue of the Government of India, to which they lay claim on the ground that the seventy millions of people living in the States are also consumers of the imported goods on which duties are levied. They also claim a share of the revenue from salt and opium. Against these there is the vital question of the enormous defence expenditure incurred by the Government of India for the benefit of the whole country but towards which not a pie is contributed by any of the States. There is also the question of unification of coinage and currency and also the question of the administration of railways, posts and telegraphs, in the control of which the rulers of the States evince a desire to have a share. In spite of their present importance, and in the teeth of the desire of the Princes themselves to have them thrashed out by expert investigation, the States Inquiry Committee has done nothing with regard to these matters and taken no evidence. In utter disregard of the real requirements of the situation, to confine the inquiry of the Committee to the very limited purpose of reporting on the relations between the rulers of the States and the British Government shows a lamentable lack of appreciation of the real needs of the country.

July 4, 1928.

THE SECOND AFGHAN WAR

By MAJOR B. D. BASU, I. M. S. (*Retd.*)

THE British jingoes had hardly ceased clapping their hands at what they regarded as a brilliant performance by the actors of their creed on the stage of Afghanistan, than that state presented other scenes which seemed almost to stupefy them. The tragedy was now being played out to the end. The principal actor, Sir Louis Cavagnari, for whose installation on the state of Afghanistan so much money and so many lives were spent, met with a fate which fully justified the apprehension of the late Ameer Sher Ali in declining to permit the location of British officers in his dominion as agents of the British Government.

The Gundamuk treaty signed on 26th May, 1879 permitted the British Government to station a British officer at Cabul. Sir Louis Cavagnari was chosen by Lord Lytton as an envoy to the new Amir. He took up his residence at Bala Hissar. When Ata Muhamad was the British Agent at Cabul he had no medical officer to attend to him, no escort to protect his person and no secretary to write to his dictation. But to give great importance to the position of the British agent in the sight of the people of Afghanistan, Cavagnari was furnished by the Government of India with a secretary, who was a member of the Indian Civil Service, a medical officer named Surgeon Kelly, an escort of twenty-five sowars and fifty sepoys of the guides corps and also another British officer named Lieutenant Hamilton, in command of the escort. Ata Muhamad's agency did not cost India one-tenth the amount which the British embassy now did. The embassy proved a failure. Ata Muhamad used to mix with the people of Afghanistan and thus his informations were first hand. But the English envoy, with the characteristic hold-aloof-ness

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of his race, had to employ a large band of spies to collect information. He was at the mercy of others. Hence those who had protested against replacing Ata Muhamad by a British agent were right when they wrote that :—

"It is indeed difficult to see in what respect a European Agent could have served us better or indeed, so far as the procuring of information went, served us so well."*

No reliance should be placed on the informations furnished by Cavagnari to the Government of India, for he did not know what was going on under his very nose in Cabul itself. Within twelve hours of his last message to the Viceroy on the 2nd September 1879, which concluded with the words "All well", the Residency saw the repetition of the scenes of 1840. Cavagnari met with a fate which recalled to memory that of Sir Alexander Burnes.

By the Treaty of Gundamuk the new Amir Yakub Khan was obliged to receive the British embassy at Cabul. Sir Louis Cavagnari with his staff and escort arrived at Cabul on the 24th July 1879. Yakub Khan showed every honour to the embassy. Cavagnari was quite pleased with the conduct of Yakub Khan. That prince was a great friend of Cavagnari, who had no reason to suspect the sincerity of his protestation of friendship for the British Government. We should be very chary in believing European writers when they accused him of treachery. Yakub owed his release from prison and the throne of Cabul to the Government of India. He was not held in respect by his Afghan subjects, and it appears that he was not an able man. This is not to be wondered at when we remember the fact that he had spent a good many years of his life within the prison-walls of Cabul, which had the effect of dulling his intellect.

Lord Roberts writes that towards the end of March 1879, at the time when negotiations between the British Government and Yakub Khan were opened, the latter issued a proclamation to the Khagianis, in which Yakub is alleged to praise and compliment the Khagianis for their religious zeal and fidelity to himself. He exhorted them to have no fear of the infidels, against whom he was about to launch an irresistible force of troops and *Ghazis* and wound up as follows :

'By the favor of God, and in accordance with the verse "Verily God has destroyed the powerful ones," the whole of them will go to the fire of hell for evermore. Therefore, kill them to the extent of your ability.'

Lord Roberts says that this proclamation was intercepted and brought to Cavagnari on or about the 29th March 1879.

We are inclined to believe that this proclamation, alleged to have been issued by Yakub Khan, was a forgery, for it passes our comprehension that the astute officers of the British Government should have held any intercourse with Yakub Khan after they had grounds to suspect his fidelity. It seems clear that Cavagnari himself did not believe in the genuineness of the intercepted document, otherwise he would not have reposed implicit faith in Yakub Khan as he did. In his very last letter, dated the 30th August 1879, received after his death, Cavagnari wrote to the Viceroy :—

"I personally believe that Yakub Khan will turn out to be a very good ally, and that we shall be able to keep him to his engagements."

Lord Roberts' allegations and assertions against Yakub Khan are not worthy of much credit, since he was biassed against that unfortunate Afghan prince. It was this noble Lord who kept Yakub Khan a prisoner while he came to his camp as his guest, and succeeded in pursuading the Viceroy that Yakub Khan instigated the attack on the Residency at Cabul. Hence we repeat that Lord Roberts' statement, even if he were to swear on the Bible, (supposing he believed in the solemnity of an oath, should be taken with the proverbial pinch of salt, since he was an interested party in the transaction which brought on such unhappy consequences.

There is no record to prove that Cavagnari, like Macnaghten and Burnes, opened through the agency of emigrants and others malcontents in Afghanistan a campaign of political intrigue in that country. But his band of spies must have been a source of great annoyance to the Afghan chiefs and nobles as well as the common folk of Cabul. Seventy years before, when Elphinstone was an envoy at Peshawar, he was assured by the Afghan chiefs that they would not allow the foreigners to meddle in the affairs of their country. They said that they were content with discord, they were content with alarms, they were content with blood, but they would never be content with a foreign master.

Seventy years had not produced any

* Causes of the Afghan War, 1879, p. 206.

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change in the national character of the Pathans. They still resented the interference of the foreigners in their country's affairs. Moreover, they saw Candhahar in the possession of British troops, although the Gundamak Treaty stipulated the restoration of Candhahar to the Amir.

The real cause or causes which prompted the Afghan soldiery to attack the British Residency will never be known. But from the fact that it was the troops from Herat which headed the outbreak, we may surmise that the retention of Candhahar was to some extent the cause of this outrage on the person of the English envoy at Cabul. These Herat soldiers accused the British of bad faith. The occupation of Candhahar must have alarmed them. As the occupation of Quetta was the first step which led to the occupation of Candhahar, so the occupation of the latter made them believe that the British meant to occupy some day Herat. At first it was given out that the British troops would evacuate Candhahar by 1st September 1879. The first of September still found Candhahar in the possession of the British troops. Hence the Herat troops were confirmed in their belief that the concentration of troops at Candhahar meant an advance on Herat.

On the morning of the 3rd September 1879, the Herat troops asked for their pay which had fallen in arrears. The Cabul treasury was almost empty. The treasurer did not know what to do. He was besieged by the troops clamouring for their pay. To release himself from these troops he pointed them out the Residency.* It is probable that by so doing the treasurer meant to remind Cavagnari of the payment of the subsidy stipulated for by the Gundamak Treaty. From the official records it does not appear that the annual subsidy of six lakhs was ever paid to the Ameer Yakub Khan. This amount was agreed upon

"for the support of His Highness the Amir in the recovery and maintenance of his legitimate authority".

It appears to us that this sum should have been paid in advance to Yakub Khan. The finances of Afghanistan were taxed to the utmost to meet the expenses inseparable from the war. When the Amir's troops crowded into the courtyard of the Residency in the Bala Hissar, clamouring for their pay, Sir Louis Cavagnari became angry at their thus invading him and said the matter was not one in which he could interfere, and ordered his escort to turn them out of the courtyard. Disappointed and ill-treated, the troops broke into open mutiny. They opened fire on the Residency. The invasion of their country by the British was still fresh in their memory. That invasion brought on them and their families nothing but ruin, miseries and disasters. Smarting under such grievances, and the Herati Regiments seeing that the occupation of Candhahar meant an advance of the British on their country someday, it is not to be wondered at that they attacked the embassy. They tried to attract attention to their grievances by means of these demonstrations. The Residency was set on fire; and its inmates were all killed. The officers and men fought very bravely, but to no purpose. By the middle of the day, the Residency was a heap of ruins.

But what was the Ameer doing all this while? No sooner did he hear of the attack on the Residency than he sent his Commander-in-Chief, named Daud Shah, to the rescue of the Christian officers and men besieged in the Bala Hissar. Daud Shah was severely wounded. Afterwards Yakub Khan sent his own son. He met with no better fate. It was not necessary for Yakub Khan to go in

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* This account appears to be the most probable of all the writer has come across and heard while on the frontier.

This differs, from the official version. In the Note issued by the Press Commissioner, on the receipt of the news of Cavagnari's murder at Simla on 6th September 1879, it is stated: "That certain Afghan Regiments, which had already shown strong symptoms of mutiny against the Amir, had been assembled in the Bala Hissar to receive arrears of pay which they had demanded. They suddenly broke out into violent mutiny and stoned their officers. They next made an attack on the British Residency which is inside the Bala Hissar."

The writer has inquired of many respectable and educated Pathan gentlemen as to the history of the outbreak. Their accounts differ from the official one in many important material points. One account was that the treasurer told the soldiers that the Amir in all state affairs was under the guidance of Cavagnari and that the latter had prohibited the Amir from paying the troops; on hearing this, the men went to the Amir, who is said to have ordered the treasurer to pay the men. But the treasurer still refusing it, the men went to Cavagnari and demanded payment. Cavagnari turned them out; the men believing that the British ambassador had really prohibitted the Amir from paying them, attacked the Residency.

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person. Moreover, he was prevented from doing so, as the Mutineers had also besieged him in his palace. The Mutineers entertained no respect for Yakub Khan, for he had contracted alliance with the enemies of his country and sold the independence of his subjects to the Government of India. There is no evidence to prove that he either instigated, or connived at, the attack on the Residency.

The news of the fate of the Residency was conveyed to the Political officer at Ali Khel, named Captain Conolly, by a spy in the employ of Sir Louis Cavagnari. Captain Conolly at once telegraphed the news to General Roberts, who was at that time in Simla, engaged on the work of the Army Commission. In his work, named "Forty-one Years in India," Lord Roberts writes :—

"Between one and two o'clock on the morning of the 5th September I was awakened by my wife telling me that a telegraph man had been wandering round the house and calling for some time, but that no one had answered him. I got up, went downstairs, and taking the telegram from the man, brought it up to my dressing-room, and opened it; it proved to be from Captain Conolly, Political officer at Ali Khel, dated the 4th September,.....I was paralyzed for the moment, but was roused by my wife calling out 'What is it? Is it bad news from Cabul?'..... I replied. 'yes, very bad, if true. I hope it is not.' I woke my A. D. C. and sent him off at once to the Viceroy with the telegram. The evil tidings spread rapidly."

Lord Lytton was dumb-foundered and dazed. This attack on the embassy condemned his transactions of the past three years and justified the predictions of Lords Lawrence and Northbrook. Hurriedly, on that day, a Council of War was called, when it was decided to telegraph Sir Donald Stewart who was at Candhahar to hold the place against the mutinous soldiery of the Amir. The Khyber column under Sir Samuel Browne had been broken up; but the Kurram Field force was still in existence, under the temporary command of Brigadier General Durham Massy, during the absence of General Roberts. General Roberts at once telegraphed to him

"to move 23rd Pionneers, 5th Gurkhas, and mountain train to Shutar garden, crest of pass; to entrench themselves there and await orders. Ten days supplies."

General Roberts was ordered to proceed at once to Kurram, resume his command there from General Massy and change the name of his force as the Kabul field force, as the object of the force was to advance on Cabul, and sack that city to avenge the fate of the British embassy.

Roberts left Simla on the 6th September, 1879. On reaching Ali Khel, Captain Conolly handed him the two letters from the Amir.

The Amir expressed his regret at the unfortunate events that had occurred in Cabul. The Amir wrote:—

"After God, I look to the Government for aid and advice. My true friendship and honesty of purpose will be proved as clear as daylight. By this misfortune I have lost my friend, the envoy, and also my kingdom. I am terribly grieved and perplexed."

General Roberts' reply to these letters, under the instructions of Lord Lytton, was very stiff and harsh. He wrote that the British envoy had been deputed to his court as the Amir agreed by one of the articles of the Gundamak Treaty to protect the envoy and that the

"British Government had been informed that emissaries had been despatched from Cabul to rouse the country people and tribes against us, and as this action appeared inconsistent with "friendly intentions," General Roberts "considered it necessary for His Highness to send a confidential representative to confer with him (Roberts) and his (Amir's) object."

Roberts relied on Ghulam Hussain Khan for all the reports and rumors against the Amir. This man had been the British Agent at Cabul and made himself obnoxious to Ameer Shere Ali. He bore a grudge against Shere Ali and his family. No wonder that he poisoned the mind of Roberts against Shere Ali's son, Yakub Khan. Ghulam Hussain Khan's good fortune and prosperity depended on creating confusion and disorder in Afghanistan. So he found a good opportunity to gain distinction and honor by getting Yakub Khan in trouble. Roberts also easily lent his ears to the machinations of this low and contemptible place-hunter. This man succeeded in convincing Roberts "that the Amir was now playing us false."

Yakub Khan, with the characteristics of a simpleton which his long imprisonment had made him, believed that matters would be set right if he proceeded in person to the camp of General Roberts and explain all the circumstances of his case. Accordingly he came on 27th September to the British camp at Kushi with a suite of 45 members and an escort of 200 men. Great was his chagrin when he found himself a prisoner in the

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British camp. Lord Roberts writes that he detailed a guard

"ostensibly to do him honor, but in reality that I might be kept informed as to his movements. Unwelcome guest as he was I thought the least of two evils was to keep him now that we had got him, as his presence in Cabul would be sure to increase the opposition I felt certain we should encounter."

For our own part, we are of opinion that the opposition which the British army met with, was principally due to the people of Afghanistan believing that their sovereign Yakub Khan had been treacherously made a prisoner in the camp of the Christians. So many lives would never have been lost, and so much treasure would never have been squandered, had the proposal made by Yakub Khan been acceded to. That prince asked the British Government to leave the matter of punishing the murderers of Cavagnari and the men of the British embassy in his hands. There was nothing unreasonable in this request. He considered himself to be a friend and ally of the British Government, and that as the outrage on the British envoy had taken place within his dominion, he had the authority to punish the perpetrators of that foul deed. Supposing that a British envoy had been at that time attacked and killed in St. Petersburg, by the enraged Russian soldiery, and supposing the Czar expressed his regret for what had happened in his territory, and also his willingness to inflict adequate punishment on the perpetrators of the deed, would the British Government have gone to sack St. Petersburg to avenge the murder of the envoy? No one would ever think of doing such a thing. Yet the British Government of India did not hesitate to sack the capital of an ally for avenging the murder of their envoy. To lend color of justification to their proceeding, they even went to the length of not only suspecting the good faith of their ally, but accusing him of instigating and conniving at the foul deed, and making him a prisoner while he visited their camp as their guest.

Yakub Khan urged strongly upon the British Government the advisability of delaying the advance on Cabul, that he might have time to restore order amongst his troops, and to punish those who had participated in the attack on the embassy; and the innocent people in Cabul with their families would suffer, if the British troops were to march into Cabul.

But the advisers of the Government of India were determined to see Cabul sacked. The prospect of Cabul in flames delighted the hearts of many a good Britisher. The correspondent of the *Pioneer* wrote from Ali Khel on the 28th September 1879 :—

"The fate of the city (Cabul), in case any opposition is shown when our army moves forward, should be sealed. The only argument an Afghan understands is direct and severe punishment for offences committed, and the punishment should now be dealt without stint, even if Cabul has to be sacked. Not a man in the force that is now about to make the final advance would feel other than the keenest pleasure in seeing Cabul forced,.....Sunday next should see the British troops encamped before Cabul, and then will begin the punishment of a city which is only connected in the surest way with the expansion of our power in Asia."

In deference, however, to the Amir's wishes, a proclamation was issued, in which it was announced that

"The British Army is advancing on Cabul to take possession of the city. If it is allowed to do so peacefully, well and good ; if not, the city will be seized by force.....Every effort will be made to prevent the innocent suffering with the guilty but it is necessary that the utmost precaution should be taken against useless opposition.

"After receipt of this Proclamation, therefore, all persons found armed in or about Cabul will be treated as enemies of the British Government."

To quote the words of the correspondent of the *Pioneer*, this proclamation was issued

"As a test of the disposition of the citizens, in deterring the soldiers from attempting to defend the place, as their position would be untenable were the feeling of the people shown to be against them."

It was perhaps due to the issue of this Proclamation that when the British troops entered Cabul, they found the city deserted.

Neither Yakub Khan nor his army had ever thought that the British Government, would again so soon plunge their country into the horrors of a war. Accordingly they were quite unprepared. But when the news of the imprisonment of Yakub Khan was made known to his soldiers, they tried to oppose the British advance. But the Afghan troops, owing to the rapid advance of the British force, had no time to organize and oppose Roberts' column. However, on the 6th October 1879, a battle was fought at Charasia, in which the Afghans were defeated. The road to Cabul now was clear. General Roberts with the British troops reached Cabul on the 10th October 1879.

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So long the Amir Yakub Khan's authority Was proclaimed as justifying all the acts of General Roberts ; it was given out that the British army was advancing on Cabul to punish the rebels against His Highness. But on reaching Cabul, General Roberts changed his tactics. The presence of the Ameer in the British camp served the gallant Christian general a great and useful purpose. It facilitated his advance on Cabul. But now it was necessary to get rid of him, for in no other way was it possible to make Afghanistan a British territory. In his work on forty-one years in India, Lord Roberts writes ;—"the Amir was in my camp ready to agree to whatever I might propose." So it does not require much intelligence to understand that Roberts proposed to the Ameer to abdicate the throne of Afghanistan.

"My doubts as to what policy I ought to persue", writes Lord Roberts, "with regard to Yakub Khan were all solved by his own action on the morning of the 12th. October* He came to my tent before I was dressed, and asked for an interview, which was, of course, accorded. My Royal visitor, then and there announced that he had come to resign the Amir-ship..... His life, he said, had been most miserable, and he would rather be a grass-cutter in the English camp than ruler of Afghanistan."

This reads like a dramatic performance carefully rehearsed before and merely enacted by the Amir at the bidding of Roberts to make the world believe that he abdicated the throne of Afghanistan out of his free will. Does it not appear very remarkable that the Amir should have voluntarily abdicated his throne on the day of the Durbar and the imprisonment of his ministers and relatives on mere suspicion ? The coincidence is so significant that none but a fool would believe that Yakub abdicated the throne on the 12th October out of his free will and choice.

The official records do not mention why Yakub Khan was led to take such an unusual step. We are not furnished with any satisfactory reply to the question, "What made Yakub Khan take such a step"? In a footnote to his work above referred to, Roberts writes.

"At an interview which Major Hastings, the political officer, and W. Durand, myPolitical Secretary, had with his highness at my request on the 23rd October, he said, referring to the subject of the Amirship: 'I call God and the Koran to witness, and every thing a Musalman holds sacred, that my only desire is to be set free, and end my days in liberty. ... ... I earnestly beg to be set free."

From this it appears that he abdicated the throne either by having been persuaded to do so by Roberts, or that the imprisonment in the British camp had become so unbearable to him that he earnestly, begged to be set free so that he might end his days in liberty, and therefore he was even willing to abdicate the throne of Afghanistan. That Yakub Khan's abdication was not quite voluntary would appear clear to any one who reads between the lines of the letter written by the correspondent of the *Pioneer* from Camp Siah Sung, on the 28th October 1879, when he wrote :

"This morning only did it become publicly known that Yakub Khan had abdicated the Amirship,

"*Up to this afternoon it was believed that the Ex-Amir was acting in good faith but within the last few hours we have had reason to change our opinion.*

To-day has been marked by a new change of front on the part of Yakub Khan. Whatever his fears or suspicions may be, he has withdrawn so far from his position of the 12th,— that he has contemplated flight to Turkistan. Such at least, is the information generally believed to have been received ; and the action taken this afternoon proves that he has so far committed himself as to jeopardize his future freedom. About five o'clock his tent was isolated by the removal of all those of his servants pitched about it ; his guard was increased to forty British soldiers, and instead of two sentries there are now four pacing to and fro with fixed bayonets. A fifth sentry is within the tent itself, and the Ex-Amir is as close a prisoner as he can be made. Four personal attendants only are now allowed to him, and these, also, are under guard."

The sentences italicised in the above passage bear a very significant commentary on the alleged voluntary abdication of the throne of Afghanistan by Yakub Khan. On the 28th October 1879, when news was received that Lord Lytton had approved of the abdication by Yakub, it was considered a stroke of policy to closely confine that unfortunate Afghan Prince because it was alleged that he contemplated flight to Turkestan! Yakub's voluntary abdication resembles on all fours the abdication of the throne of Kashmir by the Dogra Prince of the Happy Valley in 1889, with this exception that while the public know, thanks to Bradlaugh and Digby, how the latter was

* On the same day (12th, Oct.) Roberts held his Durbar in the Bala Hissar, when, as narrated further on, the Amir's ministers and father-in-law were imprisoned by the gallant General.

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obliged to take that step by the machinations of the British Resident, the true account of Yakub's abdication is still enshrouded in mystery. Roberts was prejudiced against Yakub and suspected him of conniving at, if not instigating, the attack on the Residency at Bala Hissar. He writes in his "Forty-one Years in India" that the truth of the murder of Cavagnari could not be discovered, as the people were afraid to give evidence fearing that they would be punished for so doing on the withdrawal of the British Force from Afghanistan and on the restoration of the authority of Yakub. The *Pioneer's* correspondent wrote on the 20th October 1879 from Camp Siah Sung ;

"It has been no easy matter to collect evidence in Kabul, many witnesses being afraid of after consequences, if they bore testimony to the conduct of men under suspicion. We have not notified in any way what is to be the duration of our stay here, and once our protection over our well-wishers is removed, their fate may be readily imagined. There is no one who cherishes revenge more fervently than an Afghan, and every witness would be marked down by the kinsmen of those against whom he had appeared."

Does it not appear then clear that it was considered political expediency by Lord Roberts to make Yakub Khan abdicate the throne in order to facilitate the task of the Military Commission of Inquiry which had been appointed on the very day the British Force occupied Kabul ? Roberts suspected Yakub and his ministers as accomplices in the murder of Cavagnari. To prove that his suspicions were well-grounded, he made Yakub take the suicidal step, very likely under threats and promises, just as it is not an uncommon thing in India for the police to extort confessions from suspected persons. Roberts never concealed the fact that he suspected Yakub and therefore kept him a prisoner in his camp. On the 23rd October, the same correspondent to whom reference has already been made, and who was on that date ignorant of the fact that Yakub Khan had been made to abdicate the throne, wrote :

"Our relations with the Amir are on a different footing, though it would puzzle a Russian diplomatist to say what is the basis of our policy. It is a mixture of suspicion, forbearance and contempt. Once Yakub Khan had thrown himself upon our protection and disowned the acts of the engineers, his personal safety was assured, and this no doubt was his first aim. But how much further did he mean to go ? That he heartily desired his turbulent regiments to be punished one can well believe, and that he schemed to save Cabul from the fate it had courted is quite possible ; but unlsss an accomplice in their acts, he could not have expected that his most trusted ministers and kinsmen would be arrested and himself confined to our camp. Here he must see our suspicion peeping out ; but then mark our forbearance. In our proclamations rebellion against the Amir has been cited as worthy of death ; we are living upon tribute grain collected as due to him ; the citizens of Cabul have been declared 'rebels against His Highness,' and our Military Governor of the city is 'administering justice 'and punishing with a strong hand, all evil-doers' with his 'consent.' The Amir's authority is proclaimed as justification for many of our acts ; and yet at the same time we loot his citadel, and seize upon, as spoils of war, all guns and munitions of war ; our campfollowers are masquerading in the warm uniforms of Afghan Highlanders. This is the feature of contempt in our policy. The drift of evidence seems now fairly in his (Amir Yakub khan's) favour."

But when the abdication of the Amir became known "the drift of evidence" was all against him. The same correspondent, writing on the 30th October 1879, says :

"There is no bottom to the well in which Afghan truth was sunk ages ago, and it is disheartening to sound it now. The ex-Amir's partisans have lied honestly enough to shield their master, while he was still protected by us : but now that he is a nonentity and all semblance of power has passed from him, there may be a change in their attiude. They have a certain rule of faithfulness to their salt ; but when they see their Chief arrested without a word of warning, after being allowed to move freely among us for weeks, their fortitude may not be equal to the emergency, and they may seek to purchase their own safety by voluntary disclosures."

Whether these witnesses spoke the truth when they gave evidence against Yakub, is a matter which they and their conscience alone know, but this much is certain that they purchased their own safety by so doing because such evidence was pleasing to the prejudiced minds of the military officers who had occupied Afghanistan.

Lord Roberts writes :

"The progress (of the Inquiry Commission) had been slow, particulrly when examination touched on the part Yakub Khan had played in the tragedy ; witnesses were afraid to give evidence openly until they were convinced that he would not be re-established in a position to avenge himself."

So then it is evident that to get "the witnesses to give evidence openly against Yakub Khan" it was necessary to assure them that that prince would never again rule over them. Such is the story of the "voluntary abdication of the throne of Afghanistan by Yakub Khan."

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On the 12th October 1879, General Roberts invited all the leading chiefs of Afghanistan to a durbar held by him on that date. They attended the durbar, when the gallant general read out to him his Proclamation, in which it was announced that the people of Cabul would be disarmed and placed under martial law. He said :—

"It would be but a just and fitting reward * * if the city of Cabul were now totally destroyed and its very name blotted out. But the great British government is ever desirous to temper justice with mercy, and I now announce to the inhabitants of Cabul that the full retribution for their offence will not be exacted, and the city will be spared. Nevertheless it is necessary that they should not escape all penalty, and that the punishment inflicted should be such as will be felt and remembered. Therefore, such of the city buildings as now interfere with the proper military occupation of the Bala Hissar, and the safety and comfort of the British troops to be quartered in it, will be at once levelled with the ground, and further a heavy fine, the amount of which will be notified hereafter, will be imposed upon the inhabitants, to be paid according to their several capabilities. This punishment, inflicted upon the whole city, will not, of course, absolve from further penalties those whose individual guilt will be held hereafter proved. A full and searching inquiry will be held into the circumstances of the late outbreak, and all persons convicted of bearing a part in it will be dealt with according to their deserts. I further give notice to all that in order to provide for the restoration and maintenance of order, the city of Cabul and the surrounding country to a distance of ten miles are placed under martial law. With the consent of the Amir, a military governor of Cabul will be appointed to administer justice, and to punish with a strong hand all evil-doers. ... For the future the carrying of dangerous weapons, whether swords, knives, or fire-arms, within the streets of Cabul, or within a distance of five miles from the city gates, is forbidden. After a week from the date of this Proclamation, any person found armed within these limits will be liable to the penalty of death. ... Finally, I notify that I will give a reward of Rs. 50 for the surrender of any person, whether soldier or civilian, concerned in the attack on the British embassy, or for such information as may lead directly to his capture. ... "

The Durbar did not pass off without imprisoning some of the important officers in the employ of the Afghan Ruler. General Roberts asked the Wazir, the Mustaufi, Zahiga Khan (father-in-law of the Amir), and his brother Zakariah Khan to stay as he wished to speak to them.

"They doubtless thought that they were to be consulted on questions of high policy, but their chagrin was great when they were told that they have to remain as prisoners until their conduct had been thoroughly investigated".*

This in plain language meant a treacherous act which the gallant general practised with an easy conscience.

The measures adopted by the enraged Europeans engaged in the task of suppressing the Indian Mutiny of 1857, now found favor with General Roberts and his officers. As soon as Cabul was captured, a military commission, consisting of three military officers, was appointed, with the object of trying all those persons who were concerned in the attack on the Residency or those who offered armed resistance to the advance of the British troops with the Amir under their protection on Cabul. This commission pronounced the sentence of death on all those who were brought before it. It was a pleasant occupation for British officers and men to see poor Afghans hanged day after day. The correspondent of the *Pioneer* wrote on the 23rd October 1879 :—

"Ten o'clock is the hour at which men are generally hanged; and now daily, a little crowd of soldiers, camp-followers, and traders from the city gathers near the 72nd quarter-guard. ... The soldiers in shirtsleeves and with the favourite short pipe in their mouths, betray but faint curiosity, looking upon the culprits with hearty contempt and only regretful that they have not had to meet them in fair fight."

All the sentences pronounced by the commission were confirmed by General Roberts, harshly and executed within twenty-four hours. The proceedings of the commission, at last, attracted the attention of the public in England, and General Roberts' conduct was very severely criticized. Roberts' proclamation of the prize-money of Rs. 50 made many a poor and hungry Afghan accuse their enemies and thus earn the reward. The leaders were not captured. To quote again the correspondent of the *Pioneer*:—

"It makes one exasperated to see the rank and file of these wretches being marched off to execution, while their leaders are still at large, and but few of the Cabul rabble have been brought to account. One grows sick of hanging ten common men a day."

Roberts' Military Law had the effect of quieting Cabul, for

"The shadow of the scaffold is over it, and not one among the ruffians who throng its narrow streets, and hides its filthy purlieus, but feels its influence. They have hitherto traded upon our known weakness—the worship of the quality of mercy,—and it is only now that they understand the new principle of retribution we have

*—Extract from the letter of the correspondent of the *Pioneer*, from Camp Siah Sung, 12th October 1879.

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introduced into our policy. ... Whether we withdraw again or not there will be the tale of lives taken by our hangmen still to be counted over in the city and the villages." *

General Roberts had after all to yield to the clamour raised against his hanging the innocent and the guilty alike provided that a few witnesses swore as to their taking part in the attack on the Residency or the resistance against the advance of the British on Cabul. On the 12th November 1879, he issued his proclamation of amnesty in which he withdrew the offer of reward as announced by him in the Durbar on the 12th October. His blood-thirstiness was satiated with the judicial murder of many men carried on uninterruptedly for a period of one month. The hanging of those men who fought for their hearths and homes by resisting the advance of the British on Cabul will always remain an indelible stain on the character of General Roberts and the Government he was serving under. He knew fully well that the Amir was a prisoner in his camp. He knew also that the people of Afghanistan who resisted his advance had good reasons for believing that the Amir had been made a prisoner by him while he visited his camp as his guest. Knowing all these facts, it puzzles us to understand, how General Roberts could honestly and conscientiously proclaim to the people of Afghanistan :—

"I hold out no promise of pardon to those who, well knowing the Amir's position in the British camp, instigated the troops and people of Cabul to take up arms against the British troops. They have been guilty of wilful rebellion against the Ameer's authority, and they will be considered and treated as rebels wherever found."

The special commission consisting of Colonel Macgregor, Dr. Bellad and Mahammad Hayat Khan, appointed to inquire into the conduct of Yakub Khan and those high officers of Afghanistan whom General Roberts treacherously imprisoned in the Durbar on the 12th October 1879, carried on their proceedings within closed doors. Witnesses were examined by the members of the commission, but the accused had no opportunity to cross-examine them or know the nature of their evidence. The character of at least one member of the commission, that of Mahammad Hayat Khan, was not above suspicion. It was hoped that in due course the government would publish a connected narrative of the events of the Cabul affairs and the world at large would then be able to judge on what basis of proof suspicions against Yakub Khan and his ministers had rested. Contrary to expectation no such narrative has ever been published. But Roberts writes that the perusal of the proceedings satisfied him that Yakub and his ministers were guilty of all those crimes which he had suspected against them. He recommended their deportation to India. Lord Lytton, as he was bound to do, approved of Roberts' recommendation, so the unhappy prince, whose only fault was that he placed implicit trust in the good faith of the British Government, was despatched by double marches to India on the 1st December 1879. With his departure, the future of Afghhanistan looked very gloomy. It seemed as if the Afghans were to lose their independence for ever. The government of India appeared to take over charge of Afghanistan on the alleged voluntary abdication of its throne by Yakub Khan. Roberts' proclamation of the 28th October 1879, left hardly any doubt in the minds of the Afghan people what the future government of their country would be like. In this proclamation, it was announced

"that the Amir having of his own free will abdicated, has left Afghanistan without a Government. In consequence of the shameful outrage upon its envoy and suite the British Government has been compelled to occupy by force of arms Cabul, the capital, and take military possession of other parts of Afganistan. ... The British Government desires that the people shall be treated with justice and benevolence, and that their religious feelings and customs be respected. ... The British Government after consultation with the principal Sirdars, tribal chiefs, and others representing the interests and wishes of the various provinces and cities, will declare its will as to the future permanent arrangement to be made for the good government of the people."

It is said that the Disraeli (or rather Beaconsfield) Ministry caused the Government of India to authorize General Roberts to issue this proclamation. Afghanistan now was virtually made a British province.

* The *Pioneer* correspondent in his letter dated 12th November 1879.

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DONOUGHMORE DYARCHY FOR CEYLON*

By ST. NIHAL SINGH

I

THE recommendations made by the Special Commission on the Ceylon Constitution presided over by the Earl of Donoughmore, are, as I anticipated in an article entitled Ceylon's Political Emancipation printed in the issue of this Review for July 1927, meant to strengthen the hands of the bureaucracy in the Island, which is still predominatingly British. If those proposals are adopted, such power over the permanent officials as, through the holding of the purse strings, the existing Legislative Council has managed to acquire, will completely disappear and the public servants, instead of being under complete parliamentary control as they are in Britain and the self-governing Dominions, will become a law unto themselves, owing no responsibility to any Ceylonese individual or organization. The Governor who, according to statements publicly made by the present incumbent of that office and by his predecessor, had, in the natural course of constitutional evolution in the Island, become practically powerless, is not to become a figure-head, as in the case of the representatives of the King in the Dominions, but is to be armed with formidable powers which, it is expressly stated, are to be created, for actual use and not for mere ornamentation.

In view of the circumstances in which the Commission was appointed, nothing else could have been expected. As I noted in "Ceylon's Political Emancipation," it was called into being at the request of a British pro-consul (Sir Hugh Clifford) who, according to his own statement, "had left his own country at the age of seventeen"; since then had spent only "an aggregate of ninenty months in" the land of his birth; and had not stepped into "the House of Commons more than a dozen times in the last forty-one years." Having reached his sixty-first year while ruling British possessions in Asia and Africa, he had acquired the temperament and habits associated with personal rule and had developed an antipathy toward the parliamentary type of Government. During the short period that he was Governor of Ceylon he naturally chafed at such power as the Legislative Council exercised; as indeed, did the other British permanent officials. Speaking for them quite as much as for himself, he declared at a dinner party that the existing Constitution gave the Un-official Members of that Council "complete liberty to paralyse the Executive at any moment by declining to vote supplies."

The reference that the Colonial Office made to the Commission that it appointed in conformity with the plea put forward by that pro-consul showed that the virus had taken effect. That Commission was instructed.

"To visit Ceylon and report on the working of the existing Constitution and on any difficulties of administration which may have arisen in connection with it; to consider any proposals for the revision of the Constitution that may be put forward, and to report what, if any, amendments of the Order in Council now in force should be made."

An examination of these instructions shows that the Commission was not appointed for determining ways and means for devolving further powers upon the Ceylonese. The people in the Island had not, in fact, asked for such devolution. They, on the contrary, felt that the existing Constitution would not be changed for at least ten years. A statement to that effect was made by the Duke of Devonshire, then presiding over the Colonial Office in the despatch in which he communicated his final decision regarding the last series of reforms.

If any Ceylonese individual or association had pressed for constitutional reform the Colonial Office would have lost no time in issuing a ukase pointing to that declaration and refusing to reopen the question before the expiry of the prescribed period, say until 1933. The officials, however, wished for their own purposes, to put the Constitution in the melting pot and they treated that pronouncement as a scrap of paper.

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II

The Colonial Office must have excercised great care in choosing the men to whom could be entrusted, the task of re-writing Ceylon's Constitution so that the officials would no longer be in the grip of the Ceylonese legislators. As the sequel shows no better selection could have been made to ensure that object.

The Earl of Donoughmore, whom the Colonial Office placed at the head of the inquiry, was Irish by descent and British by education and residence. As Chairman of Committees of the House of Lords he had had great experience in dealing with questions of highly controversial character and had acquired much tact in handling men. He, for that reason, had been specially selected from among the members of the Conservative Party by Edwin Samuel Montague to accompany him on his visit to India for the purpose of consulting Lord Chelmsford and other officials in regard to constitutional reforms. During 1921, when Lloyd George was talking of having "murder" in Ireland "by the throat" and Earl of Birkenhead was declaring war to the knife against the "Irish rebels," the Irish blood flowing in Lord Donoughmore's veins caught fire and he, I am told, joined hands with several others to bring warfare to end and have the issues outstanding between the Irish and the British settled by consent.

Sir Mathew Nathan, who was associated with the Earl of Donoughmore in the Ceylon enquiry, is a Liberal of a type that has virtually disappeared. Nearly a quarter of a century ago, when I was in journalism in Hongkong, he was Governor of that Colony and was esteemed by every one I knew as a man of kindly disposition. After leaving Hongkong he held high office in other parts of the Empire, including Australasia and Ireland.

Sir Geoffrey Butler, who was also appointed to the Special Commission, comes of a family two members of which Sir Harcourt and Sir Montagu have held governorships of Indian provinces. He belongs to that group of young Conservatives who call themselves "Tory-Democrats." A man of exceptional ability, he has a charming manner, as I can attest from personal experience.

The only other member of the Special Commission, Dr. T. Drummond Shiels, is a Socialist of the mild variety known as Fabian. He went to the war with Edwin Arnold's *Light of Asia* in his pocket and came back with a Military Cross. He entered the House of Commons after I had left England; but when I came across him in Canada year before last, especially after renewing his acquaintance in Ceylon, I formed the belief that he would not remain a Labour backbencher for long. He has the Scotsman's canniness, great social talents and untiring industry; and if he has half a chance he will go very far.

The Colonial Office appointed Mr. F. A. Clutterbuck, one of its most competent Civil Servants, as Secretary to the Commission.

These, then, were the men who were asked to find a way to get over the difficulties that grated upon the nerves of an Orientalized British pro-consul, as, indeed, they roused resentment in British Officials in general who had come out to *rule* Ceylon, not *serve* her. After reading their report I have not the slightest hesitation in saying that they showed rare ingenuity in performing that task. I cannot conceive of any set of men who would have done the very difficult job entrusted to them more efficiently.

III

Two separate streams run through the pages of the report tendered by the Donoughmore Commission to the Colonial Office. One of them is "profession." The other is "performance." Or one may be called "good intentions" and the other "recommendations." The two run side by side, but never mingle. To the end of the volume they remain quite distinct.

The good intentions expressed by the Earl of Donoughmore and his colleagues do them credit. They profess to give the Ceylonese virtually all the powers of responsible government "the responsibility of managing their own internal affairs, subject only to certain safeguards in the background", as they say. They tell them that they do not propose to reserve any subjects of administration, or to divide the Budget into compartments. They are not enamoured of the Indian device of dyarchy, which Mr. Lionel Curtis claims was invented by Sir William Duke of the Indian Civil Service and later of the India Office, but which Sir C. P. Ramaswami Iyer declares, is as old as Rome. Neither the Chairman nor his colleagues, would in any case, touch it with a ten foot pole. (So they say). Subject to a few constitutional safeguards and some

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reserve power to be used by the Governor in critical moments, they propose to make the Ceylonese supreme in the managements of their own affairs. These are indeed sentiments worthy of respect.

Perhaps because I have spent so large a portion of my life in Britain, I am a matter-of-fact man. I do not, therefore, wish to delve into the good intentions expressed by the Commissioners, but confine myself to a searching examination of the recommendations that they have actually made.

Such an analysis shows that both in respect of composition and functions, the Commissioners have recommended the creation of a system which if it comes into being, should become known as the "Donoughmore dyarchy." Their proposals, if adopted as they stand, would abridge the legislative powers enjoyed by the Ceylonese under the present Constitution in many matters, instead of giving them new powers. They would particularly make it impossible for any Ceylonese to exercise any control whatever over the Executive, and if the Ceylonese who, under the Donoughmore dispensation, are called to office or become members of the projected State Council, show any spark of manhood, administrative complexities and crises would be inevitable.

These are conclusions which the perusal of the Donoughmore Commission report have forced upon me. I have nothing to do with Ceylon politics and I am personally biased, if anything in favour of the Commissioners.

IV

I shall now proceed to state the reasons which have made me arrive at these conclusions.

—First, as to the Donoughmore dyarchy :

The organ of Government that the Commissioners propose to set up in Ceylon will consist of two separate elements. One will be white, the other will be brown. The differentiation in colour and race would hardly matter if the white section were recruited from the permanent population of the Island and were it not there merely for a time for gainful purposes.

The two sections will be different in other respects as well. A part of the governing body will neither be appointed by nor will it be answerable to any authority in Ceylon. Even the emoluments of the members composing it will be outside the control of the legislature, which in fact, will not be able to enforce its will upon them. Persons composing the other section will, on the other hand, have their roots sunk in Ceylon's soil and their tenure of office will depend entirely upon the pleasure of the State Council, as the new legislature is to be called.

If these arrangements are not of a dyarchic character, I should like to know what a dyarchical institution really is.

Group number one, irremovable by the Ceylon legislature, is to consist of three permanent officials. They are to be known as Officers of State. Each of them will receive emoluments upon a scale determined by the Colonial Office, will be answerable for his actions to that Office through its agent in Ceylon—the Governor—and will look to that Office for the protection of his interests while he is in the Island. Yet all the three are to be superimposed upon the legislature. None of them is to have the privilege of voting, but each of them is to enjoy the status of a Minister.

The second group may or may not consist entirely of Ceylonese. It is expected that a number of Britons engaged in growing tea or rubber or other products in the Island will be returned by certain constituencies and one or more of them may be called to ministerial office. Whether that development takes place or not, the seven Ministers are to owe responsibility to the State Council, and are not to be laws unto themselves, as the Officers of State will inevitably be.

Peculiar devices have been improvised by the Donoughmore Commission for the appointment of the Ministers. To understand their nature, it is necessary to know something of the projected State Council. It is to consist of :

(a) the aforementioned three Officers of State :

(b) sixty-five members elected by various constituencies upon an exclusively territorial basis : and

(c) some twelve members, of whom as many as six may be non-official Britons, to be nominated by the Governor.

The Council is to sit in Executive as well as Legislative Session. Immediately after assembling the elected and nominated members (some seventy-seven in number) are to resolve themselves into seven committees. Each of these committees is to elect its own President, and that person

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if the Governor has no objection to him, will enjoy the status of a Minister. (The italics are mine.)

This new-fangled system will naturally make it impossible for even those Ministers who are not merely in the legislature but are also of it, to be responsible in the manner in which Ministers are responsible to Parliament at Westminster or in any of the Dominions. Each Executive Committee being mandatory and in no sense advisory, is to hold the poor Minister in the hollow of its hand. He nevertheless is to be "individually responsible," together with his respective committee, "to the Council for the direction and control of the department."

It is difficult to understand why the Minister should be *individually* held responsible for acts which may have originated with the Committee or which may have been forced upon him.

The Commissioners have been so chary of giving details in respect of this system and the language they employ in giving such particulars as they have vouchsafed is so ambiguous that it is impossible to tell what they mean when, in addition to making each Minister individually responsible, they make him responsible together with his Executive Committee as well. Just what they mean passes my understanding. Perhaps it passes their understanding, too: for other parts of the report show that when a thing is intelligible to them they do not lack the gift of language to make it clear to others.

The Commissioners justify the creation of these seven standing Committees on the plea that political parties do not at present exist in Ceylon and they can come into being only along racial and religious lines. I do not agree with the latter assumption, since the line of political cleavage is already visible to any person who comes to look beneath the surface. The system which Lord Donoughmore and his colleagues propose will *artificially* split the state council into seven more or less water-tight compartments.

It is idle to ask if any Ceylonese with a spark of manhood would assume office under a system so manifestly unfair. A Ministership has great glamour even for persons belonging to nations that have not been in subjection for centuries as has been the case with the Ceylonese. The Commissioners have besides, recommended a salary of Rs. 27,000 per annum—an amount which few Ceylonese who have not inherited or married money are able to earn. The suggestion that they have conveyed that they were offering Ceylon a form of government more democratic than that which exists in any country in Europe or America, moreover, tickles the fancy especially of some of the younger politicians who have yet to cut their wisdom teeth. I can, therefere, conceive that the Ceylonese will be falling over one another in the scramble for ministerships.

It is more profitable to turn from these speculations to the recommendations made by the Commissioners which, if adopted, would enable the three permanent officials who, without being made responsible to the State Council, are to be given the status of Ministers, to be able to administer the respective departments placed in their charge. To explain why they are thus merciful to their own countrymen—for it is not to be assumed for a moment that Ceylonese are normally to be appointed to hold one or more of these offices of State—the Earl of Donoughmore and his associates put forward the plea that "the functions of these officers will be largely advisory and the activities of their departments implementary of the decisions of the Council."

V

These words have a soothing sound. I have, however, lived too long among the British to be lulled into somnolence by such jingles. What is precisely their import?

An examination of the functions that the Donoughmore Commission reserve to these irresponsible officers of State—I am merely using constitutional phraseology and—those that they propose to transfer to their colleagues elected to the Council and responsible to it in the peculiar manner suggested by the Commission, will show exactly the position the two wings of the Donoughmore dyarchy will occupy in the administration of Ceylon if it is to be modelled upon that pattern.

The principal among the three Officers of State is to be known as the Chief Secretary. Hitherto Britons who had distinguished themselves in other parts of the Empire have held the analogous office—that of Colonial Secretary—and some of them have been liberal-minded and statesmanlike. I can speak from personal knowledge in those terms of two of them—the present incumbent of that office—Mr. A. G. M. Fletcher; and one of his predecessors—Mr. Graeme Thompson. The Commissioners, how-

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ever, recommend that in future a man who has grown up in the Ceylon Civil Service shall be made the Chief Secretary; and if their proposal is given effect to, it will mean that Britons bound about with local prejudices will occupy the most important position in the Ceylon administration.

Whatever may happen in this respect, the Chief Secretary will, according to the Donoughmore scheme, control External Affairs, including affairs, concerning the Maldive Islands, which constitute a dependency of Ceylon. He will also be in charge of Defence, including Volunteer Corps or the Defence Force, to adopt the more modern phraseology. The drafting of legislation is further to be his concern. Lastly, and perhaps most important of all, he is to control Public Service administration. Such importance do the Commissioners attach to that matter that they specifically reserve to him the making of appointments and even transfers and matters pertaining to discipline. As I have already hinted and as I shall show later in detail, all officials of any importance are not only to be under the control of the Chief Secretary, who is to be irresponsible but they themselves are to be outside Ceylonese legislative control

The Chief Secretary is also to keep an eye on the Audit Department.

While the Attorney-General, another member of this trinity, is not to be entrusted with the drafting of legislation, he will nevertheless prepare all legal instruments and contracts and advise the Government on all legal questions. He will also be responsible for the conduct of elections. He will further control the administration of justice. Justice in other words, is not to be a transferred subject.

The third member of the trinity—the Treasurer—will perform the functions that in constitutional countries are reserved for the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who, as the custodian of the money-bags, is able to dominate administration. He is to be responsible for the collection, disbursement and custody of revenue from whatever source; and the preparation of the annual Budget and estimates and of supplementary estimates. His advice is to be sought on taxation, exchange, loans, currency and other matters pertaining to financial policy. He is to control the investment of State funds, including the making of loans to local authorities, etc., as also the management of the public debt. Finally, he is to supervise financially all departments, including contracts, stores, financial regulation of Public Services, strength of establishments, leave regulations, salaries, pensions and allowances.

The Commissioners insist upon placing the Treasurer in a position which will enable him to "be in intimate touch with the financial aspect of all questions from their inception." They further insist that he shall "be given an ample opportunity of expressing his opinion from the financial point of view in the initial stage of a proposal, in the intermediate stage at the Board of Ministers (of which more later), and in the final stage of discussion in the Council." He is to have both "the status and authority of a Minister," but he is not to have the responsibilities of a Minister. Unless he certifies that a Bill is free from provisions that will affect the financial credit of the Island, the State Council cannot proceed with it. The Treasurer will, in fact, be the Mussolini of the Donoughmore dyarchy.

It took genius of the highest order to sum up, in innocent sounding phrases, functions of such diverse and vital character entrusted to these three permanent officials completely outside the control of the legislature but who, through control of (a) the Public Servants and (b) the coffers of the State, or (c) on the plea of legal objections, would be able to exercise a formidable check upon the elected Ministers. The British have such genius in superabundance. They however, make a great mistake when they delude themselves into the belief that the nations under their political subjection lack at least a few individuals who possess the wit to lift the cloak in order to see the form over which it is thrown.

Do External Affairs or matters pertaining to Military, Naval and Aerial Defence of the Island fall into the category of "advisory" functions, or are they to be classed as functions "implementary of the decisions of the Council?"

Though I have examined the report from cover with the greatest care, I have not been able to come to any decision in regard to the authority, if any, that the Council is to exercise over these Departments. The statements that the Commissioners have permitted themselves to make in these connections are both scrappy and ambiguous. In the matter of defence of the Island they write:

"Among the Imperial affairs referred to above

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is one of vital importance, viz. ; the defence of the Island. In this matter we do not contemplate any change in the well-understood relations between the Governor as Commander-in-Chief and the Officer Commanding the Troops.

"On the question of direction by the Governor (in this and in matters affecting external relations) we think it necessary to state that while we are definitely of opinion that those affairs for which the Imperial Government is responsible to the Parliament of the United Kingdom, and to the people of the whole Empire, should remain under Imperial direction, we are not fearful that there will be any desire on the part of the representatives of the people of Ceylon so to order the policy of the Island as in any way to militate against the general interest of the Commonwealth of Nations to which they belong, or against the special interests of the people of Great Britain who have commercial, financial or other connection with the Island. What we heard and saw in Ceylon, the treatment meted out to ourselves there, the respect we observed to be shown on all occasions to His Excellency and to his High Office, the candid recognition to us of benefits derived from the long association of the Island to (with?) the United Kingdom, all forbid this fear."

The Ceylonese will no doubt be grateful for the trust that the Commissioners have thus shown in their good sense. Do these statements imply, however, that the legislature of the future will have nothing to say in external affairs and defence of every description, while having the privilege of voting supplies? Notwithstanding the trust that the Commissioners wish to repose in the Ceylonese, they have devised machinery whereby any obstreperousness upon the part of the Council in respect of such supplies can be easily and automatically overcome, while they deny to that Council the right of entertaining, much less passing, any Bill dealing with such matters, unless the British themselves ask it to do so.

And pray why should the activities of departments which are entrusted with functions "implementary of the decisions of the Council" be reserved in a system supposed to be constitutional, to persons who themselves are not made responsible to the legislature? No procedure could, in my judgment, be prescribed that would more completely secure the negation of responsibility than this.

VI

The allocation of the remaining functions of government to the Ministers--the junior partners in the Donoughmore dyarchy—does not call for any comment. I have already noted that in administering the department over which they are supposed to preside they will have to reckon with the Executive Committees, and not merely with the legislature, as is the case in Britain and the British Dominions. That is, however, only one of the entanglements that have been specially created by the Commission for their benefit.

Each Minister is, for instance, to be "provided with a permanent official Secretary who would be a member of the Ceylon Civil Service" or at any rate of one or another of the superior Services. The grade in which that permanent official is serving is to be such that he will not be able to assume "a position of official superiority" when dealing with the heads of departments—his fellow permanent officials. He is, however, to act as "intermediary between the Chairman and, the heads of departments as the latter did not consider a case for direct personal touch." The "latter," of course, refers to the permanent officials occupying the position of heads of departments. The poor Minister evidently is not to have even as much initiative as they. He, it appears, is to be in the grip of the Secretary.

It has already been noted that none of the Ministers is to be competent to make appointments or even transfers in any of the departments he is supposed to administer. That power has been reserved to the permanent official who is to be known as the Chief Secretary and is to belong to their own caste and, at any rate in case of most high officials, also to their own race.

It needs, however, to be added that none of the high officials is to be under the control of the Minister placed at the head of the department in which they serve in the sense that public servants in Britain and the British Dominions are under the control of their political chiefs. In those countries the legislators, as a body, hold in the hollow of their hand all permanent officials, be they great or small, drawing large emoluments or in receipt of mere pittances.

The Donoughmore Commission actually recommend the abridgement of the control which the existing legislature in Ceylon possesses and exercises over officials in precisely the same manner, i.e., through the power of the purse. They propose that its successor, the State Council, shall have only the right of *"comment and criticism"* in respect of "all matters affecting the pay and allowances, pensions, prospects and conditions of service of public officers."

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(The italics are mine). The scale for emoluments and conditions of service are to be laid down by Whitehall with the assistance of an "independent" Commission (independent, no doubt, because it is to be appointed from Britain and will consist, largely, if not exclusively, of Britons). And the decision of Whitehall in all service matters is to be final and binding upon the Ceylonese who will have to post the bill.

The Donoughmore Commission seek to give the impression that there is nothing in these proposals that is out of the way. The talk about "independence" and "fairness" would come better from them if positions carrying large salaries in Ceylon were not the monopoly of their people and they did not show anxiety to reserve a very considerable percentage of such posts for their own people for a long time to come. They moreover, suggest increase in the emoluments, partly on the plea that their countrymen are exiles "from the temperate climate which is their birthright" and partly because they must preserve "a standard of living and hospitality in keeping with their own traditions and those of a Service which for over 125 years has represented a great Imperial Power." So solicitous were they for the welfare of their countrymen serving in Ceylon (or is it ruling Ceylon ?) that they did not forget to ask "whether some arrangement could not be made by Government for the storing of furniture of officers proceeding on leave of absence from the Island." The Commissioners wish, on the other hand, to enforce a "Ceylonese standard upon all Ceylonese serving in their own country, in tropical conditions, their birthright." The economy thus effected would go some way in meeting the increased expenditure upon the British officials.

I must point out that the benefits that the Donoughmore Commission wish to confer are not to be limited to the permanent officials already in the employ of the Ceylon Government, but are to be extended to all those "who may in future be recruited for posts under the Ceylon Government the filling of which is subject to the approval of the Secretary of State for the Colonies" and all important posts I note, are to be reserved for the signification of his approval.

The Commissioners cap these proposals with another series of recommendations which would give an "unqualified" right to enable any official (including even the Ceylonese) recruited before the publication of their report to retire from the Service and demand "proportionate pension with compensation for loss of career." That option is to be "continuous" and not to last only "for a specified period."

In the space at my disposal I have not been able to deal at as great length as I should have liked with the "safeguards" proposed by the Earl of Donoughmore and his colleagues. I hope however that I have indicated their drift sufficiently to enable the reader to realise that the high officials who will serve under the Ceylonese Ministers, will be their "subordinates," in mere name, and their masters in reality.

VII

The Ministers, even in their relations with their Executive Committees, are to be under the oversight of the permanent officials. The "Civil"—or the "Public"—Servant who is to act as the Secretary is to be present. So will be the head of the department concerned in the proposals under discussion. They will, of course, be there to assist the Minister. The head of the department, though at liberty to join in the discussion, is not to have any vote, and I dare say the Secretary will be in a similar position. The senior partner of the Donoughmore dyarchy—the permanent official occupying the position of Chief Secretary—is to "have the right to attend" any such meeting "either personally or by deputy" and may speak but cannot vote. I persume the remaining two senior partners of the dyarchy—the Treasurer and the Attorney-General—may be invited to be present, if necessary. They will, in any case, have their fingers in the pie, for hardly any important governmental matter can be divorced from financial or legal considerations,

The Commissioners take particular pains to emphasize, that the Governor is to be appraised of what happens in the administration. The Agenda of Executive Committee meetings will be placed simultaneously before him and the members. The substance of discussions relating to important matters is to be communicated to him.

Then there is to be a Board of "Ministers." I have placed the word Minister in inverted commas because it is used in the Donoughmore Commission sense and not in the ordinary constitutional connotation.

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That Board is to consist of the three "Officers of State" and the seven "Ministers." The Chief Secretary is to be its *ex-officio* Chairman. The position of Vice-Chairman is to be reserved for the Minister who may be elected to that office. The Secretary is to be a member of the Ceylon Civil Service. This Board is to "last the lifetime of the Council which would be four years," though the elected element would change from time to time, as individual Ministers incurred the displeasure of the Council and had to retire.

To this Board is assigned the function of settling "the order of business for the Council, both in Executive and in Legislative Session ; and" the determining of "the procedure by which matters which concerned more than one Standing Committee could most be conveniently arranged." The Commissioners speak of these functions as "routine matters," though the settling of the order of executive and legislative business is considered in their own country to have an important bearing upon both administration and legislation.

The concurrence of this Board must be obtained by the Officers of State and Ministers before they, or any one of them, can initiate a money-bill or any proposal creating, in any manner, "a charge upon the public revenue." No other Member of the legislature than these Decemviri is to have such a right. I apprehend that this proposal is meant to stop the existing practice which has enabled unofficials to get a number of Bills involving considerable expenditure passed by the present Council.

The Board is to be the complete arbiter of the annual Budget and estimates as also supplementary estimates as they are introduced into the State Council. The responsibility is to be "collective."

The term within inverted commas has certainly been used loosely. How can there by any collective responsibility in a body which is presided over by an "irresponsible" permanent official and has two other equally or "irresponsible" permanent officials as members, all three superimposed upon the State Council, which cannot touch a penny of their pay, much less remove them from office ? In this circumstance "collective responsibility" can only mean that the rejection of the Budget would make the Councils' axe fall upon the necks of the elected Minister, as the Commissioners themselves say on another page.

The Budget will be unitary in name, but dyarchical in character. The salaries, allowances of various descriptions, pensions and gratuities of Public Servants constitute by far the heaviest item of expenditure. That item, as I have shown, will, if the Donoughmore recommendations are adopted, be open merely to "comment and criticism" of the State Council, but in reality will be unvoteable. Much the same can be said of the estimates relating to External Affairs and Military, Naval and Aerial Defence ; and possibly of the other services such as finance, audit and justice, reserved for administration by permanent officials instead of by elected Ministers.

Apart from the very wide powers that the Governor will have, as will be pointed out later, he is specifically made competent to meet the situation that might arise through obstreperousness on the part of a Minister or his Executive Council. "Should any Executive Committee," propose the Commissioners, "omit to present its estimates within a reasonable time the Treasurer should report the omission to the Governor, who would be empowered to make up, with such assistance as he might require from the Board of Ministers and the heads of the departments concerned, what would be known as 'certified Estimate.'"

VIII

The Donoughmore Commission propose to confer formidable powers upon the Governor. He will be supreme in legislative matters ; will hold the whip-hand over the State Council in both its legislative and executive capacities ; and will constitute in certain circumstances, a second chamber comprised solely of himself, whose fiats will have the force of law, completely overriding, if in his estimation need be, the will of the Council.

The Donoughmore Commission recommend that the Governor shall remain the Commander-in-Chief. They propose that he be given the "power to declare," at his own initiative, "a state of emergency and after such declaration to take over the control of the police and of any other department or service which he may consider it in the public interest to direct." He is to be, in fact, given complete initiative to "take executive action, in default of the co-operation of the Council, in matters of paramount importance to the public interest." What these

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"matters of paramount importance" are have been left undefined—if, indeed, a definition is possible—and the Governor will have an exceedingly wide latitude in consequence.

As already stated, the Commissioners propose that the Governor be "given the power to appoint the Chairman of Executive Committees"—i.e., the Ministers. He is also to be given the right of making appointments to the public Service, to be exercised, if I have read the recommendations aright, through the Chief Secretary—a permanent official enjoying the Status of Minister (in fact, Prime Minister) without owing any responsibility to the Legislature. The "prerogative of mercy" is "to be vested in him alone."

The Governor is to be furnished with "copies of all agenda and minutes of every Executive Committee and of the Board of Ministers." He is also to be given "copies of all documents supplied to the (State) Council, including the Orders of the Day and the official record of the proceedings."

The Commissioners declare that the desire to enable the Governor to keep in touch with what is going on actuates them in making these recommendations. I note, however, that they propose that the Executive is not to "be competent—to take action on any items approved by the" State Council, either in its legislative or executive capacity "until the Governor's ratification has been received." They go so far as to ask that "he should have power to approve, refuse approval, reserve approval pending submission to the Secretary of State (for the Colonies), refer back to the Council for further consideration, or certify any particular item" of executive action "as involving an important question of principle and so requiring the support of two-thirds of the members of the Council."

The submission of papers concerning executive as also legislative matters to the Governor is therefore, not meant merely to enable him to pass away time or to take a purely academic interest in the proceedings. He is, indeed, to make it possible to delay action, have it modified or entirely stopped and, if the Council takes offence and refuses co-operation, he, as aforementioned, will have power to act quite independently of it.

In legislative matters, too, the powers of the Governor are to be increased, if the Donoughmore Commission's recommendations are to be adopted. He will not only be competent to reserve assent to a Bill passed by the legislature "pending signification of His Majesty's pleasure," but will be able to:

Refer it

"back to the Council for further consideration with or without suggested amendments.

"Certify a Bill coming within the Article of the Order in Council which demands its passage by a two-thirds' majority,

"attach to his assent a condition withholding the ordinance from operation for a period not exceeding six months," or

"refuse assent."

The Governor is to be able to exercise all these powers "at his unfettered discretion" subject to being overruled from Whitehall.

Just as in respect of executive matters the Governor is to be given full scope for action independent of the legislative and executive machinery of every description, so in legislative matters he is to be able to act for himself. In case he "is of opinion that the passing of any Bill or any clause of it, or of any amendment to any such Bill, or of any resolution, or vote, is of paramount importance," he is to have the absolute "power to enact legislation" at his own discretion, and no "voting on" such a measure or measures shall "be required."

The Donoughmore Commission nevertheless wishes the world to believe that they are assigning to the Governor functions merely of a "negative rather than positive, supervisory rather than executive" character. The worst of granting such formidable powers is that they have a tendency to overawe the Executive and the Legislature and to make them subservient.

IX

The Donoughmore Commission recommend the abridgement of the powers of the Legislature in respects other than those already named. It is, for instance, to be incompetent to legislate on the following matters, except with the prior consent of the Governor or at his request:

"Any Bill whereby the rights or privileges of public servants may be prejudiced.

"Any Bill whereby the financial stability of the Island may be prejudiced.

"Any Bill relating to questions of defence or public security, or any matter affecting naval, military or air forces or volunteer corps or the control of aerial navigation or aircraft.

"Any Bill relating to or affecting trade outside the Island or docks, harbours, shipping, or any

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lands, buildings, or other matters of naval, military or aerial interest or of Imperial concern.

"any Bill relating to or affecting the administration of justice in the Island."

If these recommendations are adopted, the field of legislation will be very much restricted; and the legislature will really lie in the hollow of the Governor's (and Treasurer's) hands.

It is to be remembered that the Colonial Office is to retain the right of disallowing "any law assented to by the Governor." There is to be the Whitehall veto over the Queen's House (the Governor's residence in Colombo) veto.

It is to be further noted that the British Parliament will continue to have concurrent as well as over-riding authority.

X

The report is so smoothly worded that few Ceylonese have had the intelligence to grasp its implications. With two or three exceptions, even those few have not stated their views with force, much less urged upon their countrymen to beware of it.

Many among the Ceylonese, on the contrary, have been unable to resist the flattery that the Commissioners have bestowed upon them. That is particularly true of the younger inexperienced politicians.

In matters other than that of flattering Ceylonese vanity the Earl of Donoughmore and his colleagues have shown a wonderful grasp. They have, for instance, attached a salary of Rs. 27,000 per annum to each Ministry. For a people who have been given only three Executive Councillorships of the second class—i. e., the right to sit in the Executive Council without any Departmental responsibility or executive functions—they have designed a system which would enable seventy-seven legislators to feel that they are Executive Councillors. By doubling the strength of the legislature they have enlisted the support of many aspirants. Their recommendation in favour of the extension of the franchise to all adult males and women over thirty, with certain residential qualifications, have won them suppor from both sexes, on a far greater scale.

The Ceylon National Congress has not been ignored. The proposal to get rid of the electoral machinery for filling seats reserved to certain minority communities has been advertised as the abolition of "communal representation," and the Congressmen have accepted that profession at its face value.

For these and other reasons of a similar nature the report has been swallowed. It is true that certain Ceylonese political associations have accepted it subject to specific reservations: but the British are canny and have no doubt taken a correct measure of the Ceylonese at whose instance those "reservations" were made. It may, therefore, be taken for granted that if any modifications are made they will certainly not be in the direction of liberalizing the report, but to make it even more acceptable to the British official, financial, industrial and planting interests in Ceylon and their supporters and principals in Britain.

THE GARDEN CREEPER

By SAMYUKTA DEVI

(5)

In childhood, we are great friends with nature and mother earth. We respond easily to every call of theirs. Joy and sorrow flash across our lives, like lightning, leaving no trace behind. As we grow older, we become strangers to our old friends. But joy and sorrow would no longer come and go, and leave no trace behind. They leave glorious pictures or deep scars, which we carry to our last days.

So Mukti soon became accustomed to her banishment. She made friends with the small people round her, and accepted this boarding house as her home. This became her world, and Aparna, Krishnadasi, Sushie-didi and Bimala peopled it. Her father and grand-mother could seldom enter into it. Even the Oriya gardener, her slave of past

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days could not appear there, with his basket of red flowers. Now Krishnadasi had become the object of her envy, in the place of Bela. Krishnadasi did not possess beautiful red ribbons and smart frocks, like Bella, but what a wonderful voice she had! Miss Nag used to laud her up to the skies. "Mukti can sing too," she would say, "but she is no match for Krishnadasi." Mukti wished Krishnadasi would leave the school. Then Mukti would be sure to get the prize for singing. But that girl was much fairer than Mukti. Did not Sushie-didi say so only the other day? It was very hard for Mukti. She could not bear Sushie to praise anyone besides herself. She wished she could keep Sushie to herself. When the bell rang for tiffin, the big college girls would take Sushie-didi by the hand, and walk about with her and laugh. They would whisper in her ear, and Sushie's beautiful face would become quite pink. She would laugh and slap those girls. But those girls would not get angry and go away. They stayed and talked on. Sushie-didi looked very beautiful and happy, at these times. Mukti liked to gaze at her face then. But when Mukti talked to her, she did not become pink, neither did she laugh like that. So Mukti hated those big college girls. Sushie-didi would never cast a glance at Mukti, when she met those girls. One day she rushed in amongst them, and clasped one of Sushie-didi's hands and tried to say something. But those big girls began to laugh, as if Mukti had no rights to Sushie. From that day, Mukti did not go near them. But even when these creatures had left, in those big buses, Mukti could not feel easy. Sushie-didi would then begin to praise Krishnadasi's beauty. Had not Mukti a right to feel angry then? She was so mad with Sushie, that she did not go near her the whole evening. Molina had praised Mukti's hair, so she stayed with her.

Just as in her old home, grandma teased her to drink her milk and brush her hair, so did Molina here. As the last bell rang at school, Molina would take away Mukti, wash her face, and brush and tie up her hair in a pigtail. Mukti did not like this. Still Molina was better than grand-mother. She did not tie up her hair in a tight knot as grandma did, she did it nicely and put in a big bow of ribbon.

One thing was very strange here. There were no fathers or mothers here, only Mashimas (aunts) and Didis (elder sisters). Even the very big girls did not put vermilion marks on their foreheads, wear their faces or sit quiet with grave faces. They laughed, read from picture books and enjoyed lozenges and toffees. But when Mukti lived at home, she had visited many houses and found all the big girls busy cutting up vegetables or rebuking little children. They talked very gravely. None of them had picture books, they possessed large bunches of keys, big boxes and babies.

But Mukti now knew the reason why. Those were homes, and this was a boarding house. The Didis (elder sisters) lived in boarding houses and read books. Mukti was a fool when she came here, so she got puzzled. But now she understood all. When she grew big, she too would read in the college from big red books. She would not have to stand up and say her lessons to Miss Nag then. Men teachers, with English dresses on, would teach her, and she would have only to listen and write a bit now and then in her notebooks. She would get many hours off, every day. But she would not read at night as Sushie and Molina did now, sitting round a huge round table. Mukti would skip over a big rope to her heart's content, bathe as long as she liked and eat plenty of sour pickles, behind the back of Miss Nag.

Mukti's days passed on thus, day dreaming. She would seldom remember her father or her grandmother during the school hours. But when the last bell had gone, and the big buses rolled out of the stables and came and stood in front of the stairs, and Bimala, Aparna and the other little girls rushed to get into them with their books and slates, then Mukti would begin to get home-sick. She wanted to get into one of those buses and drive home to her grandmother. But these big carriages never went the way to her home. Besides Sushie-didi had told her that little girls from the boarding house could not go home every day. If they went they got terrible punishment. Still Mukti would have gone, if the coachman Pitambar had taken her. But the man always refused, saying, "No, little Miss, I cannot drive all that way. My horses would get dead tired. Then who would pull this heavy bus tomorrow? The Big Mem Sahib will scold me very much."

Mukti could have torn her hair and howled with rage, at those times. If Molina happened to come for her then, she wanted

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to beat her. But this was a boarding house! So the poor little girl had to swallow her anger, as well as she could. She had to follow Molina, descend those ugly iron stairs and enter the dressing room. But if anyone mentioned her home then, she could restrain her tears no longer. Out they would come in a flood. Then Sushie would rush to her, take her up in her arms, kiss her, and make her laugh some how. Mukti would forget all her sorrows at the touch of Sushie's beautiful face on her own.

At night, the Christian maid-servant, who dressed in chemise and saree like a gentlewoman, would ring the bell loudly. Then she would bring up bowls of milk on a tray into the bed-room, where the girls slept on two bedsteads. Mukti would sit up on the bed, with her small legs dangling in the air and remember her grandmother and their huge bedstead with regret. Her grand-mother would carry her in her arms from the kitchen where Mukti used to have her supper, and put her to bed. Then after finishing all her duties, she would come and sleep by Mukti's side, clasping her lovingly in her arms. Sometimes her father would come home early, and sit down to have his supper by Mukti's side. Mukti would lean against him and thus fall asleep. But if she fell asleep there, at the supper table, the other girls laughed and poked her. She had to walk up to the bedroom and sleep alone on the iron bedstead. If Miss Dutt had not been so angry at two girls sleeping on the same bed, Mukti would have taken her little pillow and gone to sleep with Sushie every night. She had done so once, but Miss Dutt came and scolded Sushie-didi in a loud voice and with very angry red eyes. She felt terribly nervous while sleeping alone, she wanted to cry. She would wake up in the middle of the night and tremble with fear, to find all sleeping and the street lamp shining through the windows and casting fearful shadows on the walls. She felt terribly frightened to remain awake alone, but that very fear kept her awake, even if she covered herself up completely and put her head under her pillow. Her fear reached its climax, if the wicked men of the street shouted, "Bala Hari, Hari Bol"* in their harsh voices. Little Mukti would grow cold with fear, her tongue would cleave to the roof of her mouth and she would feel paralysed. One night, she rolled down from the bed, somehow. She must have fallen asleep then, because she seemed to wake up after a while, and found Sushie, Molina, and the other big girls putting water on her hair, and fanning her. Then for a few days, she slept in the house-keeper's room, but in a separate bed. But now she had come back to the big bedroom. She had not fallen down from the bed again. If the people in the street shouted, the other girls screamed and clasped one another in fear, but Mukti did not move. She would lie, stiff and cold with fear in her own bed.

Then the morning bell would ring very loudly, and Mukti would open her eyes to find the other girls leaving their beds, with tousled hair and sleepy faces. They would thrust their feet inside embroidered Japanese slippers or Burmese sandals and go out to wash their faces. Mukti would be astonished to find Sushie and a few other big girls walking about on the big verandah, even so early. She never could know when they got up. She would feel ashamed of sleeping late, and would sit up hastily on her bed. Then Molina would come and kiss her on her sleepladen eyes, and take her away to wash her face. If she would sleep really late, Molina would come and gently rouse her up, passing wet fingers over her eyes. "Get up Mukti," she would whisper in her ear, "or Miss Dutt will scold you."

One day she would not get up at Molina's words. Miss Dutt really came then and shook her so roughly that even her bone began to ache. She remembered with regret the privileges of living in one's own home. There she used to sleep, all she desired and nobody shook her. Only grandma had sprinkled water on her eyes once or twice. Miss Dutt was not satisfied with shaking her, but she scolded Molina too, "Don't spoil the child like this," she said, "I did not put her underyour charge for that." Then she said something in English, which Mukti could not understand. Molina's face became red, and she took away Mukti at once to the bath room.

But during the daytime Mukti was too busy learning her lessons, playing, singing or talking to her friends to remember her grievances. She would remember her grandma in times of sorrow, but woul forget her with the passing off of her melancholy. But on a certain day during the

* The chant of Bengalis, while carrying a dead body.

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week, she could think of nothing else except the garden and the house at Bhowanipore. On Friday, as soon as she got up, she would run down to the dressing room. She would take out a large towel from the big wardrobe and would take this with a big safety-pin to Molina. "Please Molina-di," she would begin coaxingly, "pack up my clothes. I shall go home today."

Molina would laugh and push her away, saying, "Go away madcap, are you starting this very minute? Wait till the evening and I shall make everything ready for you."

But Mukti stuck to her, till she had to give way. She would make a bundle with some of Mukti's clothes and fasten it up inside the towel, with the safety-pin and give it to her, saying, "Now run away with your bundle." Mukti would go about the whole day, with the bundle clasped in her arms. She would rehearse to herself all the stories, she would tell father and grandma, again and again. She would carry the bundle with her books to the class. Miss Nag scolded her for this, but Mukti never reformed. She did not like to go back to the hostel for it, before running to the bus which would carry her home.

(6)

Mokshada Devi found it very hard to pass her days, now that Mukti had gone off to the boarding house. The large house seemed like a desert. There was no sign of man or child anywhere. How could a woman live in such a place? She had begun to pester her son anew to take unto himself a second wife. The wee bit of a girl had made the place homelike, but she too had been sent away to the school, for becoming a Memsahib. The house seemed like a haunted one now, so silent and deserted it had become. A mother could not tolerate such a state of affairs. Her son was young, why should not he marry again? He had no son, to inherit the estate or to carry on the family name. He ought to consider these points and to marry again.

But her son would not listen to her. So Mokshada had to fall back upon her old threat of going away to the country-house. She managed to while away the time making jams, fruit preserves and pickles for her grand-daughter. Mukti was very fond of these things. Shiveswar hated these things like poison. But though he spent a fortune in biscuit, chocolates and lozenges, Mukti would cast greedy eyes at her grandmother's store of unwholesome delicacies. Though she was of her father's opinion, in all matters relating to dress, she sided with the old lady, when eating was concerned.

Her grandmother was busy the whole week, preparing for her home-coming in the week end. She looked forward to these two days with the eagerness of a young woman expecting her beloved. Mukti liked to put on sarees, like grown up girls, with a train trailing behind. So Mokshada Debi would call cloth vendors and buy all kinds of coloured sarees for Mukti. The barber's wife would receive strict orders from the old lady, to come punctually on Saturday, in order to paint Mukti's small feet with lac. She was under the impression, that Mukti did not get food enough at the hostel. So she would make fresh butter for her and keep it safe.

For five days these preparations went on. On the sixth day, Mukti was given a right royal reception.

Shiveswar, too, found time hanging heavy on his hands. There was nobody now to run out to welcome him home, when he returned tired with the days' work. Nobody insisted on eating from the same plate, or drove him mad to take her out for a drive. All her toys, her tricycle, her swing were thrust in a corner and presented a forlorn sight to the eye. They too seemed to await her magic touch to wake into joyous life. Nobody ran to put *pan* in his mouth now after he had finished dinner.

He had wished to bring up his little daughter himself and to train her in the way he thought best. But fate intervened, and he had to send her away to school. She only came to him for the week end, so there was no time to teach her, the two days being completely taken up by petting and spoiling. But the time hung heavy on his hands. His mother was the only other person in the house besides himself, but it was rather difficult to talk to her. She had only one topic of conversation, viz., a second marriage for Shiveswar. "I plead and plead," she would wail, "but you never listen to me. Won't you bring home a bride?"

But Shiveswar was adamant on this point. And Mukti was at school and likely to remain there for a good many years. So he must think of some other way for passing his time.

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He began to think over various schemes, when one day his mother said: "Do you know, Bishu had arranged a match for his daughter, with that boy of Bishnu's, I told you about. The girl is only a year older than our Mukti. You became quite wild, when I told you to secure him for your daughter. What do you think of it now? You will have to give your daughter in marriage, sooner or later, now, would not you?"

Shiveswar was probably thinking of something else, so he replied absent-mindedly. "Yes, yes, I shall settle about it soon."

His mother could hardly believe her ears. "With whom?" She asked eagerly.

"Oh, I shall tell you, when I have made up my mind," he replied.

Mokshada had to be content with this, and went off to the kitchen.

Shiveswar entered his office-room and called his bearer. The man answered and entered, with great alacrity.

"Did not you ask leave, for going home?" Shiveswar asked. "Well, you may go."

The servant was astounded. He had never expected such generosity. He had mentioned the matter, about a month ago, but Shiveswar had not deigned to answer then.

He replied with folded hands, "Yes sir, I shall go soon, I may even go to-morrow."

"All right." Shiveswar answered. Then as the man was about to go out, "What caste are the people of your village"? he asked.

"There are many castes, Sir," the bearer replied. "Most of them are untouchables like ourselves, There are two or three good castes also."

Shiveswar remained deep in thought, with a deep frown puckering his forehead.

After a while, he spoke again. "When you come back," he said, "bring an orphan boy from your village. I suppose there are many? Choose some one who knows how to read and write."

"So the master is thinking of adopting a boy," thought the bearer. "All right, Sir," he said and went away.

A few days passed off. Then as one fine morning Mokshada Devi was ordering the gardener to pick some green mangoes for her which she wanted for a favourite dish of Mukti's and the gardener was trying to excuse himself, the maid-servant, Nitya, came running up to her mistress. "Please Ma, come and look," she shouted, "a fine looking boy is coming with master's bearer."

The old lady was busy preparing for the weekly reception of Mukti; so she replied hotly, "Let him come. Do you want a band playing for him? He does not need to be received like a son-in-law." The maid went away rather embarassed. After a few minutes, the bearer appeared, accompanied by a small boy of fresh complexion and fine features. He looked countrified and shy in his manners. Mokshada barely cast him a look. She had no time to waste on servants' relatives just at present, as she was expecting Mukti every minute and had not yet prepared a green cocoanut for her.

Mukti rushed in, within a few minutes. As she passed by her father's office room like a small hurricane, she saw a boy, slightly older than herself, sitting inside, to whom her father was talking. The boy wore ugly clothes and strange amulets.

Mukti was surprised, but she did not stop. "Grandma, I have come," she shouted and ran inside

(7)

Gopal was a child from the bearer's native village. He lost both his parents when quite young and was taken away by a kind-hearted gentleman, who used to know his father. But his wife Mohini took an instant dislike to the boy. He seemed quite out of place in her well-arranged home. She was living very happily, with her two small children and her husband, when that great fool went and wasted a lot of money over some dying friend. Not content with that, he brought over to his home this snivelling wretch of a boy. Though her own husband was entirely responsible for this arrangement, Mohini made the unfortunate boy the scapegoat, and vented her anger on his devoted head, to her entire satisfaction.

Gopal felt himself an utter stranger in this household. He was not accepted as one of the family, neither was he treated as a guest. He became a parasite without root in any soil. His heart remained starved. Mohini kept her own children scrupulously apart from him and never came down from her heights herself to the level of the poor boy. The master of the house had probably forgotten all about the poor boy, for he never took any notice of him. Besides that he was seldom at home, business keeping him in Calcutta for the greater part of the year.

The house of widowed Kamini was the

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only spot on earth where this homeless creature felt at home. She was also the only person who talked kindly to him. But her house was not easily accessible, because Mohini did not like Kamini. Kamini sold fried rice going from door to door, for her livelihood ; so she could never be treated as an equal by her. And so no inmate of her house, though he be nothing but a recipient of charity, could get so familiar with her. The family prestige had to be maintained.

So four or five years passed off. There was no change in Gopal's condition. His only solace was Kamini's love, his only occupation was reading. Mohini had grown no kinder. Gopal always stood much better in the class than her own son Subodh. This had not served to endear Gopal to her.

Suddenly the face of the world changed for him. Bepin Babu died of a few days' illness. Mohini's relatives appeared in a horde, and within a few hours, everything became ready for starting. Nothing was settled about Gopal, because they were in a hurry, the only decision being that he was not to be taken with them. Mohini told him that she would arrange about him within a few days and so left, leaving him for a few days in Kamini's house.

But though weeks passed, there was no sign from Mohini. Kamini's love was superior to the power of her purse, so she had no other option than to apply to Mohini by post. She got a reply, soon enough, but it was far from satisfactory. Mohini's brother had replied for her. He was in no way responsible, he said, for all the stupidities of his dead brother-in-law. It was enough that he was supporting his sister and her children. But he had no desire to open an orphanage at his house.

So, as Kamini could not drive away the poor orphan, she had to accept service as a cook in a neighbour's house, in order to maintain him. But she could not pay his school fees, so the boy had to give up his studies. The last day he went, the head-master told him that his name had been removed from the school roll, on account of non-payment of fees. So the boy came back with tears in his eyes, carrying his torn books and broken slate. "Why do you come back so soon ?" asked Kamini.

Gopal threw himself in her arms sobbing. "They won't let me stay there," he said, "I have not paid my fees."

Kamini did not know how to comfort him. She wiped her own eyes and went away to her work.

In the afternoon she had a bit of leisure. She did her own cooking at that time, before starting for her employer's. As she was about to take down the pot of boiling rice from the oven, somebody at the front door, shouted, "Is my little mother in ?"

"Oh dear, it is uncle," cried Kamini, running to the door. Gopal stared with wide open eyes at the newcomer. Needless to say, it was Shiveswar's bearer, our former acquaintance. He had a name, viz, Krishna, which was of no service to him, in his master's house, because he hated anything connected with idolatory.

Krishna came up to the earthen verandah and sat down. "I have just arrived," he said. "It is a long while since I came home. My master is too strict, he would never give me leave. This time my luck was good, so I got leave for a few days. Who is this boy ?"

Kamini related the whole history of Gopal. Krishna listened carefully and shook his head very wisely at the end. He said nothing however, but left, promising to come again.

He came the very next morning. "Look here, my little mother," he began as soon as he saw Kamini, "I want to have a few words with you. You are a poor widow, how could you bring up another's child ? It is no easy job. So, what I say, is this. Give him to me and I shall take him to Calcutta, to my master's house. He is a very rich man, there are many living on his charity. If the boy goes there, he will be well-provided for. He has even asked me to be on the look out for just such a boy."

Kamini was surprised at this whim of a great man. "Indeed ?" she asked, "has not he got children of his own ?"

"Only a girl", Krishna said, "and even she has been sent away to a Mem Sahib's school. The large house seems like a desert now."

"Then take him away," said Kamini, her eyes filling with tears at the very thought of parting from Gopal. "He had become like my own son, and my heart will break to part from him. But I won't stand in his way. He will have to starve to death before my very eyes, if he stays on here." Gopal began to weep, when told of the arrangement. But he did not

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object. He knew he had no rights, anywhere or over anybody. He had no right even to be angry or to cry. He knew sorrow to be his birthright, and joy always came as a most unexpected miracle.

So four or five days after, one foggy night, he started in a bullock cart, in company with Krishna, for his new home. The doors of the houses he passed were mostly closed, there was no other light, save what the hurricane lantern, tied under their cart, cast on the road. The wheels of the cart creaked and the village curs yelped. There was no other sound.

Krishna sat and smoked his *hookah*. Gopal's head began to nod and, after a while, he fell asleep, putting his head on the bundle, Kamini had made for him. His cheeks still bore the stain of tears.

(To be continued)

RESTRICTION OF THE ACREAGE OF JUTE—A STUDY OF THE CONGRESS POLICY*

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RECENTLY the restriction of the acreage of jute was officially adopted as an item in the programme of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee. It became a slogan for the time being and a campaign was started in the jute-growing areas to bring about a restriction in the supply of jute for the season 1928-29. In view of the importance of this question it is desirable to take stock of the present situation in the jute market from a strictly economic point of view in order to clear up the issues and to present the problem in its proper perspective.

Some of the fundamental facts of the situation will be clear to us if we examine the statements made by the two successive presidents of the Jute Mills Association about the position of the jute industry in 1925 and 1926. Reviewing the position of the jute mills in 1925 the President remarked that the high price of jute manufactures was due to the scarcity of the raw material; jute yield, it was pointed out, has remained stationary at about 80 lacs of bales whereas the number of looms has gone up from 21,000 in 1905 to 50,000 in 1925. Even on the basis of current consumption by Indian mills the average outturn required would be 100 lacs of bales which represent the maximum consuming capacity of the world in 1913. Even then we neglect the extension of plant in other centres and we also suppose that the present consumption of 50,000 looms in 4 days is equal to that of 37,000 looms in 6 days in 1913. From these facts it was inferred that the lowest deficit would be something like 20 lacs of bales so that it was easy to see that the high prices in 1925 were due to the shortage in the supply of raw jute. The President then went on to say that the short supply was due to the nervousness of the cultivators about the state of the market. But they should mark that there is a deficit of something like 20 lacs of bales so that there is no chance of slackening of demand and low prices.

Reviewing the position in 1926 the next president of the Association Mr. Sime of Andrew Yule and Co., had an altogether different story to narrate. He summed up the situation by saying that in 1926 in accordance with the short time agreement, 54 lacs of bales were consumed by the mills to produce 144 crores of yds. of Hessian and 50 crores of sacking bags. If they were to work 81 hours, the maximum permitted by the Factory Act, they would produce 216 crores of yds. of Hessian and 77 crores of sacking bags and to produce this 81 lacs of bales will be required. This will mean an increase of about 50 p. c. in the production of manufactured goods and the amount of jute required and it will have an effect of swamping the market. The situation seems to have been transformed in the course of a single year. We find that the mills were working 54 hours a week under the shorttime agreement in order to restrict their output. There is no complaint about the scarcity of raw material this time. We can well imagine that the President of the Association for the provious year felt very uncomfortable in the face of the stubborn facts stated by Mr. Sime. What a pity! His prophecy was falsified so soon!

The plain economic fact is, that in 1925-26 when the average price of jute was Rs. 18-11 per md. and the jute yield was 91.11 lacs of bales there was naturally a feeling that the high prices of manufactured goods were due to scarcity of the raw material. But in 1926-27 there was a sharp fall in the prices of jute, Hessian and sacking. The total imports of jute into Calcutta were 121½ lacs of bales; the stock in local mills on the 1st of July, 1927 was about

* A paper read before the Dacca University Economic Association.

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37 lacs of bales. This large carry-over was due to the fact that the local mills as well as the foreign spinners took advantage of the sharp fall of prices and purchased more than their requirements. Under the circumstances there can be no question of a scarcity of raw material and it is easy to see that a supply of 81 lacs of bales which was considered too short in 1925 should be considered sufficient to swamp the markets of the world in 1926.

Certain important facts emerge from this brief analysis of facts. Firstly, it is well to bear in mind that there is a combination of jute manufacturers which seeks to make its influence felt on the market for manufactures as well as on the market for raw material. This prevents cut-throat competition and increases the strength and efficiency of the mills by eliminating, to a certain extent, the wastes of competition. That the advantages of such a combination are real is evidenced by the threat which Mr. Sime, the President of the Association, held out in course of his presidential address to those who are thinking of starting new mills in the face of the glut in the jute market. Mr. Sime said, "From the day any of these projected new mills start on the Hooghly the present agreement (to work short-time) will cease to operate."

Secondly, it must be clear that the world-demand for manufactured jute is an uncertain factor which must be taken seriously into account when we consider the price of raw jute and its supply. There can be no sacrosanct figure such as the pre-war average of 100 lacs of bales which will represent the world-demand for jute. The fact that a supply of 81 lacs of bales was considered as insufficient in 1925 and the fact that the same supply was considered sufficient to swamp the markets of the world in 1926 can be reconciled with each other only if we admit that the world-demand for jute products as reflected in the prices of Hessians and sacking is an element which has its influence upon the demand for raw jute and hence upon its supply. A further illustration of this simple economic truth is to be found in the fact that the price of raw jute has been higher in a year of increased production. The production in 1922 was 54 lakhs of bales as against 39 lakhs in 1921. Yet the prices of First Marks in the season 1922-23 were roughly Rs. 15 higher than in 1921-22. In 1924-25 the total supply (including carry-over from the previous season) was 9,328,366 bales and the average price of First Marks in Dundee was £42-0-0d. In 1925-26 the total supply was 9,560, 419 bales; but in spite of an increase the average price was £53-1s-9d. A similar illustration can be cited from the cotton trade. The production of Indian cotton dropped from 57 lakhs bales in 1919-20 to 36 lakhs in 1920-21 and the index number of total world production fell from 80 to 77. Yet the price of Omara in the Liverpool Exchange sagged from 18d. to 8d. Moreover, the increasing consumption of jute for other than mere sacking purposes in recent times shows that the demand for jute has acquired a wider outlet and has become somewhat elastic. Before the war 10 p. c. of the Hessian imported into U. S. A. was devoted to purposes other than making bags; but at the present time the percentage has gone up to 30 or 35. Considering the fact that the two American continents together took 87 p. c. of the Hessian exported from Calcutta in 1926 this recent change in the character of jute consumption must be taken seriously and it cannot be denied that an artificial restriction of supply will react upon the consumption of jute for other than sacking purposes without securing to us the full benefits of restriction.

So far as the supply of raw jute is concerned it is important to remember that the price is dependent not only upon the actual imports of jute into Calcutta but also upon the carry-overs from the previous season in the shape of stocks in the mills and in the hands of speculative dealers. The yield of jute is liable to fluctuations of rainfall; moreover official estimates of yield are highly inaccurate and misleading. In 1921-22 the actual crop exceeded the fore-cast by 38.57 lacs of bales, in 1922-23 by 9.03 lacs of bales, in 1923-24 by 9.14 lacs of bales and in 1924-25 by 9 91 lacs of bales. Hence it is that the supply of jute is highly amenable to speculative dealings so far as the carrying of stocks is concerned. It has been estimated that at the end of the season 1927-28 the market will be burdened with a carry-over of about 50 lacs of bales which is bound to have a depressing effect upon the price of jute, and it is but proper that there should be some restriction in the output of jute to prevent a further fall of prices. But at the same time it is well to take note of the fact that speculative dealings have a predominant influence upon the price of jute. The low price of jute in 1926 was due more to speculative dealings than anything else. Early in 1927 it was reported that shippers and bazaar operators had absorbed futures up to the end of December and that they were bound to manipulate for an advance in order to liquidate their holdings: and it is not unlikely that the heavy stocks outstanding are the result of speculative dealings. Moreover it is a significant fact that many of the speculative dealings, especially in the Loose Jute market, are no better than gambling transactions. In a memorial submitted to the Secretary of State for India the London Jute Association characterised the Bhitar Bazar of Calcutta as a 'gambling arena' and a 'menace to legitimate trade'. There is no representative organisation to control the dealers; there is no system of written and stamped contracts, no legal right to offer and demand delivery, no minium amount of jute below which no transactions shall be allowed. Only the other day 28 Marwaris and up-country men were arrested at the office of the North Bengal Jute Association in Cotton Street on a charge of gambling. This sort of illegitimate speculation brings about an uneven distribution of supply and is a highly disturbing factor in the market.

Bearing these obvious economic truths in mind let us try to understand the present situation. As pointed out just now, the organisation which the jute mills have set up seeks to make its influence felt upon the market for raw material as well as the market for manufactured jute. It is obvious that the mills stand to gain when the price of manufactured jute rises and that of raw jute declines and they lose when it is otherwise. The year 1926 was a year of falling prices all round. The price of raw jute declined by 50 p. c. from Rs. 26 in January to Rs. 12 in December.

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But the price of Hessian too declined from Rs. 20-12 as. in January to Rs. 14-12as., in December and the price of sacking declined from Rs. 70 in January to Rs. 49 in December. This situation is reflected in the declining profits of the Jute Mills. The total profits of the mills were Rs. 2,78,35 646 during the second half of 1925 but during the first half of 1926 the profits were Rs 1,51,62,549 and during the second half of 1926 the profits were only Rs. 87,39,212. Throughout the year 1927 the supply of jute continued to pour in and the market for raw jute showed a bearish tendency. Between July 1926 and December 1926 the highest price of white jute did not fall below Rs. 13-8as., and fluctuated mostly in the neighbourhood of Rs. 14-0as. But during 1927 the highest price was Rs. 10-4as., in January; Rs. 14-8as. in February; Rs. 13-2as. in March; Rs. 13-0as. in April; Rs. 12-12as. in May; and Rs. 11-12as. in June. But although the price of jute was at a low figure the prices of Hessians and sacking were not only not depressed as in 1926 but were at a distinctly higher level. Whereas the price of Hessians in 1926 declined from Rs. 20-12as in January to Rs. 14-12as. in December, in 1927 there was a rise from about Rs. 15 in January to about Rs. 25 in December. Obviously this is the effect of increasing the output and profits of the jute mills. Exports of jute cloth from Calcutta were 57.065. 467 yds. more in 1927 than what they were in 1926; whereas the exports of Jute bags were 18,180, 291 more in 1927 than what they were in 1926. The improvement in the position of Jute mills is clearly reflected in the rate of dividend offered. The Anglo-India Jute Mills Co. Ltd. declared the following rates of dividend at the successive periods which we are reviewing :—50 p. c. in September 1925; 30 p. c. in March 1926; 10 p. c. in Sept. 1926; 50 p. c. in March 1927; and 50 p. c. in March 1928. These facts give us an idea of the exact situation at the present moment. The market for raw jute is facing the bearish fact of a heavy carry-over and the middlemen apprehend that if the supply of jute in the season 1928-29 remains unrestricted the prices will be still further depressed; so that on the one hand they will be unable to liquidate their holdings and, on the other, this situation will react very favourably upon the output and profits of the jute mills. In view of this contingency it is but natural that the programme of jute restriction initiated by the B.P.C.C. should be so warmly supported by the speculative middlemen.

What are then the facts of the situation? There has arisen a very wide disparity between the price of raw jute and the price of Hessian and this disparity has been increasing further owing to the bearish fact of a very heavy carry-over and the consequent fall in the price of raw jute and owing to a simultaneous rise in the price of Hessian. It has been explained how these conditions are working to the advantage of the jute mills and how output as well as profits have shown a steady upward tendency. Now the impression is that the mills have a whip-hand over the situation because of the monopolistic control of output on the one hand and because of large stocks of jute in their warehouses sufficient for nine months' consumption on the other.

The question of combination among the sellers of jute would therefore arise as a matter of course in the face of the present situation. Recently the jute dealers of Calcutta formed an association called the Bengal Jute Dealers' Association with an influential and representative Executive Committee and with Mr. H. P. Bagaria as the Hony. Secretary in order to protect their interests. As soon as the Association was formed there was a tussle between it and the Bengal Jute Mills Association over definite standards of loose jute, the absence of which has rendered jute business almost a gambling transaction. The Association resolved recently not to enter into seasonal contracts unless the Mills could agree upon a definite standard. In this connection it is interesting to note that a strong plea for the creation of a central organisation for the control of the jute trade in Bengal was recently put forward by Mr. B. Kanoria in his presidential address delivered at the first annual meeting of the East India Jute Association. The object of such an organisation would be, in the words of Mr. Kanoria, "To avert crisis and enable the trade to present a united front and make a united demand." (The Statesman, Dak Edition, 31-8-28.).

But the point is that a combination of middlemen only cannot reasonably be a solution of the real problem which has arrested our attention at the present moment. Evidently we must have a combination of jute-growers which will be able to control the output judiciously in much the same way as the mills are doing not only to tide over the present period of over-production but also to be able to face the jute mills combine in future.

Thus the campaign of jute restriction may be considered from two points of view. It might be regarded only as an opportunist move in so far as it is the outcome of the present situation in the jute market and in so far as its object is to relieve the temporary glut. But it might also be regarded as the beginning of a genuine attempt to keep production of raw jute permanently at a "pegged" level to counteract the monopolistic control of output and consumption of raw material enjoyed by the jute mills. In the second case it will not be merely a problem of restriction but essentially a problem of the judicious control of output by a representative organisation of jute-growers which would possess an expert knowledge of the complex conditions of the market. When we consider the problem of restriction we should carefully separate these two distinct points of view.

Moreover, it must be remembered that when we talk of a combination amongst the sellers of jute we should not complacently think that the interests of the jute-growers and the interests of the middlemen both of whom are sellers of jute are identical. It is well-known that owing to the interposition of middlemen the price of raw jute in Calcutta exceeds the price of the same jute in the villages by as much as 20 p. c. to 30 p. c. There is the financial grip of the middlemen over the jute-growers as a result of which they do not get a fair economic return in the sense that the prices at which they have to sell their crops do not bear a fair relation to the

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prices in the world-market. Hence the interests of the middlemen and the interests of the jute-growers must always be clearly and unambiguously distinguished. We need to be reminded of those very plain issues because to all intents and purposes these issues have either been hopelessly confused or conveniently suppressed by those who have been advocating the policy of jute restriction in the nationalist press.

We will now examine the case presented by Mr. H. P. Bagaria, the Hony. Secretary of the Bengal Jute Dealers Association, in an article published in the Forward at the time when the jute restriction campaign was in full swing. Mr. Bagaria begins by saying that the policy of restriction is not an impracticable possibility. He gives examples of the British rubber restriction and the cotton restriction in U. S. A. Two years back the price of cotton came down as low as 12 cents a pound—a price which left little margin to the cultivators. The various cultivators' organisations in U. S. A. decided upon a 20 per cent reduction of acreage for the next year. The result was that prices rose as high as 26 cents per pound. He also points out how the acreage of cotton in Egypt is controlled by the Government according to changes in world-prices. It must be noted that Mr. Bagaria speaks of the cultivators' organisation in America; but he does not emphasise the point that in order that the farmers might get an economic return for their produce what is wanted is a judicious control of output by a representative co-operative organisation which will restrict or increase the output according to the necessities of the case. Restriction has not been impracticable in America because the farmers are organised in strong co-operative organisations. But it will be impracticable in the case of Bengal because there are no such organisations here. Restriction is a practical proposition when every one knows that every one else is restricting his acreage to a proportionate extent and that by combined action it will be possible to get higher prices. But this is possible only when there is a strong co-operative organisation which can inspire confidence in the minds of of the individual farmers and has the proper sanction behind its policy of restriction. Moreover the existence of a co-operative marketing organisation on which, as explained just now, the success of restriction absolutely depends would also mean the elimination of middlemen. Can Mr. Bagaria who is the Hony. Secretary of a middlemen's organisation reflect upon this contingency with perfect equanimity? He ought to understand that the interest of the middlemen and the interests of the jute-growers are not identical.

Mr. Bagaria then advances certain theoretical arguments in favour of restriction.

"The primary aim of restriction," he says, "should be to enable the world to consume the already existing stocks rather than to force up prices."

Here the cat seems to be out of the bag. Mr. Bagaria conveniently pushes to the background the boarder issue viz., judicious control of output and confines himself to the temporary problem of restriction which has arisen, as we have already explained, out of the peculiar situation in the jute market at the present moment. The market is over-burdened with stocks, the price of Hessian is high and the output and profits of the mills are at a steadily higher level. If the output is restricted the middlemen will be unable to liquidate their holdings and will incur heavy losses. But if they were to wait for the growth of a widespread co-operative organisation it will be waiting till the Greek Calends. So the best thing was to bring about a restriction of the acreage for the season 1928-29 with the help of Congress propaganda in order that the present glut in the market may be relieved and the middlemen may be able to liquidate their holdings at satisfactory prices.

If that is the problem, why play the game of hide and seek? Why assume that the farmers will necessarily gain from a policy of restriction? Why don't the members of the B. P. C. C. perceive that nothing will avail in the face of the financial grip of the middlemen? Why forget that the conflict of interests is not directly between the jute mills and the poor jute-growers but between the jute-growers and the middlemen? Why not face the facts squarely?

Mr. Bagaria then proceeds to point out that the policy of restriction carries with it the essential condition that the country practising it must be in a "Commanding position in respect of the commodity." Of course, this is one of the truisms of economic theory. But before considering the question as to how far we have a monopoly of jute we should do well to turn our attention to the point of view from which Mr. Bagaria, as a represensative of middlemen, is surveying the problem.

As we have already shown, at the present moment the market is over-burdened with a heavy carry-over to the extent of 50 lacs of bales and we hope we may be excused for reiterating the fact that unfortunately the advocates of restriction have their eyes only on the narrow problem of the depletion of accumulated stocks.

Mr. Bagaria says—"There is a considerable surplus of jute and reduction of output is sure to improve the price of jute." Then he goes on to say that if the crop in the present season is 10 lacks of bales the price will be possibly Rs. 30 a bale; but if the output is restricted to 90 lacs the price will be at least Rs. 90 per bale so that by means of restricting the output by 20 lacs the price of the total crop will increase by Rs. 120 crores. Mr. Nalini Ranjan Sarkar, the Economic of the Swaraj Party in Bengal, also gave similar calculations of the benefits, which our poor cultivators will derive from a policy of jute restriction in course of a speech delivered at a meeting of the Bengal National Chamber of Commerce. He was able to show that if 10 lacs of acres now sown with jute are released for rice the farmers would get Rs. 42½ crores for jute only instead of Rs. 49 crores which they are getting now and in addition they would get Rs. 7½ crores for rice which would substitute jute; so that by the policy of restriction the country will be richer by Rs. 10 crores. The arithmetic is quite convincing but the economics is extremely unconvincing.

Both Mr. Bagaria and Mr. Sarkar do not consider the question whether the growing of rice on jutelands would be an economic agricultural possibility or not. Moreover *how far* the restriction of acreage will go and what will be its reactions upon the price of Hessian and the world-demand for jute are questions which

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left beautifully vague. Mr. Bagaria seems to be aware of this very important consideration when he says "I do not mean to say that the price of jute should be forced up to unprecedented heights. In spite of the fact that jute is our monopoly that may not *ultimately prove beneficial*" But what does he mean when he says that indiscriminate restriction will not be ultimately beneficial? Does he mean to say that forcing up prices to unprecedented heights will be *temporarily beneficial* to our country? As a matter of fact, Mr. Bagaria as a businessman is thinking only of the present glut in the jute market. He does not explain what he means by discriminating restriction and how far and under what conditions it will be ultimately beneficial to our cultivators.

Let us how take up the vexed question as to how far we can utiiise our monopolistic position in regard to jute in the matter of getting as high a price as possible. The case has been sought to be proved by means of statistical evidence. It has been pointed out that—"Three years back when the crop was damaged and it was expected that the total supplies will fall short of consumption by more than a million bales the price of jute went up by more than 100p.c. The very next year when the sowings were large and it seemed that the crop was to be a bumper one prices came down by as much as 40p.c." But it must always be remembered that statistics often cuts both ways. It is not difficult to show that prices have been higher in a year of increased production and lower in a year of restricted production. In 1924-25 the total supply of jute was 9, 328 366 bales and the average price of First Marks in Dundee was £42. In 1925-26 the total supply was 9, 560, 419 bales; but in spite of an increase of output the average price was £53-1s-9d. In 1922 the output was 54 lacs of bales as against 39 lacs in 1921; yet the prices of First Marks in the season 1922-23 were roughly Rs. 15 higher than in 1922. How will Mr. Bagaria or Mr. Nalini Ranjan Sarkar explain these recalcitrant facts? Are we not unreasonably making too much of our monopolistic position with regard to jute?

As we have already seen we cannot, in the heat of the controversy, afford to forget the simple economic question of demand and supply. There is no denying the fact that we possess a commanding position in respect of jute. But we should remember that the demand for jute is not so absolutely inelastic as the advocates of jute restriction would have us believe. In the earlier part of this paper we have analysed the facts of the situation to show that fluctuations of demand have their reactions upon the price of jute in much the same way as fluctuations in the supply of jute. The President of the Jute Mills Association pointed out in 1925 that a supply of 81 lacs of bales was insufficient and in the very next year the same supply was considered by the next President as abundant enough to swamp the markets of the world. Here the main deciding factor seems to be the fluctuations in the world demand for jute. Moreover, as already said the demand for jute has acquired a wider consuming outlet and has become considerably elastic because it is wanted in increasing quantities for other than sacking purposes. 87% of the Hessian exported from Calcutta goes to America. Formerly only 10% of it was devoted to other than sacking purposes; but now 30% or 35% is devoted to these purposes. Now, if as a result of the policy of restriction the price is bolstered up to a very high level it is bound to react upon the American jute imports and farmers will not be able to reap the full benefits of restriction. We state these facts over again because they bear repetition in view of loose thinking which the arguments of the advocates of restriction clearly betray. Allied to the question of monopoly is the *question of substitutes*. Mr. Bagaria says "We have seen jute selling at Rs. 140 per bale—a price double the present ruling prices. No substitutes came then". He means to say that the question of substitutes is nothing but a skeleton in the cupboard or rather a red herring drawn across the trail. If so, why not practise indiscriminate restriction? Why does he say then that "In spite of the fact that jute is our monopoly forcing up prices to unprecedented heights will not be ultimately beneficial to us"? As a matter of fact, price of Rs. 140 per bale which Mr. Bagaria mentions was the price which ruled under the abnormal conditions of the war-period. There was a phenomenal demand for sandbags which must be had at any price; moreover, high prices were due to a rise in the general level of prices throughout the world. Those were glorious days for speculators and middlemen like Mr. Bagaria. But if he thinks that it is possible to live them over again then he is seriously mistaken.

Mr. Bagaria then goes on to say "So long as you can get in India a labourer to work at 6 annas a day in waist deep water under the most insanitary conditions there is no danger of any country becoming the rival of Bengal in the production of jute"

Good heavens! Is the labourer to work at 6 annas a day even after the policy of restriction has been adopted on an expensive scale? If restriction does not improve their lot, is it then going to enrich only the *Dadandars* and loose jute merchants? We had thought that it was otherwise.

We cannot leave this question of monopoly without referring to the curious evolution of economic opinion on this problem. When the question of imposing a jute export duty was being debated in the press people connected with the jute trade raised a tremendous outcry against it. The arguments against the jute export duty were based on the ground that we do not possess the so-called monopoly in jute to a large extent and that the demand for jute is not inelastic so that the duty will not be shifted on to purchasers of Hessian. This view was also strongly expressed by Mr. Nalini Ranjan Sarkar in course of an article published in the *Modern Review*. But it is puzzling to find that these gentlemen are advocating jute restriction at the present moment on the ground that we do possess a monopoly of jute and that the elasticity of demand need not seriously be taken into account.

The policy of restriction has been sought to be supported by another argument which seems very plausible. It is pointed out that we need not bother our heads about the question of monopoly or of possible substitutes for jute. These questions arise when we enquire whether and how far higher prices of jute under the regime

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of restriction will bring about a reduced consumption of jute. But it is argued the present margin between the price of Hessian and the price of raw jute is substantial so that the jute mills are making tremendous profits ; and if the price of raw jute is bolstered up it will not have any effect upon the output and price of Hessian. The mills will have smaller dividends that is all that we can expect. Now the present accumulation of stocks and the fall in the price of raw jute as well as rise in the price of Hessian have increased the profits of the jute mills. Under the circumstances some amount of restriction is desirable in the interest of those who are supplying the raw material.

But the point is, are the cultivators to benefit from the policy of restriction even if it does not result in a reduced consumption of jute ? The average cost of production of jute is something like Rs. 7½ per maund and the average price realised by the cultivator during the last two years cannot be more than Rs. 8½ per maund. But is this poor margin going to increase as a result of restriction ? Is it not a fact that so long as *Dadandars* and middlemen flourish like water-hyacinth the margin cannot be increased ? Will not the policy of restriction merely enrich the middlemen ?

Mr. Bagaria forgets that the interest of jute-growers and the interests of middlemen are not identical. What is sauce for the gander is not sauce for the goose. We find that he bursts into a righteous indignation against mill-owners and says—"The mill-owners may roll in wealth but the poor cultivator has no right to more than a loaf of bread (?) and a strip of cloth to cover his body." But Mr. Bagaria does not mention the link in the chain which connects the mill-owner and the cultivator. We all know what the link is and against whom we should properly express our righteous indignation if at all.

Now the question will naturally arise—Why has the Congress thrown itself so suddenly into a whirlwind campaign of jute restriction. We all remember that one of the many unfulfilled projects of the late Deshbandhu Chittaranjan Das was to link up the jute-growers of Bengal into a vast sale and supply organisation in order to secure to the cultivator a proper economic return. Deshabandhu Das realised that it was a gigantic problem which can be solved through the efforts of the Congress. It might be remembered that he seriously thought of raising a large sum of money with which he could finance the project. As we have already said the wider problem is not one of restriction but of judicious control of output by means of co-operative organisation which will not only secure a fair return to the cultivator but will also rid the market of the pernicious influence of speculators. Deshbandhu Das had this wider problem in view when he thought of this project. But we do not know what the B.P.C.C. mean by taking a narrow view of the problem and rushing headlong into a spurious campaign of restriction. Moreover, don't they understand that a policy of restriction can never be successful without a strong representative organisation amongst the farmers and that if such an organisation ever grows up at all in Bengal the question of regulating the output will solve itself automatically ? Then why did the Congress Committee commit itself to the policy of restriction ? Moreover, have the members of the Congress Committee considered carefully whether the cultivators, in whose name the Congress really stands, are likely to benefit by the temporary policy of restriction or whether it is the middlemen who will be the real gainers ?

BIRESWAR SEN

A Painter of graceful figures

By L. M. SEN. A. R. C. A. (LONDON)

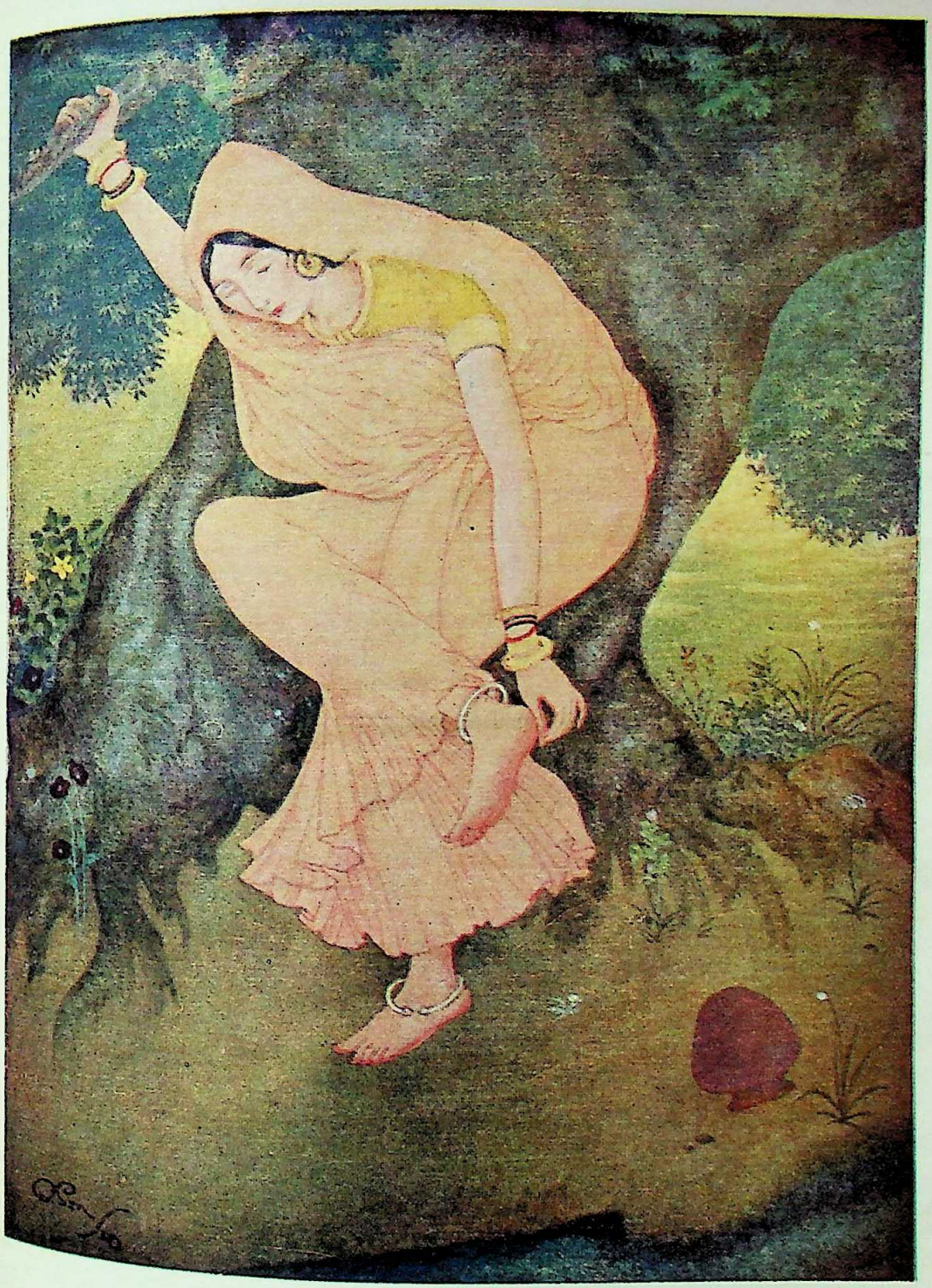
IT is an established fact that without the intimate knowledge of human anatomy and the delicate and accurate perception of form, one cannot be a painter of the figure. The knowledge of the body beautiful requires the study of a life-time, but alas ! how many of us have shirked the patient and devious way which alone can lead to the mastery of the art of figure drawing !

The works of Bireswar Sen have already achieved a great reputation for their fine sense of composition, richly decorative quality and beautiful eastern colours, which he studied so intimately from his master Abanindranath.

Before I had the occasion of studying Mr. Sen's work so intimately, I was under the impression that the New School of Artists are perhaps always doubtful of their drawings and forms, and were consequently afraid of putting bright and cheerful colours, so that the bad drawings may not be too patent. With Mr. Sen, however, we have to deal with an artist who has firmly established his reputation to be regarded as one of the most skilful and accomplished draughtsmen of the

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THORN

By Mr. Bireswar Sen

Prabasi Press, Calcutta.

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New Bengal School. His highly finished and delightful water-colour drawings have been, for some years, among the chief attractions of the exhibitions of the Indian Society of Oriental Art. An artist like Mr. Sen seldom produces a gloomy picture with dirty colours as a cloak to hide a bad drawing; when he does so, it is because it offers him an opportunity to express his forms in a new and delightful way. It is always a pleasure to see Mr. Sen's paintings, so full of accurate details, carefully drawn and balanced, with fresh and beautiful colourings, —and one cannot but wonder at the long hours of careful and patient labour with which he produces his little water-colour pictures. The chief feature of his work is that every bit of the composition, whatever it might be, the sky, trees, figures or even the smallest minor details, is very clearly defined with the magic touch of his brush. They gleam like jewels and are very rarely wrapped up in a shadowy and depressing haze. This shows how alert he is to notice and record faithfully every natural detail.

Though Mr. Sen's works are unlike that of any other artist, they cannot be labelled as representing any of the 'Isms,' for none of the others' work has influenced him at all. His pictures are individual expressions of an intensely sensitive and thoroughly sincere artist, who goes on in his own way, yet pursuing what is best in all the different Schools native or foreign. He is a person who feels very deeply the beauty and joy of the world of life and who tries to express it beautifully. People always say that the works of this New School are not realistic at all; this is hardly a drawback, for, in Art there will always be idealists.

Mr. Sen was born in Calcutta in the year 1897 of a well-cultured and educated Bengalee family. He was sent to Hare School at the early age of seven, where throughout his boyhood he had aims to be a painter. I have heard him say that the reproductions of Greek sculptures contained in the "Legend of Greece and Rome", one of his text books, influenced him a good deal at this early period, an influence which, to my mind, has produced its life-long impression on his sensitive nature. During his school days he used to draw and paint with feeble and weak drawings, the vague artistic forms naturally stored in him, with a distinctly Hellenic touch.

In one of these days, when he successfully passed one of his School examinations, his grand-father presented him a copy of Edmund Dulac's Picture Book which revealed to him a new world of glorious colours and form; and from this gifted Frenchman, as once he himself told me, he learnt to mix beautiful colours in that indefinable manner, which has at the present time been one of the most distinguished characteristics of his work. Although he has been influenced a little by Dulac's colours, he is seldom imitating the mannerism and tricks of technique of the French artist and usually takes the rhythmic impressions of nature and moulds it to his favourite decorative patterns,—a method which perhaps he has inherited from the older traditions of the Rajput and Moghul Master Painters.



Sj. Bireswar Sen
Portrait by Mr. L. M. Sen

During his College days, Mr. Sen luckily came in contact with Dr. Abanindranath Tagore. Abanindranath who chanced to notice some of the young artists' unaided work, saw at once the spark of genius latent in his work and encouraged him a good deal

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by allowing him to work in his Studio under his personal guidance. Though untutored, the pencil drawings of Mr. Sen at this period bore a marked resemblance to the work of the late Aubrey Beardesley, and both Mr. Tagore and Mr. O. C. Gangoly directed that he should continue to work in the same style. This resemblance of Mr. Sen's work with that of the great English draughtsman is surprising, considering the fact that the artist had never come across Mr. Beardesley's work at this period. It was here in his studio that young Bireswar began studying the art of



King Shibi and the Hawk
From a Colossal tempera painting on cloth by Mr. Bireswar Sen

painting in the true sense of the term. He learnt all the secrets of the technique of water-colour, which is the favourite medium of the Indian artist, by seeing his Guru and others working; but his temperament was not such as could be led away with the mere imitation of the work of any other artist. Coming in contact with Abanindranath was the foundation-stone of his future artistic development. It was here that he realized that there was something more to be achieved than merely imitating his predecessors and contemporaries. The *Ustad's* art is valuable because it is the product of individual effort translating an individual outlook, but the copyist of any great master is usually empty of aim and barren of achievement.

I have already hinted that Mr. Sen, unlike the other artists in our country, excepting a very few, was a student of the Presidency College, Calcutta. Like most parents of our poor Bengali artists, his too did not regard the profession of art as lucrative or honourable enough as a future career, and as such Mr. Sen had to run the gauntlet of all the University examinations. He passed the M. A. Examination in English with a first class. It is not generally known that Mr. Sen is a distinguished scholar in English and Sanskrit, and this cultural background has stood him in good stead, in his artistic endeavours. The lyrical note in his paintings with their sunny charm is no doubt derived from the old and modern lyricists in verse, like Theocritus, Omar Khyyam, Shelly, Keats, Wordsworth, Magha, Kalidas, Bharavi and Rabindranath. Paintings like his famous illustrations of Omar Khyyam,* "To whom shall we offer our sacrifice?"* "Rama the Deer-slayer", "The Rill", "The Milkmaid",* (the only picture by an Indian artist which was sold at the British Empire Exhibition at Wembley) go to show the scholarly lyrical note which pervades most of his work.

The year following the University life, saw him in the Indian society of Oriental Art amongst his *Ustad* and friends. It was there that the writer first made acquaintance with this artist's work and he can still distinctly remember the impression created on his mind by pictures from Mr. Sen's brush. Some of his paintings excited a great deal of notice, and from this time onwards the artist established a solid reputation in the new school of painting, and his pictures found places of honour in the private collections of connoisseurs like Lord Carmichael, Lord Ronaldshay, the Countess

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of Lytton, Rabindranath Tagore, O. C. Gangoly, Sir Dorab Tata, Sir Francis Stewart, and the Maharani of Cooch Behar, etc. His pictures are always satisfying and one is really very happy in front of the work of this young artist. His small water-colour "The Porcelain Palace," (in the possession of the Maharani of Cooch Behar), was very much appreciated by all true lovers of art. It still remains fresh in our memory as a thing of beauty and joy for ever. During these days, our Silpa-Guru Abanindranath once remarked, "Biru's hand is like mine of the earlier days," and expressed the hope that he would become a leader of the young generation of painters one of these days. He paints his figures with the native vivacity of the Rajput and Mogul masters, and his paintings are veritable feasts of colour; the orientalism of his reds and blues gives to Mr. Sen's art its special value and distinction, and the deft use of gold and silver in some of his pictures remind one of Bihzad. I imagine that in painting his pictures the artist's principal aim is to produce a decorative design, pleasing in line and sensuous in colour. This of course should be the primary aim in every picture of every Indian artist and it is evident that Mr. Sen has discovered the best way for the naturalistic treatment of decorative designs though it must be admitted that Mr. Sen has a distinct fondness for the more conventional treatment of old Indian masters.

"The artistic temperament is by its very nature erratic and uncertain. The artist is a rover, like a butterfly who sips nectar, where and when he can. A seeker after the new and beautiful, who refuses to be bound by time and place" This spirit of restlessness worked in Mr. Sen for some time and it was doubtful whether he would lean towards art or towards scholarship. Art, it is universally known, is the neglected Cinderalla of our Educational Institutions and it is for this reason that most of the Indian artists have to lead a precarious existence depending solely on the sale-proceeds of their pictures. Nearly every artist has thus been compelled to take up uncongenial duties, not because he particularly likes it, but because there is no other way to keep the wolf from the door. For this reason, Mr. Sen had to accept a Professorship of English Literature at Patna in 1923, far from his home and the centre of the new art movement. The dull life in an old town like Patna could not be very fruitful, so far as artistic activities are concerned, and in spite of the production of some of his most beautiful water-colours "The Sea Maiden,"* "Rama the Deer-Slayer,"* "Damayanti," "etc., the genius of Mr. Sen was not appreciated to the extent it ought to have been by the local connoisseurs.



Buddha Carrying the Crippled Goat
By Mr. Bireswar Sen

Sequestered living in a sleepy and lifeless town soon gave an introspective tone to Mr. Sen's painting and his technique was marked by a novel transformation, as is evidenced by his "Spring Flowers," "The Temptation of Budha," etc.

In February 1926, he left off teaching in Patna and joined the Government School of Arts and Crafts, Lucknow, for the exposition of the beauties of the dry-as-dust works of English minor poets soon tired him. Naturally

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averse by temperament to the dissection of the beauty of poetry for the benefit of the young hopefuls in Colleges his work as a teacher which failed to lure him with the beauty of light and shade and form and colour, the vividness of the paint, the fine tonality, the subtle colour-contrast and the masterly perspective, soon lost all its charm and finally the super-sensitive tendency towards art which he possessed made him come to Lucknow—the garden city of India. Here inspired with the beautiful colours and forms of the late Islamic art and architecture, he has produced some notable pictures like the "Sisters," (in the possession of T. Chatterji, Esq., Calcutta), "Fruit Gathering," "Zebunnisa reading her divan to Aurangzeb" and "The Thorn" (reproduced as frontispiece), whose colours are fine, lustrous and vivid, yet not shrieking.

It is essential that an artist like Mr. Sen should be in a congenial atmosphere of art like the Government School of Arts and Crafts, Lucknow. He has already entered upon that settled productive stage in the career of an artist which must come to every artist, if he is to reap the harvest. Like every true Indian artist, he is never content to paint merely what he has seen, but wishes to translate what he feels into glowing colours and flowing lines. With him the subject of his picture is comparatively unimportant, so long as it lends itself to the scheme of colour and the decorative form of design he wishes to present. It is doubtless he has been successful in his mission both as an artist and as an art-teacher. Short as his stay has been at Lucknow, he has produced pupils of whom a great future has been predicted. Mr. A. D. Thomas, whose work is already familiar to the readers of this magazine, is one of the first batch of his students and it is hoped that a long line of illustrious pupils will succeed Mr. Thomas.

Mr. Sen's work in the School of Arts and Crafts, Lucknow, has been prolific. He has designed brassware, furniture, wall-paintings and other large decorations and has shown his activity in manifold directions. Though of a retiring disposition, it is impossible for Bireswar Sen to hide his light under a bushel. I firmly believe that he is one of the unique Indian artists of the present day and that he is assured of a still more brilliant future.

SOME PROBLEMS CONNECTED WITH HARSHA

PROF. A. S. ALTEKAR, M.A., *Benares*

THE recent discussion about some problems connected with the age of Harsha has drawn public attention to a number of controversial points. A few of these will be descussed here :—

1. '*Kumaramatya*'-Prof. Mookerji interprets this term as 'counsellor for a prince' [Hars'ha p. 106]. This interpretation seems to be natural, but the epigraphical evidence, I am afraid does not support it. For,

(i) Harishena who was directly serving under Emperor Samudragupta at Pataliputra in the military and foreign departments is designated as *Kumaramatya*. Samudra gupta was no longer a *kumara* at this time and so the title should have been *Paramabhattarakamatya* if we accept Mr. Chatterji's interpretation and *rajamatya* if that of Dr. Mookerji.

(ii) From the Karamdanda Inscription [E. I. X p. 171] we learn that Sikharasvami was a minister to *Maharajadhiraja* Chandragupta and still he is designated as *Kumaramatya* ; similarly his son Prithivishena was first a minister to *Maharajadhiraja* Kumaragupta I and was then made the Commander-in-Chief. If Kumaramatya meant consellor to a prince sent as governor then that title could not have been used with reference to these two officiers who were directly serving under Emperor they should have been styled *rajamatya*.

(iii) In the Damodarpur plates we find that the *Kumaramatya* Vitravarman was a district officer appointed by the governor Chiratadatta [plate No. I & 2). It is on the strength of this passage that Prof. Mookerji suggests that *Kumaramatya* was a counsellor for a prince appointed as a Governor But there was no royal governor at Pundravardhana nor any royal district officer at Kotivarsha when the Kumaramatya was appointed. If there was any royal district officer at Kotivarsha his name would certainly have been mentioned in plate no. 1 which enumerates all officers in the city, including *nagarasreshthin sarthavaha, prathama-kulika* and *prathamakayastha*. Plate no. 1 therefore makes it clear that a district officer

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could be called a *Kumaramatya* although he was not connected with any prince appointed as Governor.

The above evidence makes it abundantly clear the the *Kumaramatya* was not necessarily a counsellor to a prince but was a general official title applicable to officers of a certain rank. Prof. Banerji's theory that there were four ranks of Kumaramatyas. those equal in rank to the Emperor himself (*Paramabhattarakapadiya Kumaramatya*) those equal in rank to the heir-apparent (*yuvarajabhattarakapadiya*) those equal in rank to the younger princes of the blood royal (*yuvarajapadiya Kumaramatya*) and ordinary Kumaramatyas of the lowest rank presupposes that padiya means 'as reverencial as' or equal in rank to. If the reading were *padiya* this sense may have appeared plausible. Pada or charana is used after the names of persons or offices to show the reverence in which these persons or offices are held by the speaker or writer of *tatapada* or *tatacharana Sri-Govinda-bhagavat-pujyapada shishyasya Sri-Sankara bhagavatah*. Pada is thus used to show reverence to the person after whose name it is used and not to show that the person by whom it is used is to be as highly respected as the person after whose name it is used. I hold that the four expressions in question do not indicate four ranks of *Kumaramatyas*. If this were so we expect that Harishena who was obviously a favourite of Samudragupta would not have been a mere *Kumaramatya*. Prithivishena was a mere *Kumaramatya* when he was made a Commander-in-Chief; one expects that a person who was translated to that high office should have been not a *Kumaramatya* of the lowest rank but at least of the third or second if not of the first. As a matter of fact Gupta inscriptions nowhere refer to any of *Yuvarajapadiya* or *Paramabhattarakapadiya Kumaramatyas* they are to be seen only in seal legends. Seal legends of the various offices would naturally use the most pompous phraseology. *yuvarajabhattaraka-padiya baladhikarana* or *kumaramatyadhikarana* would simply mean the office f commander or minister attached to the heir-apparent ; padiya used after his name to show respect to him. Apart from this difference. I agree with Professor Banerji that a description of the Gupta system of administration while discussing administration under Harsha is irrelevant unless it is first proved that Harsha continued that system. Items of taxation, for instance, varied considerably with different times and times. To proceed to determine sources of revenue of Harsha from the evidence supplied by the 6th and 8th century Valabhi grants would be hardly a flawless procedure. If this method is followed, one can as well suggest that Harsha had imposed a tax leviable at the festivity of attaining puberty for a seventh century Chalukya inscription mentions such a tax [I, A. XIX p 145] As it is the above suggestion can neither be confirmed nor contradicted for the simple reason that there is not sufficient evidence to come to any conclusion.

2. I agree with Prof. Banerji that the discussion of the Gupta art in a book dealing with Harsha is an irrelevant as the procedure to incorporate a description, extending over nine pages, of the land and sea routes connecting India with China, in a chapter of fifteen pages dealing with social life under Harsha. I am further afraid that one cannot determine the nature of art under Harsha of which hardly any specimens are handed down, from the art specimens belonging to Ellora and Badami, places never included in Harsha's empire. The art at Ellora besides shows greater resemblance to the Pallava than to the Gupta art.

3. With reference to the word Dranga, there is no doubt that most of the Sanskrit dictionaries assign to this word the sense of a town they all rely on Vachaspatya who says on the authority of Hemachandra IV. 37 that it devotes a kind of town. *puribheda*'. The Koshas describe *Dranga* as *Karvatad-adhamo drangah pattanad-uttama-sha yah* the point at issue then is to determine the nature of town denoted by dranga. I think that Stein's able and exhaustive note [*Rajatarangini II pp.* 291-2) makes it abundantly clear that *drangika* denoted an officer in charge of a frontier station. So that was the sense of the word at least in the 12th century and in Kashmir. It may be pointed out that Hemachandra. whom all the modern dictionaries follow does not go against this interpretation. he simply says that *dranga* was a kind of town, it may as well have been a frontier town or watch station. In this connection it may be interesting to note that even today in Sind *dang* is used, as my colleague Prof. Sipahi Malani informs me to denote a boundary. and that Drangiana is the name of the boundary province that separated the Dravidian Brahuis from the Aryans in Afghanistan. I, therefore, think that we have to accept the conclusion that *Dranigika* was an officer in charge of a frontier station rather than the current view reproduced by Prof. Mookerji that it denotes a city Magistrate.

Prof. Mookerji's description of the economic conditions under Harsha further raises a serious issue. He says (p 171) "The Brahmins had no part in the industrial life of the country but lived as non-economic men concerned only with the spiritual interests of life. "The work of administration was taken over by the Kshatriyas'".

I am afraid that such was not the condition under Harsha. Even as early as the time of the *Jatakas*, many among the Brahmins were following some of the prohibited professions. The long lists of Brahmanas that we come across in Smritis when they enumerate Brahmanas prohibited at Sraddha following forbidden professions shows the same thing. The Sungas and Kanvas were Brahmins and yet rulers of Kingdoms. Among Harsha's contemporaries, kings of Assam, Ujjayini, Chichito, and Mahesvarapura were Brahamnas as we learn from Yuan Chwang, Inscriptions supply us with innumerable instances of Brahmins occupying the posts of ministers, district officers and provincial governors. We similarly learn from Yuan Chwang that many contemporary Kings were Vaishyas and some even Sudras. To say therefore that the work of administration was taken over by the Ksatryas is inaccurate. In ancient as in modern India, all classes tried for posts in the administration and got them. I think that it is never a safe procedure to draw conclusions about the actual conditions of Hindu Society of a particular age from traditional dictums incorporated in Smiritis written several centuries before.

[This Controversy is now closed.—Editor, *M. R.*]

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Some Conquerors of the Atlantic

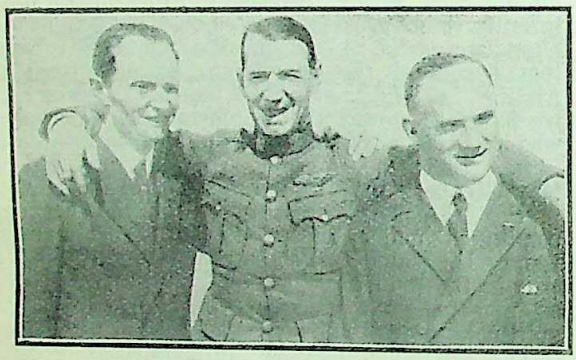
The Lessons They Draw From It

The western flight over the Atlantic has shown that an airplane can conquer the winds and that we have learned lessons that will be of great value in the future.

I believe that passenger service will not be made use of so much at first as the mail transport. However, if we are in possession of motors which will enable us to cover 180 miles or m an hour, the dangers caused by changing weat will be lessened and the passenger service w gain favor in the public's eye.

I have no doubt whatsoever but that s motors will be constructed in a short time, a we can confidently expect successful developme in this direction in the next few years.

Baron Von Huenef



The Three of the Bremen

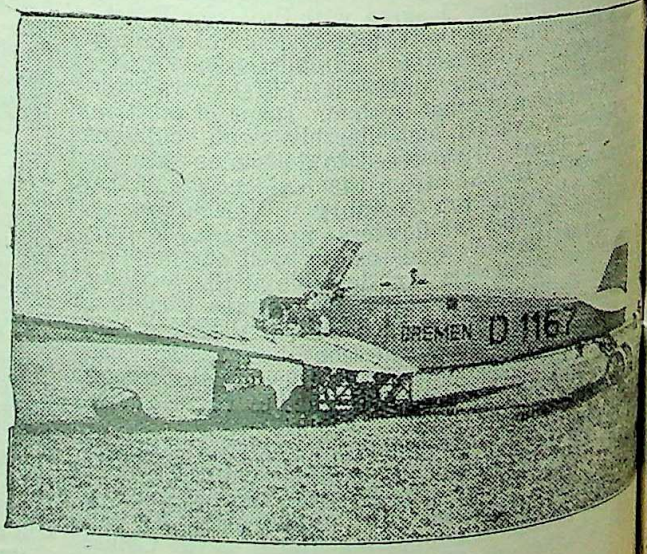
As a representative of the Irish Free St Flying Corps, says Captain Fritz Maurice o of the world's youngest flying services, welcomed the opportunity to come America as co-pilot of the "Bremen" not only the honor of helping fly the first plane across t North Atlantic from east to west, but becaus of the impetus our successful flight will giv to aviation in my native land.

The location of Ireland as the nearest point the Old World on the great circle course to th New World will make it the cross-roads of Atlanti aerial navigation in the future.

Capt, Kohl writes, The great lessons from th "Bremen" flight center around the combat of m atmospheric conditions with a rugged plane an proper instruments. That the day is not so ver far off when many others will be following o trail from east to west over the Atlantic, there



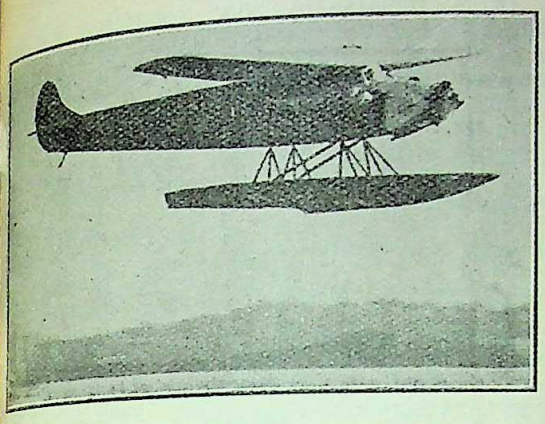
Miss Earhart the First Lady to hop the Atlantic



The Bremen

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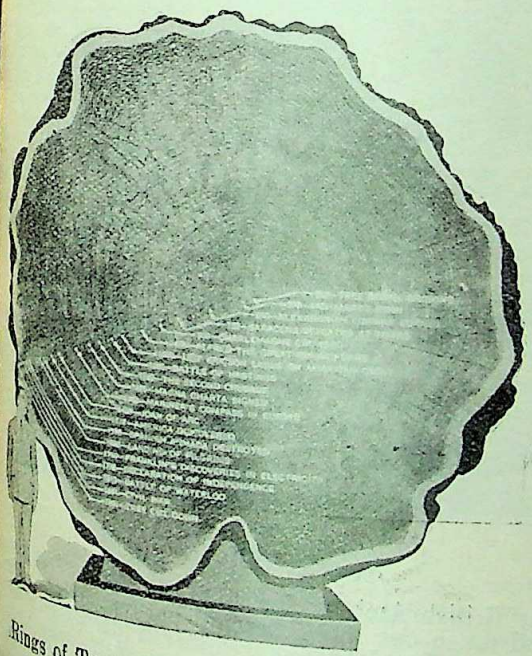
Friendship, which carries Miss Earhart

no doubt in my mind. The "Bremen" flight taught me tha'.

—

Rings of Trees that Solve Weather Mysteries

Light on the weather changes of the past is gained from a study of the rings of trees and furnishes a basis for forecasting the fluctuations



Rings of Trees that Solve Weather Mysteries

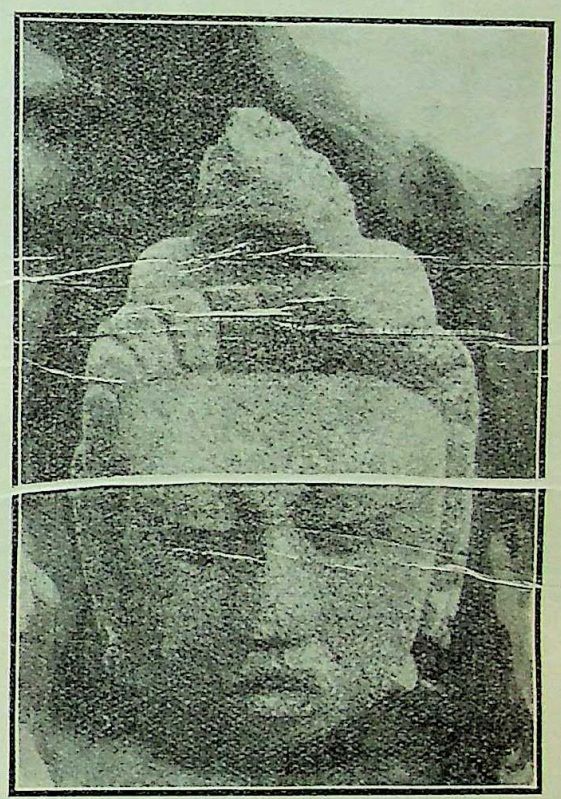
of the future, according to experts who have spent considerable time in reading the "language of the trees," as revealed in the annual rings. Dr. Andrew E. Douglas, of the University of Arizona, discovered that there was a striking correlation between the rings of a large number of trees he studied and the actual weather conditions as shown by government reports. Some

of the larger changes in the ring record appear to correspond with the sunspot cycles.

—

A Buddha Head ?

Stone Head from a mural decoration on a Yucatan Temple is presented here: many of the Mayan and Aztec carvings are striking works of art, despite the ravages of time.



!A Buddha Head ?

—

The Potato-Tomato

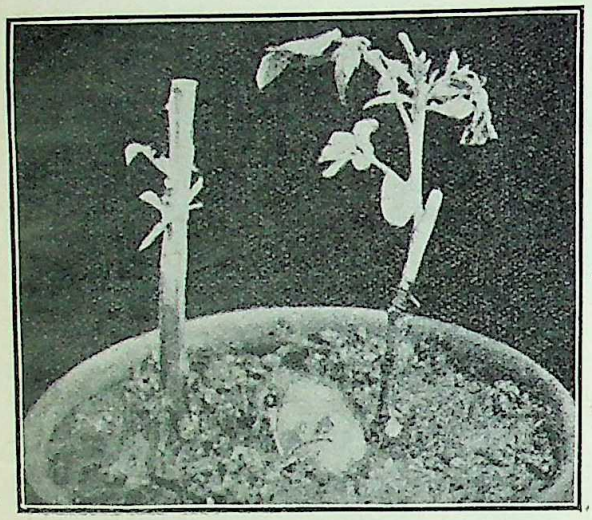
By skilful grafting, one may obtain a plant that will bear tomatoes as fruit above ground and potatoes as tubers below it.

"The the plants which bear them are closely related, tomatoes and potatoes are very different in their development. The tomato is produced in the air, the potato in the ground. We can graft the shoots of one on the roots of the other.

"If, for instance, we take the buds out of a potato stem and replace them with buds from a tomato plant we will obtain such a freakish individual. The potato shoot has been cut back and the tomato buds, healed in place, have started to grow. If they continue, as did the plant in the picture, they will eventually produce a plant which will be like a tomato above the graft and like a potato below the graft. Two or three such plants are now on exhibit at the Missouri Botanica Garden and are a surprizing sight with their

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Potato-Tomato a week after grafting



Potato Tomato-in fruit

tomatoes ripening in the air and their young potatoes already visible at the surface of the ground.

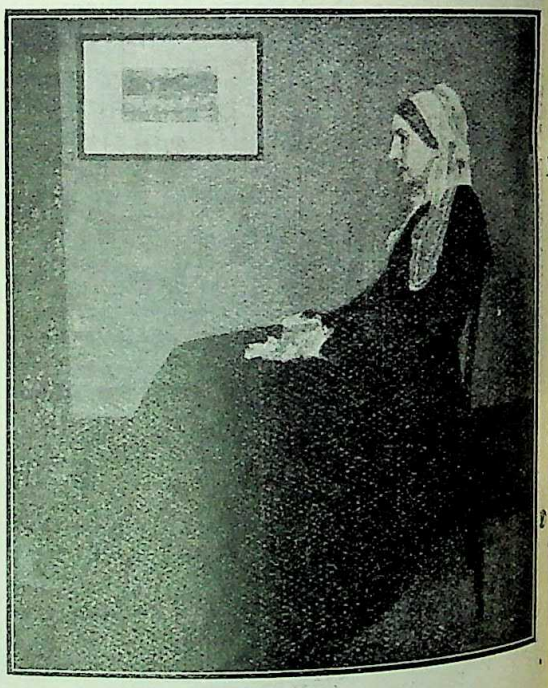
"It is remarkable how completely the two tissues, that of the potato and that of the tomato, preserve their identity, tho so closely associated. There seems to be practically no influence of the one on the other. The potato roots remain like potato roots, and the underground stems produce perfectly ordinary potatoes as unconcernedly as if they had always been watched over by a tomato stepmother.

Literary Digest

—

'Mother in Art'

The price paid by Sir Joseph Duveen for the Desborough Raffael is declared by him to have been £875,000. Next autumn the picture will come to America and doubtless hang somewhere in one of the great private galleries. "The painting, also known as the 'Niccolini Madonna,' or the 'Cowper Madonna of 1508,' was inherited by Lady Desborough from her brother Francis Thomas, the seventh Earl Cowper. It was purchased out of the Niccolini Palace, Florence, by George Nassau, the third Earl Cowper, then



Whistler's Mother

the British Ambassador to the Court of Tuscany and taken out of Florence in the lining of his carriage. The Madonna wears a red tunic, blue mantle and a gauzy headress. The sky forms the background. The expression in the eyes of the Child which is chiefly produced by the strong shadows under the lower lids is particularly remarkable. The Virgin, on the contrary recalls in purity and elevation of expression the Canigiani Madonna and the Madonna with the palm in the Bridgewater Gallery.

Epstein's 'Oriental Madonda' for which an Indian lady acted as the model has been differently appraised by different critics, some bursting into eloquent praise, some condemning it with

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Epstein's Oriental Madonna

much fury. It, however, helps to show how the mother motive is being treated—and treated with conspicuous success as most of us would be inclined to say—by one of the greatest of the modern artists.

Whistler's 'mother' is celebrated—though not exactly a 'madonna motive.' The famous portrait of his mother, was exhibited in the Royal Academy in London, in 1872, was purchased by the French Government, where it hung for many years in the Luxembourg on its destined way to the Louvre. "Mr. Whistler called this picture an arrangement in Gray and Black," protested that the fact of the original having been his mother was no concern of the public. Mr. Whistler, however, did not realise how largely our feelings and emotions stimulate our power of appreciation, and it is a fact that the knowledge, of the relationship does add to our interest in a portrait which reveals, to use Mr. Swinburne's words, 'intense pathos of significance and tender depth of expression."

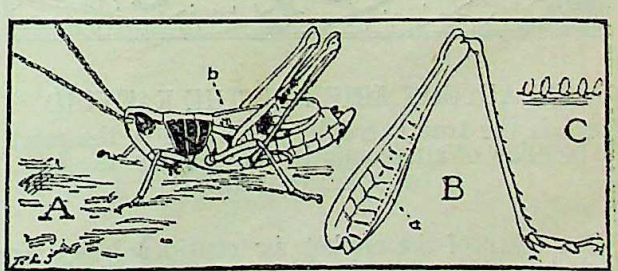
—



Rafael's Madonna

Insect Musicians

A few of the grass-hoppers make sounds that are perhaps music in their own ears. Chloealtis is a fiddler and plays two instruments at once. The fiddles are his front wings and the bows his hind legs.



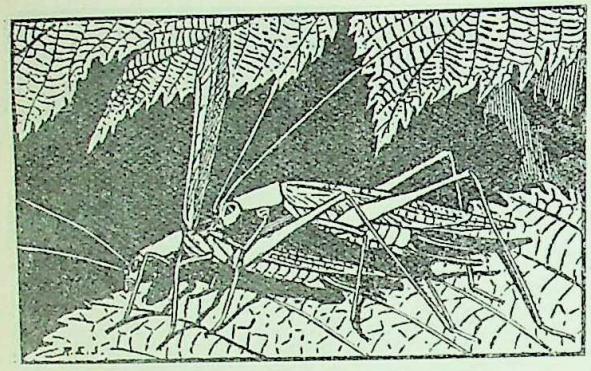
How the Grasshopper Makes Music

It produces the sound by scraping its toothed hind thigh over a sharp-edged vein (*b*) on the wing. (*Chloealtis conspersa*). A, the male grasshopper, showing stridulating vein (*o*) of left wing. B. inner surface of right hind thigh, showing row of teeth at *a* C. the teeth more enlarged

The katydids, Mr. Snodgrass tells us, show the highest development of the art attained by insects.

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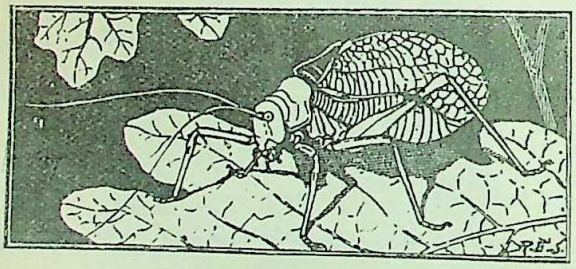
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A STRANGE INSECT SONGSTER

Notice this tree-cricket family. The male is singing with wings extended. The female is bending over him, doubtless attracted by the music, and is eagerly lapping up a clar fluid which she finds at such times just between the wings of the singer.

The katydids always fold the wings with the le overlapping the right, and in this position the file of the former lies above the ridge of the latter. If now the wings are moved sideways, the file grating on the ridge or scraper causes a rasping sound, and this is the way the katydid makes the notes of its music. The tone and volume of the sound however, are probably in large part due to the vibration of the thin basal membranes of the wings.



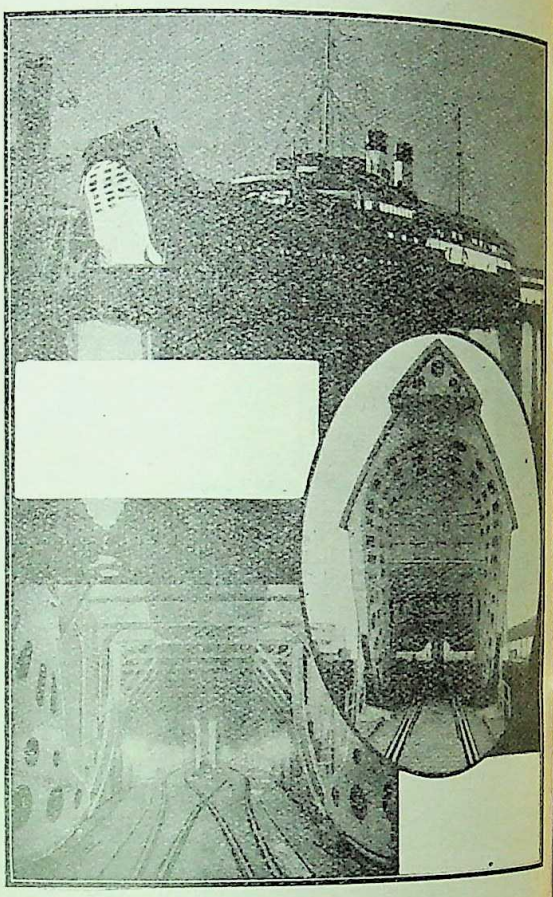
OUR AUTUMN FRIENDS, THE KATYDID

Here is the true katydid. His music is the most familiar of all sounds in the country these early fall evenings.

The chirp of the cricket is considered by Mr. Snodgrass the most familiar note of all insect music. "The unceasing ringing that always rises on summer evenings, that shrill melody of sound that seems to come from nothing but from everywhere out-of-doors, is mostly the chorus of the tree-crickets, the blend of notes from innumerable harpists playing unseen in the darkness. Next comes the cicada, which is the insect popularly the incorrectly known as the "locust." Its loud song is always a feature of the day time from midsummer till early fall, while the chorus of the seventeen-year species is a special event.

—

Ship That Ferries Train

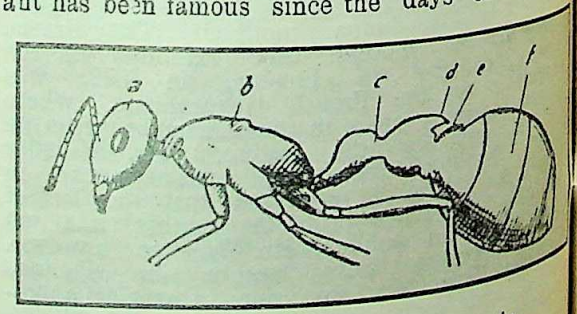


Ship That Ferries Train

—

Ants as Musician

With all the Accomplishments for which the ant has been famous since the days of Solomon,



The Musical Ant and his little Banjo

a is his head; *b* his thorax *c* his 'stalk' or petiolus: *d* his plectrum; which strikes *e*, the grooved "lute," and makes the music. *f* the abdomen.

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it has hitherto not been celebrated for its musical gifts. However, certain species possess a stridulating instrument consisting of a finely ridged "lute" upon the abdomen and a plectrum so situated that by rasping the surface it can produce an extremely delicate and high-pitched musical note. This phenomenon is described and commented upon by Dr. Robert Staeger in *Kosmos* (Stuttgart). In the course of a mountain expedition he came upon a nest of large red ants (*Myrmica Rubra*), and was puzzled by certain sounds.

"All of these little 'musicians' among the ants make use of a similar instrument, differing only in being attuned to a higher or lower pitch. This instrument consists of two distinct parts, which we will call the lute and the plectrum. The 'lute' is situated on the abdomen and consists of microscopically fine grooves; the plectrum is in the shape of a rod or pencil attached to the segment which unites the abdomen and the thorax. When the ant moves its abdomen rapidly up and down the pencil moves in brief intervals across the grooves of the 'lute': there ensues a sort of a humming chirp which is perceptible by our ears only when great numbers of the little musicians unite in a 'symphony.'

—

Changing Sahara

Ten thousand automobiles in modern Tunis, of which five hundred are autobuses, touring far into the Sahara Desert, stimulate the mind to consider how East and West have met since the after years of the war. The blessings of urban civilization have "penetrated to the remotest oases."

Literary Digest



A Sahara Newsboy

THE KASHI VIDYAPITHA

By DEVAVRATA SASTRI

SOME educationists and nationalists of Benares resolved to start a national (educational) institution that may produce men of independent minds and means, who might realize the dignity of manual labour, regenerate the ancient Hindu civilization and cultivate in them a spirit of service and sacrifice.

Mahatma Gandhi wrote to Babu Bhagwan Das of Benares to start a national college at Benares Finding this opportunity very suitable to their intentions and to the country, Babu Bhagwan Das and Babu Shiva Prasad Gupta decided to establish a national college there, and the institution named 'Kashi Vidyapitha' was established by

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Mahatma Gandhi on the tenth February, 1921. It was decided that the Vidyapitha would not be in any way under the present government or in future even under the 'Swarajya' government, but the Swarajya government might recognise it, unconditionally. It was also decided that the medium of education would be 'Hindostani' as the language and 'Devanagri' as the script and technical education would be one of its main objects. The world-famous Oxford and Cambridge universities are quite free from government control and there are many such indepennent universities in Japan and America, that are doing a great service to their countries. The Vidyapitha has got four departments, i.e., college, school, technical and publication.



A Group of *Snatakas*, Professors and students at the Convocation of the Kashi Vidyapitha

College

Any matriculate of a national or a government university or having equivalent qualification, can be admitted into the first year class. Hindi, English and Sanskrit are compulsory subjects for the first year students and they have to choose one subject more, out of Sociology (History, Economics and Politics), Philosophy and Sanskrit as optional subjects ; and after the first year, they have to specialise in that chosen optional subject along with English as compulsory, through the remaining three years. Education is quite free and there is also provision for fifty scholarships of Rs. 10 each for deserving and meritorious students. The wearing of Khaddar and spinning half an hour daily are compulsory for the students.

There are two kinds of examinations in the Vidyapitha called 'Visharad' and 'Shastri'. The course of 'Visharad' is equal to the Intermediate standard of other Universities and 'Shastri' is equal to that of the M. A. Up-till-now nearly 400 students have passed

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the 'Visharad' examination and 35 have graduated from the Vidyapitha. The degree of 'Shastri' is conferred on the graduates of the Vidyapitha at the convocation held each year. Four batches of graduates have completed their course and have received this degree. These four convocations were addressed by Acharya Bhagwan Das, Acharya Rajendra Prasadji, Acharya A. T. Gidwani and Acharya C. V. Vaidya. Graduates of this institution are leading a life of independent occupation. They are giving their services to the country under prominent political and social organization such as the Servants of the People Society. All-India Khadi Service, All-India Achhuto-Dhar Sabha and others. Many of them are professors and teachers in national colleges and schools and editors of newspapers. There are also good speakers and intelligent writers among them doing a remarkable service to Hindu literature. A few of them are learning French and German at Shantiniketan with a view to going to France and Germany for higher education.

School

The Vidyapitha has got a high school like a collegiate school. In non-co-operation days there were many national high schools of U. P. and C. P. recognised and examined by the Vidyapitha, but gradually nearly almost all of them breathed their last and at present only a few are remaining.

Technical Department

As already mentioned, this department has been opened, that students of this institution may not wander from door to door in search of their livelihood, and may lead an independent life with the help of their technical training. There were six sub-sections of this department. But except carpentry, sewing and cane-work, others have been closed, as students were not so much interested in them. It is hoped that in future this department will get more importance and success.

Publication Department

The fourth is the publication department. It publishes a series of books called Jnanmandal Series. This is a well-known series. The department has published many useful books, specially on history and politics. Every professor has to write a book each year in his subject and they are published in this series. It is well-known to all that this 'Jnanmandal' series is fulfilling a great need of Hindi literature, though with a very slow speed.



Sreejukta Babu Shibprasad Gupta

The Vidyapitha has got about twenty-five professors and teachers in all these departments. The professors are very learned and experienced, and are specialists in their subjects. They take small honorarium only to maintain themselves. Babu Bhagwan Das, M.A., the renowned scholar and philosopher, is the Chancellor, Sjt. Narendra Deva M.A. LL. B, is the Principal and Sjt. Sriprakash, B. A., LL. B. Bar-at-haw, specialist in politics, is the Vice-principal of the Vidyapitha.

Committees

The Vidyapitha has got three committees—Supervisory (Nirikshak Sabha), managing (Prabandh Samiti) and the Senate (Shiksha Parishad). The Senate controls and manages all

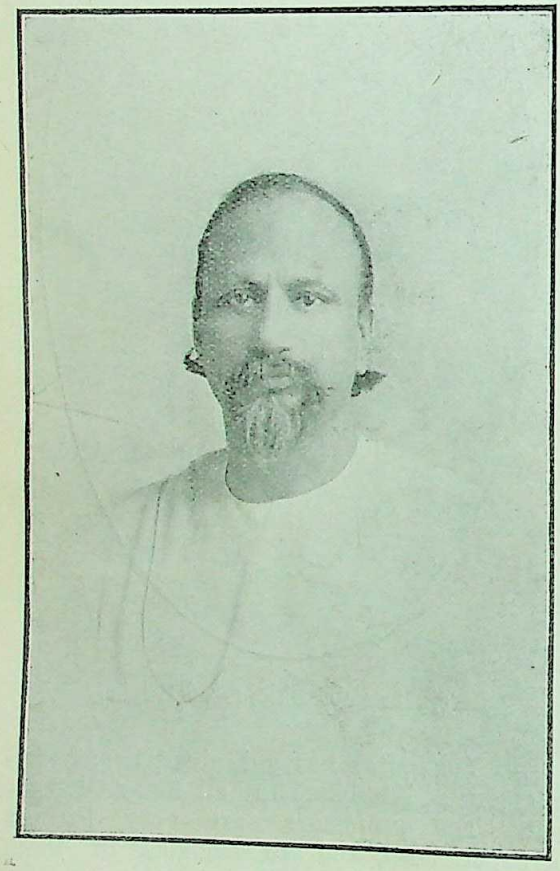
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the educational functions of the institution. Students also have got an assembly, named Vidyarthi Parishad (Students' Union).

Hostel

Almost all the students reside in hostels. No seat rent or anything of the kind is charged from them; moreover, they are supplied with furniture and all kinds of necessary medical treatments in case of their illness. Inter-dining is compulsory and professors too take their food occassionally along with the hostel students.



Sj. Babu Bhagwandas

Besides this, on the occasion of the Vidyapitha anniversary and convocation, as also on other important functions, a general feast has become a usual tradition of the Vidyapitha, joined by all the inmates and sympathisers without any distinction of caste or creed. There are two hostels at present and nearly fifty students along with some professors reside therein.

The Vidyapith life is a life of 'plain living and high thinking'.

The Kashi Vidyapitha is also a training institution for self-dependence. Students have to do all their work (except cooking) themselves. And because of this self-dependence and simple living, they are very much profited economically too. At present when government college-students spend 4 to 80 and 100 rupees a month, these students of the Vidyapitha spend only 1 rupees a month for their higher college education.

Daily Routine and Teaching

Classes begin with congregational prayer and the 'Vandemataram' national song. Classes are held in the morning throughout the whole year, so that students may be able to work in technical departments in the after-noon. The medium of education as mentioned above is Hindi. All the lectures are delivered in Hindi and examination-papers written in 'Devanagari' script. No doubt, students are profited by the Hindi medium, but they have to bear difficulties too because the books on history, economics, politics, philosophy and others, are only a few in Hindi literature and so they have to read books on every subject in English. Classes are held in the open pleasant airy ground and under trees.

There is an arrangement of popular lectures on different subjects for adding to the general knowledge of students and this has proved very interesting and beneficial to them, subjects like history and economics are taught with great care. Students from most of the provinces of the country such as :—U. P., Behar, Bengal, C. P., C. I. Maharastra, Karnatak, Andhra, Madras and the Punjab, etc., come to the Vidyapitha, but the majority consists of Behari and U. P. students.

Library

Babu Shiva Prasad Gupta has given his whole up-to-date and well-equipped library, containing nearly 15 thousands of selected books in English, Hindi and Sanskrit, to the Vidyapitha. But at present as the Vidyapitha has not got a good building for such a library, only 2000 books have been brought from 'Seva Upavan' (Babu Shiva Prasadji's residence). In addition to this, the Vidyapitha has bought nearly 1000 books out of its own fund. There is also a reading room, equipped with many Hindi and English daily, weekly and monthly magazines.

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Public Activities

Teachers and students of the institution always play a prominent part in political and social works. At present, the institution has begun an admirable work in Benares city. It has arranged public lectures by its professors, on different useful and interesting subjects. Sjt. Narendra Deva and Sjt. Sri Prakash have finished their series of very interesting lectures on Buddhist India and political science, and lectures on 'Vedic religion' and other subjects are going on.

Buildings.

Vidyapitha has bought about eight acres of land,—five minutes' walk from the Benares Cantonment station and two buildings have been constructed. Yet it has to hire a few more buildings.

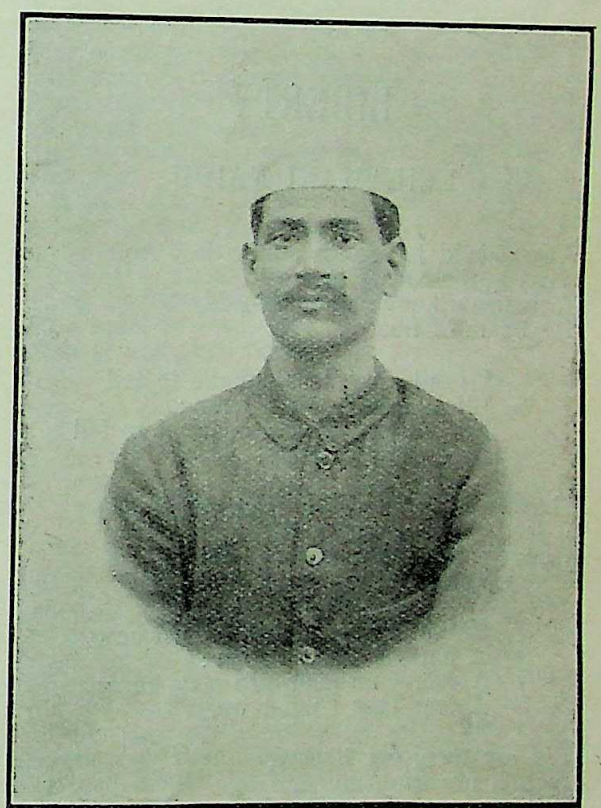
National Educational Conference

The Kashi Vidyapitha initiated a magnificent movement about national education in 1923. Babu Bhagwan Das, the then principal of the Vidyapitha, resolved to hold an educational conference to consider about the stability, shortcomings, reformation and improvement of national educational institutions. All the national and semi-national institutions were invited to send their representatives to the conference and 125 delegates of the Tilak Maharastra Vidyapitha, Poona, the national medical college, Bombay, the Gujrat Vidyapitha, Ahmedabad, the Kashi Vidyapitha, Benares, the Behar Vidyapitha, Patna, the Komi Vidyapitha, Lahore, the National Art and Science College, Bombay the Tilak Komi Vidyalaya, Hyderabad (Sindh), the Tilak Vidyalaya, Bhivabhatam, the Satyabadi School, Puri, the Premmahavidyalaya, Brindaban, the National Muslim University, Aligrah, the Hindu University, Benares, the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan, Allahabad and the Bengal National Education Board, Calcutta, assembled at 'Seva Upavan' Benares, from February 23 to March 1, 1923. This conference passed many useful resolutions about the improvement and reformation of national education. *

It was also decided to hold such a conference every year at different places, but nothing more has been done from that day.

Financial Condition

Babu Shiva Prasad Gupta is well-known in India for his generosity and patriotism. This national university of northern India is the fruit of his love of national education. He has donated his property worth ten lacs, for the advancement of learning through the medium of Hindi. This fund is called 'Sri Harprasad Educational Fund (Sri Har Prasad Shikshanidhi) in memory of his late younger brother Sjt. Hara Prasad. The trust deed of the donation has been registered. The members of the trust are Sjt. Shiva Prasad Gupta, Rai Bahadur Babu Mukunda Lal,



Principal Sri Narendra Deb

Sjt. Krishna Kumar, Sjt. Sri Prakash, Sjt. Narendra Dev, Pt. Jawahar Lal Neheru. Sjt. Purusottam Das Tandon, Pt. Ramakant Malviya and Pt. Hridayanath Kunjaru. Guptaji has written in the trust deed that the interest of this fund (nearly five thousand rupees per month) will be spent on national and technical education, and the institution taking this sum, will have to use 'Devanagri'

* The report of the conference is published in English, and it can be had from the Registrar, Kashi Vidyapitha, Benares Cantt.

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script and 'Hindostani' language as its medium of education, without any government control; and technical education will be one of its main subjects. The interest of the donation is given to this institution at present. Besides this, the Vidyapitha gets as sum of Rs. 1200 yearly from Joshi Damodarji and something like that from Babu Bhagwan Dasji. Besides this, Babu Bhagwan Das donated a sum of Rs. 1000 for the hostel building and at the same time he with his son Babu Sri Prakash, works in the Vidyapitha without any honorarium. With these funds the Vidyapitha has spent nearly a lac of rupees in buying plots of land and erecting buildings, etc, the remaining sum has been spent on professors' honorarium, scholarships, servants' salaries, etc.

This is a brief account of the Kashi Vidyapitha. No doubt the failure of the non-co-operation movement has affected the Vidyapitha, but as it has got a strong footing with remarkable aims and objects it has no anxiety about its shining future and it can be said that, through the great enthusiasm and labour of the authorities, with proper sympathy of the public, a day will come, when this national university will prove itself to be one of the greatest universities of the world.

LIBERTY

LEILAMANI NAIDU

Why should I care for aught they say
What is their song to me?
No morrow knows nor yesterday
My dream of liberty,

I want no other's tongue to tell
Life's secret of sad tears;
Nor other's hand nor might to fell
Its canopy of fears.

I have a song none else may sing,
A deed none else may dare;
A hope-some sweet fantastic thing,
Some sweet ecstatic prayer.

There is a seed that I must sow
A harvest I must reap:
A secret no man else may know
A tear that I must weep.

It is my own, my liberty,
My life, my soul, my fate
And freedom to eternity
My Master and my Mate.

O let them sing for aught they might,
What is their song to me?
No morrow binds nor yesternight
My dreams of liberty.

(*From "The Indus"*)

BOUND

By LIZETTE WOODWORTH REESE

Could I shake you out of my heart,
As water out of a cup,
A little silver on the grass
The sun would soon dry up—

Would I be poorer for this thing,
Tho wiser, too? I know
By all our days of ill or good
I dare not let you go,

You are to me, I am to you
Common, and found, and plain,
As is a window to a house,
As yarrow to a lane.

Too close to see each other else
Than earth-thick to the core;
So near there is nought left to us
But to love and love the more,

—*The Literary Digest*

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[This section is intended for the correction of inaccuracies, errors of fact, clearly erroneous views, misrepresentations, etc., in the original contributions, and editorials published in this Review or in other papers criticizing it. As various opinions may reasonably be held on the same subject, this section is not meant for the airing of such differences of opinion. As, owing to the kindness of our numerous contributors, we are always hard pressed for space, critics are requested to be good enough always to be brief and to see that whatever they write is strictly to the point. Generally, no criticism of reviews and notices of books is published. Writers are requested not to exceed the limit of five hundred words.—Editor, The Modern Review.]

The Highest Mountain in the World

I am glad to find a colleague in *the Modern Review* for September commenting on my article "The Highest Mountain in the World" which appeared in *the Modern Review* for August, 1928. But my colleague has perhaps unwittingly done a little injustice to me. By 'our ignorance' I certainly meant 'ignorance of the people of India'—of course, excluding Nepal ; and I am still of opinion that from the Indian side this peak was not known and consequently there was no name for it before it was actually *discovered* by the Survey of India—not a so-called discovery, as my colleague calls it.

The "Gauri-Sankar' was not unknown to me nor its association with Mr. Schlagintweit, but my colleague does not take into consideration the fact that the Survey of India definitely proved that what Schlagintweit saw was Gauri-Sankar no doubt—but it was never Everest. It was this mistake on the part of Schlagintweit that was responsible for the misnomer of Gauri-Sankar for Everest and its currency in the Indian and Continental literature of Europe. Mr. Freshfield's connection with the question is indeed a news to me for the mention of which I am thankful to my colleague. But I have it on the authority of the Royal Geographical Society of London (their letter dated the 11th March, 1925) that Gauri-Sankar is another peak than Mount Everest. This is also corroborated by the Survey of India. The long list of publications quoted by my colleague can certainly have no authority over the Royal Geographical Society of London.

My colleague has taken me to task for having supported the English people in their naming Mount Everest after Col. Everest. I might tell him for his edification that years ago I wrote an article in Bengali (*Prabasi ; Magh*, 1325,) wherein I hinted that Mount Everest could not perhaps be named after its actual discoverer, probably because the honour of having actually discovered the highest mountain in the world fell to the lot of an Indian whose name was thus thrown into oblivion. I also suggested an investigation into the matter with a view to finding out a suitable Indian name for Mount Everest. I also put the matter up to the *Bangiya Sahitya Parishad* for their consideration and necessary action in the matter but practically speaking I got no response or sympathy from my countrymen. In the meantime on my enquiry to them the Royal Geographical Society of London let me know that Mount Everest was discovered in the course of routine work of the Survey of India in determining the heights of all the peaks visible from the plains of India. The observations upon which the discovery was based were made by different officers and so it is not possible to speak of any one man as the discoverer. This was also confirmed by the Survey of India. If after all this I am compelled to acquiesce in the name of Everest I hope I am not greatly to blame.

Laslty I must thank my colleague for having put in his views and knowledge before the public and I shall be glad if he can further enlighten me on these and such points.

Satya Bhusan Sen

—

Foundation of the Brahmo Samaj

An error has crept into Mr. N. C. Ganguly's article "Foundation of the Brahmo Samaj" published in "Modern Review" for September 1928. On page 298 of this issue, Mr, Ganguly says "A house belonging to Kamal Lochan Basu on the Chitpur Road in Jorasanko was selected and rented from its owner."

The name of the owner of the house referred to above is Ram Kamal Basu (better known as Feringee Kamal Basu) and not Kamal Lochan Basu as mentioned by the writer.

In my book (Puratony page 67) I have stated the reason why Babu Ram Kamal Basu was called Feringee Kamal Basu. His house on the Chitpore Road where the first meeting of Brahmo Samaj was held on the 20th August 1828 was No. 48 Chitpore Road as it appears from the Collector's receipt for taxes, (of the year 1843) some of which I had opportunity to get hold of. I know that this house is still standing on the Chitpore road, though it is no longer owned by the descendants of Feringee Kamal Basu.

Ram Kamal Basu and Ram Mohan Basu were two brothers. They were residents of Chander-

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nagore. To distinguish one brother from the other they were perhaps called by the second part of their names—Kamal and Mohan. From Kamal Basu, Mr. Ganguly perhaps concludes that the full name of the man was Kamal Lochan Basu.

Hari Har Sett.

—

Professor Sarkar on the Ancient Hindu University

Professor Jadunath Sarkar. C. I, E., has said in *the Hindusthan Review*, July as quoted in the Indian Periodicals Columns of *the Modern Review* September, that "the ancient Hindu University without being rigidly isolated, was kept at a safe distance from the noisy luxurious capitals and gave the purest form of physical, intellectual and moral culture possible in any age, if we leave out natural science and mechanics." With all my respect for Prof. Sarkar's scholarship and historical acumen I presume to point out one *omission* in his estimate of the ancient Hindu University. The omission is the non-mention of spiritual culture—Atmavidya, the knowledge of the Self being the ultimate goal to which every individual soul must press forward. This was the most outstanding feature of the Indian national educational system. On the secular side the theoretical instruction was supplemented by the Upavedas and also by the Vidya's and Kala's (sciences and arts). I am at a loss to understand why Prof. Sarkar thinks that the ancient Indian University entirely excluded "natural science and mechanics" from their curriculum. Is it not a fact, on the contrary, that the experts in machinery (Yantravidya), craftsmen, and metallurgists of the ancient Indian Universities discovered the fast dye, indigo extract, and the tempered steel leading to the secret of Damascus blade, the earliest contribution to the scientific art of distinction ?

Dhirendra Nath Chowdhuri

—

"Raja Rammohun Roy at Rangpur"

I was interested to see a paper on the above subject, by Mr. Jyotirmoy Das Gupta, in the September number of *the Modern Review*. It is unfortunate that the letters as printed in his paper —the originals of which are among the Board of Revenue Records of the Bengal Government and copies of which I hold—are not only full of serious omissions, but also of errors that wholly nullify their value. I have no time to enumerate all of them, but I simply point out that the story, which he has taken so much pains to build up, that Rammohun Roy served at *Rangpur* "as Sherishtadar from the beginning of September to 3rd December, *1809*" (*i.e.*, the year in which he was made Diwan), goes to pieces, for the very simple reason of his misreading *Rangpur* for RAMGUR, in the following passsge of Mr. Digby's letter to the Board of Revenue :—

"...Rammohun Roy, the man whom I have recommended to be appointed as Diwan of this office, acted under me in the capacity of Sherishtadar of the Fouzdary Court for the space of three months whilst I officiated as magistrate of the Zillah of RAMGUR...".

In the version printed by Mr. Das Gupta (see letter No. 2) *Rangpur* stands for *Ramgur*—an obvious mistake in deciphering. This has naturally led the writer to wonder "why there is no mention of the Raja's service at Ramgur...by Mr. Digby in letter No. 2...". Dr. Sir Devaprasad Sarvadhikari, in his Presidential Address, delivered on *29th July 1928*, at the 11th Session of the Uttar-Banga Sahitya Sammilan, held at Rangpur, has published the correct texts of the letters.

Brajendranath Banerji

ERRATA

M. R. Aug. 1928

Page 158, Col. 1, line 11,
For 'Word with'
read 'Word. With'

Page 158, Col. 1. line 12,
For 'Cleanthes. The author'
read 'Cleanthes' the author'

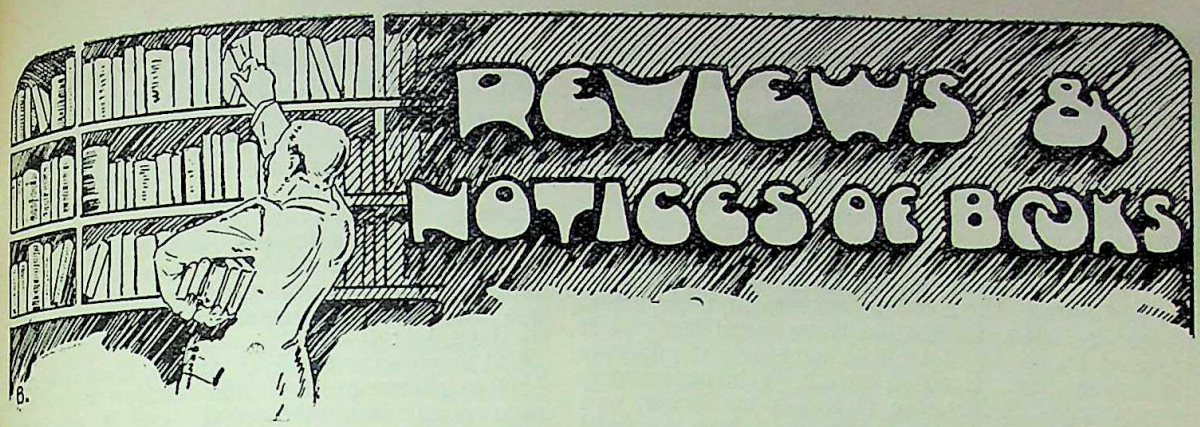
Page 161. Col. 1, line 30,
For '*Kosoms*'
read '*Kosmos*'

M. R. September 1928 Page 289 Col 2 line 14 *for* majestic *read* maieutic.

P. 305 Col. 1 line 13 *for* husband being dead or the husband *read* husband or the husband being dead.

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[Books in the following languages will be noticed: Assamese, Bengali, English, French, German Gujarati, Hindi, Italian, Kanarese, Malayalam, Marathi, Nepali, Oriya, Portuguese, Punjabi, Sindhi Spanish, Tamil, Telugu and Urdu. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books and their annotations, pamphlets and leaflets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., will not be noticed. The receipt of books received for review will not be acknowledged, nor any queries relating thereto answered. The review of any book is not guaranteed. Books should be sent to our office, addressed to the Assamese Reviewer, the Hindi Reviewer, the Bengali Reviewer, etc., according to the language of the books. No criticism of book-reviews and notices will be published.—Editor, M. R.]

ENGLISH

ENGLISH WORKS OF RAJA RAM MOHUN ROY, *Vol. I. Published by Mr. H. C. Sarkar, M. A. Secretary, Brahmo Samaj Centenary Committee: 210-6A. Cornwallis Street, Calcutta. Cloth, gilt letters. Rs. 3.*

This is the first volume of the English works of Raja Ram Mohun Roy, published on the occasion of the Brahmo Samaj Centenary. It contains twenty-one of the Raja's translations of the Upanishads, controversial tracts, the Trust Deed of the Brahmo Samaj, Autobiographical Sketch, the *Brahmanical Magazine*, &c. It is neatly printed and elegantly bound in cloth.

THE PEOPLE OF INDIA: THEIR MANY MERITS. *By Distinguished Europeans who have known them. Collected in "India" with an introduction by Mr. Alfred Webb, President of the Tenth Indian National Congress. Reprinted and Published with an appendix, containing additional testimonies, by H. A. Talcherkar, B. A. Barrister-at-Law, Veronica Street, Bandora, Bombay. Pp. 54. Price Four Annas.*

It is humiliating to have to vindicate and establish our national character by publishing the testimonies of foreigners. But as our people have been continually calumniated for more than a century and as the slanderers have recently redoubled their efforts owing to well-known reasons, the publication of this pamphlet must be considered quite timely. The testimonies here brought together are quite reliable, as they were unsolicited and occurred in various publications of various dates by authors of different ranks following professions far different in character from one another. Publicists and all other English-knowing Indians would do well to keep a copy of the pamphlet by them. It is of greater importance to circulate it in America and Europe than in India. But for that purpose some occidental publisher will have to be chosen; and the paper must be better, the type bigger and and the cover more attractive.

We thank Mr. Talcherkar for the copy presented to us.

ECONOMIC AND FINANCIAL ORGANISATION. *Revised Edition, Information Section, League of Nations Secretariat, Geneva. Pp. 118. 6d.*

THE REDUCTION OF ARMAMENTS AND THE ORGANISATION OF PEACE. *Information Section. League of Nations, Geneva. Pp. 166, 1sh.*

The Information Section of the League of Nations is to be congratulated on the publication of this series of pamphlets. They state in an interesting and non-controversial manner what the League aims to do, has done and has been doing in various directions. Principles, methods and organisations are also described.

WITH GANDHIJI IN CEYLON. *By Mahadev Desai. S. Ganesan. Publisher. Triplicane, Madras. Pp. 159. Nine illustrations. Re. 1-0.*

Like the first volume of Gandhiji's Autobiography, this is a book which I had kept for perusal, page by page, when I had leisure. But the leisure never came, and may not come so long as life or eye-sight lasts. So I notice it in the conventional manner without further delay.

Gandhiji had a very cordial and enthusiastic reception in Ceylon from all sorts and conditions of men. Though he described his visit as a 'mercenary' one with humorous and engaging candour, the people of that island refused to regard it in that light and understood it instead as a humanitarian one.

The first part of the book contains the Journal, consisting of five chapters. Part II contains 32 speeches in various places. Part III is an appendix giving an account of the Khadi collections.

We cull below at random a few passages from Gandhiji's utterances.

From *Message to Ceylon Congress*: "Claiming as you do, allegiance to India and endorsing, as you do, your connection with the story of

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Ramayana, you should be satisfied with nothing but Rama Raj which includes Swaraj. When the evil stalks from corner to corner of this enchanting fairyland, you must take up the question in right earnest and save the nation from ruin.

"Then there is the other thing, untouchability. You consider the Rodiyas as untouchables and their women are not allowed to cover their upper parts.

"It is high time for the Congress to take up the question of the Rodiyas, make them their own and enroll them as volunteers in their work. Democracy is an impossible thing until the power is shared by all, but let not democracy degenerate into mobocracy. Even a pariah, a labourer, who makes it possible for you to earn your living, will have his share in self-government. But you will have to touch their lives, go to them, see their hovels where they live packed like sardines. It is up to you to look after this part of humanity."

From *More Memories*: [At another meeting of the missionaries (at Jaffna) he developed this last thought, in reply to a question as to what he would wish India to be like in matters of religion. He reiterated his impatience with the missionary or the Musalman who thinks of getting hold of the untouchables for the sake of increasing his flock, and said that like the Dewan of Mysore he would ask them all to strive to make the untouchables better Hindus if they could].

"I should love all the men,—not only in India but in the world,—belonging to the different faiths,—to become better people by contact with one another, and if that happens the world will be a much better place to live in than it is today. I plead for the broadest toleration, and I am working to that end. I ask people to examine every religion from the point of the religionists themselves. I do not expect the India of my dream to develop one religion, *i.e.*, to be wholly Hindu, or wholly Christian, but I want it to be wholly tolerant, with its religions working side by side with one another."

The book is clearly printed on opaque paper.

A Week in India (and three Months in an Indian Hospital). *A. Fenner Brockway. 1sh net. The New Leader Ltd, 14 Great George Street, London, S. W, I. Pp. 83.*

Mr. Fenner Brockway spent three months and one week in India, the greater part of which was spent in a hospital owing to an accident. This book gives the reader the experiences of his visit. It contains word pictures of Gandhiji, N. M. Joshi, the Ali Brothers, A. Jinnah, the late Hakim Ajmal Khan, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, Sir Chimanlal Setalvad, Balubhai T. Desai, S. A. Brelvi, B. G. Horniman, K. Natarajan, the King of Afghanistan, Shuaib Quoreshi, Sir Dinshaw Wacha, Dewan Bahadur M. Ramachandra Rao, Dost Mahomed Peer Mahomed, Dr. Ansari, Dr. Annie Besant, S. Srinivasa Iyengar, and Jawaharlal Nehru. But it contains much besides these pen portraits. It is brightly written and describes the India he saw ("a minute fraction of the whole") and to give a human picture of the men and women he met. He begins by saying that "this is not an authoritative book on India." But it is quite worth reading notwithstanding.

Hell Found !! *By S. A. Dange, Author of "Gandhi vs. Lenin." Vanguard Literature Company, 2-1, European Asylum Lane, Calcutta. Price one Rupee, Pp. 123 ix. Red paper covers.*

In this book, which is very clearly printed in big type on thick paper, Mr. Dange describes what he experienced and observed in the lock-ups and jail where he had to pass his days for more than three years. He has indeed found Hell. The rooms, the raiments, the food, the treatment received by the prisoners, etc. as described by him in this book, not unoften with grim humour, are all disgusting, abominable, horrible,.....

Says he:

"I have succeeded, if at all, in casting a mere furtive glance at the huge vaults where tales of oppression lie submerged. And I am sure no individual human power will be able to open them.

"The tale of the Bourbon oppression and the secrets of the Bastille could be unearthed only by the united and exasperated will of an oppressed French proletariat. The bones of the murdered people hidden under the polished marble palaces of Czarism got new tongues only after the wrath of the workers and peasants had shaken the foundations of Imperialism. Therefore such attempts as mine have only a critical value and will remain incomplete without the complement of the determined action of a whole people to right its wrongs."

The author quotes in his preface the following article from the U. P. Jail Manual:—

"Art. 978. Labour in a jail should be considered primarily as a means of punishment and not of employment only; neither should the question of its being highly remunerative have much weight, *the object of paramount importance being that prison work should be irksome and laborious and a cause of dread to evil-doers.*"

And then observes: "The picture that you see in the following pages will show how mild the above words are for what is being done in the jails...Against this, see the law in the workers' republic. Art. 9 of the Soviet Criminal Code says, 'Measures of social defence may not pursue the aim of inflicting physical suffering or degrading human dignity, nor does it aim at vengeance or punishment.'"

R. C.

Ancient Indian Culture in Afghanistan: *By Dr. Upendra Nath Ghoshal M.A., Ph.D, Greater India Society Bulletin No. 5. Price Re 1 only.*

The history of India's cultural relations with her neighbours when fully written, will have two broad divisions: viz., her relations with the Western and with the Eastern nations. At present the accumulation of rich relics of this relation of India with Indo-China, Sumatra, Java, Bali, etc, has naturally produced the idea that Greater India meant India's relations with eastern peoples alone. But the epoch-making discoveries at Harappa and Mahenjodaro have forced us to look to the West for the earliest outside contact and this remains true down to the age of Asoka, who in his mission activities showed a marked preference for the Western neighbours. Dr. Ghoshal has done a great service to the Greater India movement by emphasising in this monograph the importance of this line of investigation, starting with Afghanistan, and

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provoking other investigators to seek on similar lines, the relics of Indian culture in Iran, and in the further West as well in Africa, Madagascar and other lands to the west of the Indian Ocean. In the preface of his stimulating Bulletin Dr. Ghoshal very rightly observes :

"Situated at the gateway of the Indian continent whence it commands all the main lines of its inland communication with Western and Eastern Asia, Afghanistan has been the channel through which have flowed the numerous cultural and other influences that have shaped the history of India in the past. On the other hand, the Indian influences, especially under the urge of the great movement of cultural expansion associated with Buddhism, have overflowed the western frontiers of India, and the signs of their triumph are writ large not only in the existing monuments of Afghanistan, the stupas, images, cave-shrines, pillars and the like, but were abundantly illustrated in the prevailing forms of religion, language add social manners before they were engulfed by the advancing tide of Islam. Verily the history of Greater India would be lacking in some of its important chapters, if the story of India's cultural contact with its western neighbour were left untold."

The book should be read by every serious student of Hindu cultural expansion. It gives for the first time a faithful resume of the latest discoveries in the field made by the French and German scholars.

A History of Hindu Political Theories : from the earliest times to the end of the seventeenth century A.D. *By Dr. U. N. Ghoshal, M. A., Ph.D. Oxford University Press. Second Edition. 1927.*

To all those who want a sober and fully documented study on Hindu political theories, the new edition of Dr. Ghoshal's book will be welcome. Within the narrow compass of 250 pages the author has managed to condense and criticise almost all the important texts and theories relating to Hindu political science, and the beginners in this line of study will find the book a faithful and stimulating guide. In every discussion Dr. Ghoshal shows a remarkable spirit of fairness and a laudable solicitude for ascertaining the tenor of the original texts. In weighing evidence he displays a largeness of outlook that is characteristic of a historian and he puts the orthodox and heterodox schools of thought fn the same scale. assigning as much importance to Brahmanical as to Buddhist and Jain speculations Moreover, Dr. Ghoshal traces the progress of Hindu political thought from the early classical to the mediaeval stage of its evolution as represented by the earlier *Smriti* texts, as well as in the *Vasishtha Bodh* and *Vichitra Nataka* of the epoch of Marhatta and Sikh revivals. Some of the appendices and his concluding chapter, breathing a spirit of comparative study and sound evaluation, go to make the book a precious guide in the jungle of partisan theorisings. We congratulate Dr. Ghoshal on the publication of this second edition and recommend the book to all lovers of Indology.

K. N.

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Seven Months with Mahatma Gandhi Vol. I : *By Krishnadas. S. Ganesan, Triplicane, Madras, S. E. Pp. 449. 1928.*

What Mahatma Gandhi is writing of himself in *Young India* week after week, can, by no means, be considered as the only materials with which one would build up a biography of his. The account of his examination of himself is bound to be inadequate for a biographer, for, it excludes many details and minor incidents of his life, which to a biographer is of essential value to paint a complete picture of his life. The book under notice portrays very nicely the daily life led by Mahatma Gandhi during the active days of the non-co-operation movement. Herein we find Mahatmaji in delight over his success some day, in extreme agonies over his failures, in the patience and endurance of a saint in the midst of overwhelming activities and in the purity and strength of a supremely spiritual mind. Mr. Krishnadas is a very keen observer and is fully aware of the possible curiosity of his readers. He leaves out no details as insignificant and paints Mahatmaji in his daily routine of life, in his habits and manners and in his friendly talks and humourous hits. This book will be of great help to a future biographer of Mahatma Gandhi. The book is so highly interesting that we have finished it with as much eagerness and pleasure as we do a good novel.

It is a history of the progress and development of the non-co-operation movement, as conducted by Mahatma Gandhi, the hero, the martyr and the saint.

The book is bound in Khaddar and its get-up is nice. It also contains a picture of Mahatma Gandhi.

P. Sen Gupta.

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BENGALI

Nana Katha *(Miscellaneous Essays)* : *By Upendra Kumar Kar, B.L., Publisher—Sitanath Chowdhuri, Pleader, Chandpur. Tippera. Price Re. 1.*

However unpretentious and uninviting this volume of Essays of a little over two hundred pages, printed in an unknown Mofussil press, may seem at first sight the reader will be delightfully surprised to find that the letter press contains few errors, the writer has a wonderful command over his mother-tongue which he can wield so dexterously as to express the most abstruse thoughts, and that the thoughts themselves are of a high order, far above the parochial topics of a Mofussil station, and even worthy of serious consideration by the best minds of the country, minds engaged in our well-known centres of culture in voicing the problems that vitally affect us and in making suggestions for their solution. That thinkers of such wide culture are to be found here and there in the remote provincial towns augurs well for the future of the country.

The collection of essays under review may be broadly divided into two groups, philosophical and literary. In both these groups the writer reveals a remarkably clear grasp of basic truths. His wide reading in the Vedanta and the Upanishads on the one hand, and the best poetry of modern Bengal on the other, and his power to apply the problems of philosophy and poetry to the facts of our moral and social life, mark him out as a practical thinker of no mean merit. Throughout

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these essays he shows an intimate acquaintance with the causes of our social ills, the hide-bound customs and traditional usages which have choked our freedom of thought and acted as a barrier to further progress, but what distinguishes his writing is the undercurrent of spiritual emphasis which runs through all the essays, so that we rise from their perusal refreshed and purified in body and mind, and with the biblical query rising like a a perpetual refrain in the innermost recesses of our mind; What shall it profit a man, if he gain the whole world, and lose his own soul?

Where there is so much that is of a high order of excellence, one word of caution may be permitted. The author is above everything, sane and level-headed and yet on occasions we come across a faint note of indiscriminate admiration of the glorious traditions of India's past which, in the minds of the less thoughtful and less well read sections of the community, may easily be turned into an attitude of selfcomplacent inactivity, shutting the doors of the mind to every current of fresh air that blows from the bracing climate of the West. Michael Modhusudan Dutt's preference for Indrajit to Rama in his famous epic has been ably interpreted, but our author is not happy till he is able to say that by accepting Meghnad as his hero the poet was only accentuating our ancient Indian ideal. In his able exposition of Rammohan Roy's life and work the author says that the Raja regarded the Veda as infallible and as the revealed word of God. We doubt if this was actually so, * and even if it were, it certainly called for a word of comment instead of being accepted with uncritical approval, for the writer himself observes that the Raja stood for all-round emancipation, which must include above everything, the emancipation of the mind. Again the writer is an ardent admirer of Ramkrishna, whom he calls *yugavatāra* or the Messiah of the modern age, and refers to his great work of religious synthesis and his profound message "Each religion is true—as many beliefs as there are paths". Now the science of comparative religion is responsible for the discovery of the generalisation that there is truth in every religion, but it is a far cry from this to the other generalisasation associated with the revered name of Ramkrishna that every religion is true. It is no doubt a fact that to a really earnest and devout seeker after God religious forms offer no insuperable barriers, and that the follower of every religion, by practising the highest lessons it preaches, may attain the *summum bonum*. But to characterise the facile tolerance which finds every religion to be true and makes no discrimination between the higher and the lower elements of which it is composed as a religious synthesis of supreme importance for the discovery of which the world had to await the advent of an *Avatar* is to lose sight of that sense of proportion which is so habitual with the author in everything else he writes. One would be bold indeed who could say that popular Hinduism, by absorbing all the cults and rituals of non-Aryan origin, has gained in worth in any real or vital sense. The writer has rightly enough, nothing but contempt for mere catchwords and shibboleths of Western origin. To be consistent, he should have the same contempt for catchwords of indigenous origin, and tread the middle path beloved of Lord Buddha, and pointed out in his *Heart of Aryavarta* by Lord Ronaldshay, whose activities on behalf of Indian philosophy the writer so admires, as the one which educated India should follow if she wants to make her own contribution to the civilization of the modern world.

We hope the present volume will be followed by other volumes of essays, replete with ripe wisdom, and revealing a deep culture and couched in language which the author knows how to make a worthy vehicle of his thoughts which the reader may peruse with equal pleasure and profit.

BOOK-LOVER

* Ram Mohun Roy did not believe in the infallibility of *any* scripture, Editor, *M. R.*

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RAJA RAMMOHAN RAYER GRANTHABALI, PRATHAM KHANDA:—*Published by Mr. H. C. Sarkar, M. A. Brahmo Samaj Centenary Committee. 210-6A Cornwallis Street, Calcutta.*

This is the first volume of the Bengali works of Raja Ram Mohun Roy, published on the occasion of the Centenary of the Brahmo Samaj. No student of Bengali literature can do without a perusal of Ram Mohun Roy's works. Those who wish to know all about the beginnings of the monotheistic movement and the social reform movement in India must also study his works. This first volume of his Bengali works contains the *Vedanta Grantha*, Sanskrit text and Bengali commentary; *Vedanta-Sara*, Sanskrit text and Bengali commentary; *Atmanatma-viveka* by Sankaracharya, Sanskrit text and Bengali commentary; the first chapter of *Vajrasuchi*, an ancient brochure by Mrityunjayacharya against caste, Sanskrit text and Bengali translation; and *Talavakara Upanishad*, Sanskrit text and Bengali rendering.

The volume is neatly printed on antique laid paper. The cloth binding with gilt letters is quite elegant.

R. C.

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SRI SRI DURGA: *By Umesh Chandra Chakrabartti. Published by Suresh Chandra Chakrabartti, 31-1 Ghose's Lane, Calcutta. Price Two annas.*

This illustrated booklet contains a compilation of Durga *Stabas* (prayers) written by eminent Bengali writers, viz. Bankim Chandra, Bharat Chandra and others. The author has also attempted to trace briefly the origin and development of the worship of Durga. This is a timely publication and we hope this little book will be widely read in Bengal.

P.

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SANSKRIT

THE NIGHANTU AND THE NIRUKTA—critically edited from original manuscripts: *By Lakshman Sarup, M.A. (Panj.), D. Phil. (Oxon.). Sanskrit text with an appendix showing the relation of the Nirukta with other Sanskrit works. Pp. 39+292.*

FRAGMENTS OF SKANDASVAMIN AND MAHESVARA ON THE NIRUKTA. Edited for the first time from

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original palm leaf and paper mss. with an introduction and critical notes : *By Lakshman Sarup. M.A. (Panj.), D. Phil. (Oxon.). Pp. 15+139.*

It is full seventy-five years since the great pioneer scholar Rudolph von Roth first published the Nirukta of Yāska in Germany and now we have this, one of the most important works in the whole Sanskrit literature, in the edition of Dr. Lakshman Sarup. A single glance at these two editions is sufficient to tell how the science of Indology has progressed during this period. Dr. Sarup's is a work which we as Indians may well be proud of. It is the result of the collation of 87 manuscripts—it is difficult to imagine what a strenuous labour it means. Roth, on the other hand, had to depend merely on 7 manuscripts. During all this period many editions of the Nirukta have appeared; yet it is not exaggeration to say that they have all been replaced by the present fully scientific edition furnished with all important variants given but facultatively by Roth.

Apart from the not very few typographical blunders, from which this edition too unfortunately is not free, the chief defect in Roth's edition seems to be the lack of punctuation marks which renders the simple language of Yāska quite unintelligible in many places. The text in Dr. Sarup's edition is fully punctuated and the perusal of a few pages in the two editions side by side will convince every reader, of the great improvement effected by Dr. Lakshman Sarup. This is the third volume of Dr. Sarup's works on the Nirukta. Instead of Roth's introduction which is a rambling disquisition about the Vedic literature—yet it must have been of great help in those days—we have now Dr. Sarup's valuable introductory volume; the texts have been already dealt with, and in the place of Roth's meagre "Erlaeutungen" we have now a complete translation of the Nirukta. It is true that Yāska's Sanskrit is not very difficult to follow, yet Yāska has his own peculiarities just as Patanjali's apparent simplicity soon proves to be deceptive—and these peculiarities could not have been easily understood without the help of one who is fully acquainted with the mysteries of Vedic philology ; this Dr. Sarup offers us through his valuable translation and notes.

In the first three volumes it may perhaps be said that Dr. Sarup has followed in the foot-steps of Roth; but in the fourth volume Dr. Sarup has given the lead. In this volume our author has published for the first time fragments of the commentary of Maheśvara-Skandasvāmin—the mysterious joint authors whose interrelation has very probably been rightly indicated by Dr. Sarup. It is interesting to note the summary way in which the author in his introduction has sent the commentator *Ugra* back to his pristine non-existence. This volume is also enriched by an appendix constituted by extracts from Skandasvamin's work in Devarājayajvan's well known commentary on the Nighantu. We offer our heartiest congratulations to the learned editor and recommend his book to all students of Sanskrit philology and Vedic lore.

Sākaṭāyana.

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HINDI

HINDUSTHANI SANGIT PRAVESIKA—*Parts I and II. By Mr. Murari Prasad, B. L., Advocate, High Court, Patna. Patna Law Report Press, Patna.*

The author has creditably supplied a great want and will be congratulated by all beginners of Hindusthani music. His primer is calculated to serve as a guide-book as regards both the theory and practice of music. The notations and their explanations are extremely helpful. The chapter on the various classes of Hindusthani music is informative.

ANARKALI—*By Umarao Sinha Karunik, B. A, Jnanprakas Mandir, Meerut.*

Translation of a Bengali story by Dr. Rabindranath Tagore.

AKSHARA-TATTVA—*By Mr. Gouri Shankar Bhatta, Maswanpur, Cawnpur.*

The 'geometrical' elements which go to the formation of the letters of the Devanagari alphabet are discussed and displayed with a number of diagrams.

KUNTI DEVI—*By Mr. Bhagawandas Kela, The Bharatiya-grantha-mala, Brindaban.*

The life sketch of a distinguished lady worker in the Prem Maha Vidyalay of Brindaban.

PUNARVIVAHA VIDHANA—*By Pandit Mata Sevak Pathak, Swadeshi Store, Sarsa. Dt. Allahabad.*

Remarriage of Hindu widows as approved of in the Sanskrit texts is the subject matter of this book. The author also repudiates early marriage.

RAMES BASU.

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MALAYALAM

PULAKAMKURAM—*By Nalappat Narayana Menon. Edited with introduction by C. P. Govinda Menon B. A. and L. T. Mangloodayam Press, Trichur. Pp. XXVI+51. Price as. 10.*

We had sometime ago the pleasure of commending in these pages, Mr. Nalappat Narayana Menon's beautiful poetical work entitled *Kannuirthulli*. Now we have before us another work of his. *Pulakamkuram*, containing ten short pieces of poetry, three of which are composed in the Sanskrit metres and the rest in the Dravidian. Some of the pieces written in the *Manjari* style in this little book have reminded us of certain songs of Tagore in the Crescent Moon and the Gitanjali. Mr. Nalappat's poems composed in the Sanskrit metres are equally elegant.

The printing and get-up of the book leave nothing to be desired. The lengthy remarks in the introduction regarding the poet's personal beauty, modesty and numerous other "qualities" might be felt as a burden by most of the readers!

GIRI-PRABHASHANAM—*By K. T. Lonappan. Bharatavilasam Press. Trichur. Price as 4.*

This is a very faithful translation of the "Sermon on the Mount" composed in the *Manjari* style. We congratulate the young poet on his venture.

SWATANTRYA-MARGAM : *By K. Velayudha Menon. Sahadara Press, Cochin. Pp. 78. Price as. 12.*

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This is one of the very few books in Malayalam which deal in detail with the conditions of labourers in India giviug full and up-to date statistics. Though one may not agree with the views of the author in all respects, the book as it is deserves very careful study. It contains also statements which are inaccurate ; for instance, on page 49, in the chapter on exploitation the average income of an Indian is recorded as 1 anna 6 pies *per year*. We hope this and other inaccuracies will not be overlooked in the next edition. The book is well got-up.

A Treatise On Textile Industries—*By C. Swaminath, L. T. M. (Bom.) Head Master, Govt: Industrial School, Cochin State. Published with the sanction of the Director of Public Instruction. Ramanuja Printing House Ltd. Trichur Pp. 212. Price Re. 1-4-0.*

We congratulate the author on his excellent production. There is no doubt that the book with the numerous illstrations it contains will be of great help to students who take up to weaving industry. We wish the author could have, however chosen a *Malayalam title* to his book which is written in Malayalam !

P. Anujan Achan

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MARATHI

Dr. Sir R. G. Bhandarkar (*a biography*): *By S. N. Karnataki, published by the author at 249 Raste Peth, Poona. Pages 438. Price Rs. 2-8.*

The late Dr. Sir R. G. Bhandarkar was a scholar of world-wide reputation. A keen intellect, a large heart, strong convictions, as well as his deep faith and unimpeachable character have left a deep impression on thousands of his pupils and others who were fortunate to come into contact with him. Mr. D. G. Vaidya of the *Subodha Patrika* has already given us a true picture of the religious side of Bhandarkar's life. But a biography dealing with all its aspects was badly needed, and that want is in a great measure supplied by Mr. Karnataki's book, which is thoroughly well-written and thoroughly interesting. One draw-back, however, must be mentioned here. It is the want of an Index, a want common to a very large number of Marathi books.

Bharatwarshiya Pracheen Aithasik Kosh or Dictionary of Indian antiquities : *By the late Raghunath Bhaskar Godbole. Published by the Chitrashala Press, Poona. Pages 448. Price Rs. Three.*

This is a mere reprint of the work published in 1876, when researches in Indian history had scarcely begun and the task of identification of countries, cities, mountains, rivers, etc., mentioned in old Sanskrit works was an extremely hard one. But no such excuse can be pleaded in these days, when the combined efforts of Western and Indian scholars have made available immense materials for such identification. For instance, now to say merely that who caught is a name of a province in India will hardly enrich the store of one's knowledge. It ought to be stated that it is the ancient name of the province which in later times came to be known as Magadha and now bears the title of Bihar. With this serious defect running throughout the work, the dictionary surely supplies a want which was being keenly felt for nearly a quarter of a century.

Vidyut-Swavalambana—*or self-help in Electricity by G. K. Date. Published at Vidyut Karyalaya, Magadha, Bombay, Price as. six.*

This brochure of 34 pages gives very useful hints to householders, who desire to have installed electric lights to illuminate their houses. The book is profusely illustrated.

V. G. APTE.

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ORIYA

The Ganjam Store of Berhampore (Ganjam) has recently published a good number of good books. Chanakya, one of the series of the Promode Bharati Granthamala by Iswar Saha is a book of about 250 pages. It is both illustrated and elaborated. The style is in keeping with the subject, virile and somewhat *Sanskritic*. The last annexure giving the code of morals of Chanaka is valuable for the reader to understand the historical situation of the country at that remote period and the policy necessitated by it. It is a splendid book.

Beer Bharat (*12 annas*) : *By Basudeb Mahapatra* one of the life-workers of the Satyabadi school of late Gopabandhu Das. Basu Babu is an acknowledged virile Oriya prose writer and nothing remains to be said against the subjects or style chosen by him. The various subjects such as Panna, Prithwiraj, Kusumkumari, Chanda's promise, etc, etc. will no doubt inspire youthful reader.

Naba Gitika or New Songs. It is a collection of national and devotional songs collected by Sarathi Sahu. Price twelve annas. Contains 156 pages.

Hindu Ramani, (*a drama*) : *By Sri Aswinikumar Ghosh M. A. one Rupee*).

Aswini Babu is a drama-writer of long standing and great fame. He has caught the staging side of the play very well. His pictures are, however, a little overdrawn. The style is moving and simple. But one defect in all his dramas is that he has freely introduced Bengali phrases into Oriya language. This should be guarded against in future.

Subhadra *By Dayanidhi Mishra B. A., L. T.* (*12 annas in prose, pp. 137*).

Dayanidhi Babu is a well-known writer of old historical characters. He excels in delineating the characters he handles. The illustrations are not bad.

The Oriya Sahitya Prachar Sangha wihch is popularising lives of eminent people of India and outside has also been at times publishing books like Prabandha Prakash that is before us. The author, Professor Ratnakar Pati, M. A. of the Ravenshaw College is a Professor of philosophy. The essays he has written were written at different times as magazine articles. Philosophy has been naturally woven into his writings. The style is rather involved. The essays are thoughtfully written but the ideas do not grip the mind, they are not so clear. The subjects chosen are also responsible for the style and thought to some extent.

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The Utkal Sahitya Samaj has published a Navva called RASALAHARI (price 12 annas) written by Maharaja Raghunath Bhanj of Mayurbhanj (1728-1750) in the old style of *Chhanda* and *Raga*. Page 138. The beginning is rather done with much effort, the latter *chhandas* are rather unaffected. There is no peculiar merit in this book except that historically it has a place as it comes after Upendra Bhanja and from the pen of a Raja. The preface written to this book by Srijut Sashibhusan Ray, Secretary of the Utkal Sahitya Samaj, is worth reading.

ANTAR LIFE: *By Samanta Sri Narasingha Pattanayak.*

The book contains talk between the lover and the loved (Nayak and Nayika). Each poem again supplies the main thought of that poem from the first letters of each line. As an artistic piece, the poems deserve some credit.

PILA GITA: *By Bidyadhar Mahanti.*

A small book of poems meant for recital by children. Some of the sentiments are nice. Price six pice.

AME JANE: *By Bidyadhar Mahanti.*

It contains some satarical and ironical poems, in no way inferior to D. L. Roy's in *Kalki Abatar*. Price two annas.

L. N. SAHU.

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GUJARATI

NEW BAL POTHI: *By Kanji Kahdai Joshi.*

This is a text book for little children who are beginners in education. It is designed by an experienced teacher.

RUBAIYAT-E-OMAR KHAYYAM: *By D. N. Patel. Printed at the Allen Press, Bombay. Paper cover, pp. 25. (1927).*

This is a translation in Gujarati of the Quatrains of Omar Khayyam, as that peculiar vogue of versification called *Belbaji* which distinguished Parsi writers of the old school.

A CLARION CALL TO CASTES (*Jnatione Padkar*): *By Nanji Lalji Parmar. Printed at the Dharma Vijaya Sloan Printing Press, Limbdi. Cloth bound, Pp. 128. Price Re. 1-4-0. (1927).*

The writer wants to preserve castes and not uproot them. With that view he has written this book in which he offers suggestions in animated and feeling language as to how to destroy those evils which have crept in and made them engines of oppressions instead of means of happiness.

A FEW SCATTERED FLOWERS: *By Jayendrarao Bhagvaneal Durkal, M.A. Printed at the Jnan Mandir Printing Press, Ahmedabad. Cloth bound, Pp. 194. Price Re. 1-4-0. (1927).*

The author is the Professor of Gujarati and English Literature in the Arts College at Surat, and has naturally to do a lot of thinking and observation. The result of both the processes is this book, which is a collection of his original writings on various literary and social subjects. They are all well presented and would repay perusal.

AKHO (*a play*): *By Chandravadan C. Mehta, B.A.* The life of this gold-smith metaphysician and poet of mediaeval Gujarat was never dramatised before. That has now been effectively done and the play successfully staged through the fashion of the author.

TWO AKHYANS: *By Gojendrasankar L. Pandya, M.A., B.T. Lecturer, Gujarat College, Ahmedabad. Printed at the Aditya Printing Press, Ahmedabad. Paper cover. Pp. 155. Price Re. 0-14-0, (1927).*

Vallabh, a well-known poet of Gujarat was distinguished as a "Thunderer". Mr. Pandya has a soft corner for him and has written out a play with him as his hero and called it Vallabh-Garjanakhyan. The other Akhyan is called Gurjari Prasannakhyan, and is written in the vogue of old Gujarati writers. They are both readable performances.

K. M. J.

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URDU

ZIKR-E-MIR (Persian). *With a Foreward by Maulvi Abdul Haque. B. A. Pp. 153+XX. Price Rs. 2. Publisher Anjuman Taraqqi Urdu, Aurangabad Deccan.*

Mir Taqi *Mir* is the acknowledged father of Urdu poetry. This is his auto-biography written in an admirable style, and published for the first time after an oblivion of a century, and a half with a very able and interesting foreword by Maulvi Abdul Haque. Copious foot-notes and a detailed table of contents are useful additions.

HAMARI SHACRI *By Syed Masud Hasan M. A. Lecturer Lucknow University. Pp. VIII+60+124. Price Re 1. Publisher—Anjuman Taraqqi Urdu Aurangabad, Deccan.*

The book may fittingly be described as an apology for Urdu poetry. Urdu poets and poetry have long been a target of ugly criticism and ridicule by the "western educated" Indians. A number of changes has been brought against Urdu poetry under the following main heads,—that it is unnatural, that it is immoral, and that it is narrow and barren, and the whole of it has been condemned outright. The author takes all such changes one by one and with a masterly analysis worthy of an eminent lawyer ruthlessly exposes the hollowness of these silly changes and smashes them once for all each and every one of them. His reasoning is sound throughout and his style is simply entertaining. Not a trace of bitterness, and yet his exposure of his opponents is merciless. His discourses on the nature of poetry, the proper value of poetry and the merits of Urdu poetry as distinguished from those of English poetry are illuminating. The author has done a distinct service to the Oriental literature and has admirably filled a long-felt want. The book supplements at a very opportune moment the great Hali's great *Muqaddama* and no one interested in Urdu or Oriental literature ought to miss reading it.

NABUTAT AUR NABATI KHOOREK: *By Mr. Mohan Lal Sethi M. Sc. Lecturer Botany. Govt. College Lahore, Pp. 304. Illustrated. Price not given, Publisher: The Punjab Central Publishing House, Lahore.*

An interesting treatise written in a simple style and as far non-technical as possible on plant life. His chapters on the evidences of plant life, seeds, fruits, flowers, manures, vegetables, vitamins, bacteria diseases of plants &c. Contains useful information about agriculture and horticulture. Can be used as a good hand book both by the student and the layman.

A. M.

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"MOTHER INDIA OR FATHER INDIA?"

A German Criticism on Miss Mayo's Book

Translation with Note by S. P. RAJU, B. A., B. E., A. M. I. E.

[*Note.* Under the title "*Mutter Indien—oder Vater Indien?*" (Mother India or Father India?) has appeared a criticism of Miss Mayo's Book in some German papers, a translation of which I am giving below, as it would be of interest to readers in India, especially in view of the alleged attempt of the authoress to bring out a German edition of her book. The article has been published among other papers in the Literary Supplement of the "*Reichspost*" in Vienna, and the "*Ostasiatische Rundschau*" (East Asiatic Review, in Hamburg. The latter is a periodical published in combination by the "*Verband fur den Fernen Osten*" (Union for the Far East) in Berlin, "*Ostasiatischer Verein Hamburg-Bremen*" (East Asiatic Association Hamburg-Bremen) in Hamburg, and the "*Deutsch-Ostasiatischer Klub*" (German-East Asiatic Club) in Leipzig; associations that interest themselves among other things with the cultural problems of the East, and as such supposed to give a lead to the intelligent public opinion in the country in matters pertaining to the Orient.

The writer of the article, Prof. Dr. J. B. Aufhauser, is a German Professor of Philosophy and Comparative Religion in the University of Munich, who toured in most parts of India last winter, visiting the Poet Tagore and his School in Shantiniketan. This year also he has already left Germany for Sumatra, Java, Australia, etc., and circumstances permitting, he hopes to acquaint himself with the other parts of India, that he could not see in his last journey.]

Translation

It was evening in the middle of November after a fearful tropical thunderstorm, as I waited in the Refreshment Room of Madura Railway Station (South India) for the night train to Trichinopoly, when two Indians of high caste joined me, and very soon we fell into a lively conversation about the situation in India from the European and the Indian points of view. "What do you think of that book, 'Mother India,' by Miss Katherine Mayo?" asked one of them, a distinguished advocate of the city. At that time I did not know of the publication of this book, and had the contents related to me. I could quite understand that both the gentlemen, one a Hindu lawyer and the other a Christian (Protestant) were greatly excited about it. At the earliest opportunity I bought a copy of the American illustrated edition of the book. The edition circulated in India, as I was told, represented a certain amount of toning down in many places. In view of the great interest that many sections of the German cultured Society take in Indian affairs in relation to the evolution of world politics of the present day, a short description of the nature of "Mother India" may perhaps be desirable.

In one word: Miss Mayo's work is a book with a politico-cultural purpose. Based on a painting of the land in the darkest possible colours, the proof is said to be made out, that India, i.e. its peoples and its tribes, on account of the cultural, sanitary, social and economical conditions of the land, are not in the least ripe for self-government, nay more, on account of the hygienic disparities form a sort of world-danger, against which perhaps even the League of Nations had to be invoked. The authoress, at whose disposal the India Office in London, and the official Anglo-Indian offices in India placed their materials, was warned by these offices not to generalise from special observations (Cf. Page 13). But she did not unfortunately stick to this well-meant advice. Some of her own personal observations during a winter sojourn of five months from North India up to Madras (1925-26), communications and opinions from official or friendly British or Anglo-Indian side, utterances of leading Indians taken out of their context*, or facts collected from newspaper articles, in hospitals or law-courts, make the American lady-tourist draw a one-sided,

*Among others Gandhi and Tagore also protest against the distortion of their statements.

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dark and therefore an untrue and unjust picture of the Indian people, their civilisation, their spiritual culture and their social and economic conditions. True, many of the evils censured in the book are facts, and were known for a long time; and this book brings hardly any new observations. Only never before were they described in such a wickedly generalized way, as if it were meant to be a public showing up of a whole people in glaring colours by a mountebank with so much of journalistic advertisement for wide circulation. Sometimes one asks one's self involuntarily, "How is it then at all possible, that this nation, i.e., the Indian races, represented as physically degenerate, morally depraved and economically unproductive, could for 5000 years continually keep itself vigorous, especially when in addition to this such bad sanitary conditions prevail?" Miss Mayo has unfortunately failed to get into personal touch with the actual reformers, or the Social Reform Associations of Indian men and women, or with Societies, which long before she herself went there, have been insisting upon the removal of those social and sanitary evils. Even today educated Indians admit that much of what is said in the book is founded upon facts. But gross exaggeration and generalization paint these things in an unheard of fashion, and distort the whole of Indian culture into something coarse. In the whole of the book there is practically no word said, that is favourable to the Indian people. The picture drawn by it shows only the dark side and not the bright. The dedication "To the People of India" (See Book) is supposed to indicate that a "sincere friend" wishes to do something good to the country. But in reality is this people with its ancient culture only calumniated and degraded indiscriminately in the eyes of the English and American reading public. But educated leaders of India like Gandhi among others, above all ill-temper and ill-will, hold this book before their people today as a mirror of their practices for the improvement of many social and hygienic shortcomings.

The book deals with the actual problems that are at present greatly discussed by the social reformers in India: the child and early marriages (e. g. the Census of 1911 showed 9,077,627 married and 335,015 widowed girls from 0 to 15 years of age, and in ages from 10 to 15 years 13 p. c. of the boys and 40 p. c. of the girls, and in ages from 15 to 20 years 32 p. c. of young men and 80 p. c. of young women married), the problem of the widows (the Census of 1921 numbered 26,834 838 widows out of a total female population of about 152.6 millions) with all their alleged suffering, the impossibility of remarriage in orthodox circles, maternity in India with its grave hygienic evils, the life of the woman in zenana, the strictly closed apartments of women, temple prostitution in the provinces of Madras and Orissa, the question of caste, especially the lot of the 60 million despised outcastes (Panchamas). In addition to these cultural questions are discussed also the economic problems: e. g., the unprofitableness of Indian cattle-breeding (out of 146,055,859 oxen and sacred cows about 50 p. c. are agriculturally unprofitable), the exploitation of land by cotton, wheat and tea culture, industrial and money problems, the national movement, the exploitation of the land by English industrial concerns through railway and other undertakings under English hands, the English army of occupation and civil service, relation between Hindus and Mohammedans, Pax Brittanica, Anglo-Indian Reforms, and finally sanitary and health problems; epedemics like malaria, plague, cholera, smallpox as a kind of world danger, especially on account of the unhealthy conditions in the sacred rivers, wells and ponds, when they are visited by hundreds of thousands of pilgrims; sacred cities like Benares have only primitive drainage systems, and so on.

To the reader to whom in the beginning (page 13) is given the picture of young consumptive Indian students pouring over bolshevistic literature and gruesome repellant religious practices in Kali Temple in Calcutta, it remains quite a puzzle, how a people so degenerated, and physically and morally so sunk as Miss Mayo has described here (pages 16f, 24f, 56ff, 102ff, 201ff, etc) could live for hundreds, nay, thousands of years under such primitive hygienic conditions, and revive themselves again and again. Whoever accepts uncritically the picture given here, will, on account of the sanitary and economical conditions prevailing apparently as the effect of partial autonomy already granted to the Provinces, refuse an extension of the self-government demanded by the Indians. India is, so Miss Mayo wishes to prove, not in the least ripe at present for self-government.

Certainly he who travels in India without

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taking the trouble to enter into the Indian mind and into Indian conditions without any prejudice at least, if not with sympathy, lacks the necessary independent view for an impartial judgment. He who looks at Indian conditions with European and American standards will and must judge harshly and unjustly. In spite of many failings the mixed variety of Indian life appears on real examination to have advantage in many respects over the attempt at making the world uniform, that is so much yearned for by the American lady tourist. Take the life of the Indian woman itself. For millions today is Sita the ideal wife, who has given herself up to her husband in indissoluble marriage and devoted loyalty. What a sharp contrast to it are the matrimonial confusions of America and Europe! The inexhaustible physical fertility of Indians makes us always wonder how the people there without the development of modern hygiene, without modern education, and without woman's emancipation have for thousands of years revived themselves and not lost their vitality in their struggle for existence. The selection of nature has certainly demanded the early death of many new born ones and weaklings, but has always given the survivors fresh vitality.

An enormous number of protests have been raised against Miss Mayo's book in the Indian newspapers and periodicals of all kinds and shades of opinion, not only from Indian communities but also from leading individuals. It was not at all difficult in one reply* to emphasize that even the writers of the Far-East after travelling in the West could paint a dark picture of the European and American state of affairs. The author of the rejoinder throws light on the above-mentioned problems from the Indian point of view, and gives for comparison effective illucidation of and parallel information about American conditions based on a statements made by qualified Americans themselves. From the descriptions given there Miss Mayo will feel at any rate that she has been paid back in her own coin.

From the point of view of cultural exchange between the East and the West, or the bridging of the differences, or even the influencing of India through the Christian religion of the West, Miss Mayo's book is still more regrettable. She increases the aversion of Indians, already strong enough as it is, against the efforts of Christianity to displace or reform their own ancient Hindu religion, which offers wide scope for every religious sentiment. It is probable that the American missionaries in the first place may experience a certain amount of passive resistance. Sometimes at any rate during my visits to temples or sacred places the indignation of the Brahmans against Miss Mayo's descriptions was expressed to me. Injustice whether against an individual or a nation always produces bitterness.

* C. S. Ranga Iyer, Father India, a reply to 'Mother India'.

RAM MOHUN ROY, THE DEVOTEE

By PROF. DHIRENDRANATH CHOWDHURI, VEDANTAVAGIS

MANY brochures and booklets are published, lectures, and addresses delivered every year on Raja Ram Mohun Roy depicting him as a great man, a versatile genius—a pioneer and tribune, a patriarch, a rishi and prophet, a universal man, nay, even a hierophant moralising from the Eiffel-tower of the world's progress on the far-reaching vistas of human civilization. All this is very true, not a single epithet is misapplied to Ram Mohun. But they do not indicate the source from which his greatness springs. The source is Ram Mohun's *Brahmo Sadhana*. Above all, the Raja was a *sadhhaka*, a Bhakta, a Psalmist. The Raja appears different from all Sadhakas, so called, not because he was less a Sadhaka, but because he refused to cut himself off from all human interests as has been the wont of the "Sadhakas" all over the world in all times, our own not excluded. The Raja was cast in nature's regal mould not

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only spiritually but physically also. His personality was not deficient in the emotional element; but his physical frame was immune to all attacks hysteric natures are liable to. It is because of this that Ram Mohun as a *tapasvin* does not so much impress the popular mind. Moreover, his earlier preparatory stages are never brought out in the ordinary delineation of the Raja's career.

In his early life the Raja was eager to adopt *sannyasa* from taking which step he was prevented by his mother. In his early boyhood he prepared bricks with the mystic syllable (*om*) imprinted on them and built a *vedi* (platform) with them on which he sat hours together in practising spiritual exercises. The austerities he had practised before he hurled himself headlong into the Titanic activities of the modern life will compare not unfavourably with those of the reputed *sadhaks* of old. Ram Mohun denied himself the luxury of the reputation of a medieval saint, though his *sadhana* was none the less exacting. This peer of Benthams and Voltaires was also the associate of *Rishis* and *Tapasvis*. His Biographers inform us that the Raja performed *purascharana* not once or twice, but twenty-two times, while a single performance means practice of austerity of the severest type for months together. *Purascharanas*, as enjoined in the puranas and tantras, are of different kinds. Ram Mohun, who later in life severely condemned some phases of tantric worship and described them as "horrible tantric practices", himself began as a tantric *Brahmajnani*. And it could not have been otherwise. In those days if *Brahmasadhan* was to be met with among any people in Bengal, it was surely among certain sects of *Vaidantrikas*. And he tactfully managed to bring down Hariharananda Tirthaswami from Benares to be initiated by him. It may be presumed that Ram Mohun began with the Vaishnavic form, as his family on the father's side belonged to the Vaisnava fold. But gradually he transferred his allegiance to the tantric cult. So far as the central idea is concerned, there is very litle difference to be noticed among the *sastras*, differences arise as they go into details. The main point in a *purascharana* is to take a *mantra* the name of a God or an attribute of God for mental repetition and to concentrate the mind on the name in such a way that at every repetition the thing connoted by the name may be perceived as present. If there is no perception, no mere recollection of the name is ceremonially valid. And one invalid recollection will mar the whole performance.

The devotee must rise early, and, taking his seat as the sun rises, he must go on mentally repeating the *mantra* in this way till the sun reaches the zenith. During this whole period he must not allow his attention to be diverted to anything else. If he does, the whole thing is marred and counts for nothing. He is to begin anew. Until the whole course is finished, the devotee is required to observe twelve austerities, prominent among them being the vow of silence, sleeping on the ground without a bed and *Brahmacharya* properly so called. In this way he will have to complete the prescribed number of the repetition of the name. And the prescribed number is ten, twenty or thirty thousand, culminating in thirty-two thousand of the Mahanirvan Tantra, which dispenses with the restriction of time and place as well as of eating and drinking but promises immediate deliverance.

Anti-idolatrous monotheist as he was, Ram Mohun could not take kindly to the Bengal Vaishnava cult. But his sympathies were all with the Sufis, in whom is found the synthesis of the Theosophy of the Upanishads and the ecstatic Bhakti of the Vaisnavas. Ram Mohan found strange corroboration of the *purascharana* from them. Such a practice was in vogue among them with all its paraphernalia—repetition of the name, austerities, and all. The name is to be repeated till the word ceases to be uttered and thought comes to a standstill. This is called *Dhakr* among the Sufis. However, this repeated performance of *purascharana,* and Ram Mohun did this twenty-two times, requiring a high degree of concentration of mind on a single point, technically called *abhyasa,* helped Ram Mohun in no small degree to prepare for *Atmasakshatkar* and *Brahmasamadhi*, in which, later in life, the Raja would be frequently found absorbed, all his distractions notwithstanding. Lesser minds retire from the world, thereby drawing the eyes of all on them, in order to be able to engage themselves in devotions, but Ram Mohun found room for *Samadhi* even in the midst of multifarious distractions of a supremely active life. For the Raja *Samadhi* is not an abnormal physiological change of the body that can be effected at will, not unconsciousness generated as in sound sleep but the highly

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spiritual culture of perceiving Brahman in *all* and the habit of surrendering the self to the higher Self. *Atmasakshatkar* to him was not to deny the existence of the world and turn a deaf ear to the claims of humanity as illusion, but to perceive God in every bit of preception, in the *prapancha*. He could attain *Brahmi-Stithi* as soon as he desired it. It was not necessary for him to retire to the wilderness for the purpose. This fact, so challenging in the life of the Raja, is explicable only on the supposition that Ram Mohun was pre-eminently a *Sadhaka*. And the best that all these *Sadhanas* gave to his mind he retained to the end of his life. He never meant to die in harness, but entertained the fond hope that, after all his feverish activities had ceased, he would retire from public life with Hafez and Rumi for his companions. This is most significant. A Vedantist in every pulse of his being, Ram Mohun failed not to perceive that the Upanishads were not sufficient to satisfy the Bhakti hankerings of the soul, nor was he able to side with the Bhakti cult of Bengal, as we have already pointed out. But the needs of Bhakti would be met by the Sufis, as he hoped. That hope was not to be realised in this mundane existence. He departed this life before his desire was fulfilled. But by the endeavours after the life spiritual as it was permitted him to undergo and realise in his individual experience, he has left us pregnant hints for the cultivation of that mystic life of the soul which for a hundred years the Brahma Samaj has sought and striven after.

Leaves of India

Ever since the holding of the first Exhibition of Modern Indian Painters in Paris in 1911 the French people are exploring the different departments of cultural activities on contemporary India. From Painting to Literature was a natural transition in this spirit of discovery innate in the French mind. Rabindranath Tagore through the transition of his Gitanjali by the famous French Poet Andre Gide, opened a new channel of aesthetic realisation and his actual visit to France intensified this movement of Franco-Indian *rapprochement*. A group of his admirers gathered round him in Paris during his second visit in 1920 and started a most fruitful line of collaboration. The Society of the Friends of the Orient (Amis de l'Orient, housed in their famous Oriental Museum of Paris, Musee Guimet, the Publishing House of Bossard, and the group of Pacifists and Internationalists led by the great French writer Romain Rolland, all helped, each in its own way to create a genuine interest in India of today. Andree Karpeles is a notable figure in this group and her ardent artistic sympathy forced her to visit India and spend sometime in Santiniketan. That direct contact with the creative artists of modern India, made her discover the fact that India was not simply a dead specimen in the museum of Past history but a living growing creative entity. She started publising a series of delightful books on the art, myths and legends of India and Ceylon in the Bossard series and when she found a worthy partner of her life in Mr. Hogman who shared her ideals and aspirations, the husband and wife started a series named Chitra Publications of which *India and her Soul* is the first volume. With touching devotion she has decorated it with 40 of her exquisite wood carvings, and the book is printed with as much taste as it is prepared with rare judgment in selection. Opening with a short yet profound message from Mahatma Gandhi the book shows in succession a series of papers, poems, songs, short-stories etc. that will certainly open the eyes of many Europeans as to the creative output of India's men and women. Rabindranath's "An Eastern University" and "The Meaning of Art" is followed by Sir J. C. Bose's "Unity of Life's Mechanism." and Abanindranath Tagore's delightful study on the "Chanch" designs of Bengal. There is a series of interesting papers by Arthur Geddes on the songs of Tagore (some with notations transcribed by the author while in Santiniketan). The famous novel Srikanta of Sarat Chandra Chatterjee finds an honoured place, with a remarkable descriptive passage translated by that passionate friend of Indian lore and life—Madeleine Rolland, the talented sister of Romain Rolland. She had further contributed a wonderfully faithful and brilliant translation of Santa Devi's "Ugly Bride" which even in the French garb looks as fresh as the Bengali original. Women writers and thinkers find a good place in this anthology of Indian thought. Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, Sarala Devi, Indira Devi, Anindita Devi, and others form a brilliant group not forgetting Sister Nivedita of holy memory who gave her all to Mother India revealed to her by her master Vivekananda. Of art critics Havell and Coomaraswamy are represented by short yet pregnant papers and there is a thoughtful and informing essay by Mr. K. M. Panikkar on the "Religious Movements of Medieval India."

When we consider that all these fragments had to be artistically rendered into French before being published—we cannot but be grateful to these far off Friends of India in France, who are devoting so much of their time and energy to vindicate the claims of the Indian people in the family (if not in the League) of Nations. We accord our best thanks to the organiser of this work and recommend the book to all interested in Indian culture and oriental renaissance. K. N.

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Rabindranath's Message

The Star official organ of the Order of the Star prints the facsimile of a message from Rabindranath:

Thy heart goes out to all those of whatever faith who are eagerly waiting for the dawn of a new age amid the darkness that overhangs the world of humanity today. Therefore, I send my greetings across the dark to those who have gathered to welcome the light.

Madras
May 18
1928

Rabindranath Tagore

—

Rabindranath on Baul Songs

Rabindranath contributes at illuminating Introdution to a collection of Baul songs by Md. Mansuruddin, which has been published in the July issue of the *Visva-Bharati* Quarterly. The poet begins by saying.

I still remember how, when I was young, I first heard a Baul, from the countryside near about Shelidah, singing in Calcutta to the accompaniment of his one-stringed instrument (the *ektara*):

Ah, where am I to find Him,
the Man of my heart ?
Alas, since I lost Him,
I wander in search of Him
thro' lands near and far.

The words are very simple, but, lit up by the tune, their meaning was revealed to me with a clarity unfelt before. The same message was declared of old in the words of the Upanishad :

Tam vedyam purusham veda,
Ma vo mrityuh parivyathah.

Seek thou to know Him who is to be known, else shall the agony of death be thine.

I then heard afresh, from one devoid of all learning, in his naive words, to his rustic tune that same message : *He who is above all to be known, above all is the sorrow of knowing Him not.* In the voice of this Baul was the cry of a child that in the darkness cannot see its mother. When the *antaratara yadayamatma* (the innermost Spirit of our being) of the Upanishads found utterance in his words as *the Man of the heart*, it came on me with a shock of glad surprise.

Long afterwards, I have come across, in Kshitimohan Sen's priceless collection, wonderful Baul songs which, in the simplicity of their words, the depth of their thoughts, the penetrating poignancy of their tunes, are beyond compare as a blend of wisdom, poetry and devotion. I doubt whether the folk-lore of any other part of the world can yield anything so unique.

Then he traces the causes of antagonism between the Moslem foreigners and the people of the country.

The Moslem foreigners, who came sword in hand, made it difficult for the people of the country to commingle with them. The primary antagonism was due to property, inasmuch as it was concerned with rival claims to the ownership or enjoyment of the country's wealth. This is inevitable when the ruler of a country is a foreigner. During Moslem rule, however, this was gradually decreasing, because the conquerors had adopted the country as their own, and consequently, in the matter of its enjoyment had become co-partners with us. Moreover, the greater part of the Musalman population of Bengal being Moslem only by religion, but Hindu by blood, they could claim an equal moral right to such partnership.

But amidst these differences and antagonisms arose great souls from amongst both communities.

Much more bitter was the antagonism, due to differences of religious creed and observance, that still remained. Nevertheless, from the very beginning of Moslem domination, great souls arose from amongst both communities who by their life and their teaching endeavoured to reconcile these differences. The more difficult appeared the problem, the more wonderful was the way they rose superior to it ; for thus does God evoke the best in man by the rigour of the ordeal. We have repeatedly witnessed the manifestation of the Highest through successive periods of India's history, and we may surely hope that its working has not yet come to an end.

In the souls where the divergent streams of Hinduism and Islam found their confluence, there were formed permanent centres of pilgrimage for the Indian mind. These sacred centres are not limited by space or time, but are established in the everlasting. Such pilgrimages are to be found in the lives of Ramananda, Kabir, Dadu, Ravidas, Nanak and so many others. In them all differences and antagonisms, all the multitudinous clashes of variety, are found resolved in their united acclamations of the victory of the One.

Those of our countrymen who take pride in their modern education, are busy in search of devices for the bringing together of Hindu and Moslem ; for they have learnt their history lessons in a foreign school. The real history of our country has, however, always borne its message of unity in the deepest Truth lying in the inmost

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recess of its heart, not in any vehicle of expediency or necessity. Among the Bauls we see the fruit of such endeavour, in a culture that was alike Hindu and Musalman,—in which they came together, but did not hurt each other. This union of theirs did not give rise to platforms of public speech-making, but evoked songs of untutored sweetness in language and melody. In such uniting of the voices of Hindu and Moslem, there was no discord between Koran and Puran. In that union was manifest the true Spirit of India,—not in the barbarism of the latter-day communal rivalry. In the Baul songs we may see how, outside the ken of the modern schoolmaster or college professor, the inspiration of India's higher culture was at work, clearing a common ground on which both Hindu and Moslem could take their stand.

That is why I appreciate so highly the work that is being done by Md. Mansuruddin in gathering and publishing these songs,—not for their literary excellence, but in the hope that in them we may gain glimpses of the way in which the better mind of humanity has striven to express itself through the despised masses of our motherland.

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The Jaipur Administration

The Feudatory and Zemindari India for August enumerates the following amongst others' grievances of the Jaipur State subjects.

The most important grievance is increasing cost of administration due to modernising process and Importation of *Ghair Mulkis* into the civil service of the State. The people however do not seem to have reconciled themselves to the present minority administration there. At any rate we are obliged to infer that there is something wrong in the State as an open letter is addressed to the Viceroy on behalf of the citizens of Jaipur. It is stated that the real wants of the people have been ignored that the State subjects have not been given their due share in the administration and that the different departments have been made top-heavy with imported Officers.

—

New Constitution for Ceylon

In the course of an informative article in *the Indian Review* for August Mr. St. Nihal Sing sketches some of the main features of the recommendations of the Donoughmore Commission as follows :

In four respects, the recommendations made by the Commission presided over by the Earl of Donoughmore for the reform of the Ceylon Constitutien are epoch-making in the British Orient.

Firstly, they recognize that the possession of the franchise by certain communities upon a religious or racial basis is vicious in principle and disruptive in effect; and must therefore, be abolished.

Secondly, they abandon that supercilious attitude which inclines many Britons and other Westerners to look upon the unlettered millions of the East as ignorant and, therefore, unqualified to discharge any political function, and have refrained from imposing any literacy test.

Thirdly, they have risen superior to the prejudice that actuates certain constitution-makers to limit the exercise of the franchise to persons possessing a certain minimum of income or property; and have asked for the abolition of all such qualifications prescribed by the Order-in-Council at present in operation.

Fourthly, they have not tried to evade the responsibility of deciding the question of granting the francise to women. Counsels of timidity have so far prevailed in that respect among those Britons who were assigned the task of reforming the constitutions of the Oriental units of the British Empire; and they have, without a single exception, followed the line of least resistance, and left the issue to be settled by Orientals, to whom, however, they refused to allot self determination in any other sphere.

—

Indian Education

Mr. K. S. Ramaswami Sastri apprehends in *the Indian Educator* for August that India's vitality of racial and cultural life is threatened from without and from within. If Indian Education is to be a successful defender of Indian culture, he says :

Our schools and colleges and universities must be in rural surroundings. Only then will there spring into existence again intensive thought and simple life in pure and lawful union. India has to remain largely an agricultural nation served by cottage industries and decorated by handicrafts and arts. Such higher culture must be based on *Bramacharya*. It must be through the medium of our languages. It must at the same time be modern and national. It must enable us to realise how India is the Karma Bhumi, the Bhoga Bhumi and Punya Bhumi. Our boys and girls must be trained and taught to become modern without losing Indianness and to retain and glory in their Indianness without falling back in the modern race for wealth and power and glory.

—

Agricultural Research in Universities

Dr. Nares Chandra Sen Gupta, M.A., D.L., criticises the different aspects of the voluminous Report of the Royal Commission on Indian Agriculture in the July-September issue of *the Bengal Co-operative Journal*. With regard to agricultural research and instruction in our Universities the writer observes.

The Commission observe that very little attention has been paid by the Universities to agricultural research and instruction. They have not investigated the fact any further. If they

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had, they would have found that this fact has a history behind it and that it was determined to a large extent by social and economic considerations and the futility under the present conditions of higher agricultural education. They would also have found that when efforts were made by some Universities to make some advance in this direction they not only failed to secure the sympathy of the Government but met with positive discouragement and obstruction from the agricultural department. The records of the Dacca University, for instance, would have given the Commission some idea of the reasons for this efficiency on the part of the University.

But as I have indicated above, the promotion of research and a better endowment of the department are far from being the primary needs of agriculture at the present moment. Agricultural research, to be fruitful, requires what we sorely lack at the present moment—an economic organisation of the industry. A considerable transformation of the land system and the reconstruction of agriculture on the most up-to-date scientific lines would be necessary before the agriculturist can be really benefited by an elaborate scheme of agricultural research. In dealing with these problems the Commission was no doubt somewhat handicapped by the limited scope of its terms of reference. But in respect of the problems it was competent under the terms of reference to deal with, it has produced a most inadequate and unsatisfying report.

—

The Nature of Intelligence

Dr. A. S. Woodburne writes in *the Indian Ladies' Magazine* for August.

In the earlier days of mental testing, one of the criticisms that was levelled against the procedure was that we could not know what was being tested. We were working in the dark, and how could one measure something, the nature of which was unknown? The German phychologist Stern, gave the well-known answer that we measure electricity and pay our electric current bills, in spite of ignorance as to the real nature of electricity. Analogously, though we cannot define intelligence with the precision that we would like, we have learned a good deal about its functions, and many tests of intelligence have been devised. Not only so, but intelligence testing has enabled us to formulate a certain number of inductions, whereby our knowledge of the nature of intelligence is broadened.

It is hardly necessary to point out the complex character of intelligence. It is not only true that it involves abilities to do several different kinds of things but it is also true that the combinations of abilities in different subjects, whom we classify as intelligent, are different. Much argument has been devoted to the problem as to whether intelligence is general or specific. Is it a sort of reservoir into which we try to dip our testing vessels on successive occasions? Or is it a system of many strands from which we attempt to extract samples time after time? Some psychologists insist that the tests are methods of sampling specific abilities, that vary in different subjects. Others warn us that the theory of specific abilities smacks rather of the defunct faculty, psychology. If we remember our first observation, and guard against using the word too loosely as a substantive, much of the difficulty will be obviated.

One thing is quite obvious: No one test has been devised that is adequate, and most psychologists believe that none can be devised. The variety of human reactions is so great, and the possibilities for intelligent responses so wide, that many tests have to be used. The only way to discover whether a subject can respond intelligently to a given situation is to give him the opportunity of of making that type of response. The tests succeed in so far as they typify the various possible reactions.

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Banks vs. Insurance Companies

We read in *The Indian Insurance* for September.

It has been the bitter experience of the Indian people that whenever they show restlessness to get freedom, vested interests at once get busy and do their best (in many cases successfully) to thwart such attempts. This has been prominently brought out in the 1919 Reforms and in the present constitution of what is known as the "Simon Commission." This of course refers to the political domination of this country.

When we come to consider the industrial and economic condition of this country, here again the experience of every Indian business-man has been that he has always encountered not only difficulties but positive opposition from vested interests. Taking a concrete case, the general insurance companies of India are trying, against great odds, to build a steady business. In all countries outside India, banks and insurance companies are working side by side as one cannot exist without the other. It is only in India that banks not only do not co-operate with Indian insurance companies, but deliberately discourage their customers from taking out policies from Indian insurance companies. Merchants have necessarily to go to banks for accommodation. Money is advanced both on goods stored in a warehouse and on goods exported from this country. In both cases, insurance policies are required against fire and against the perils of the sea. These policies have to be assigned to the banks as collateral. It has been the experience of some of the Indian insurance companies that when their policies were handed over by parties, non-Indian banks have either refused to accept them or have in many instances given hints to the customer that all future policies should be taken from British companies. Whenever the matter was taken up with the bank direct, the invariable reply given had been that this was being done under instructions from Head Office. The banks do not evidently realise—probably do not care to realise—what a great deal of harm—perhaps unwittingly—their attitude is doing to Indian insurance companies. The customers, after all, are easily influenced by the opinion of the banks about the insurance companies and when incidents of refusal take place, they draw their own conclusions adverse to Indian insurance companies.

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In this way, not only a great deal of direct harm is being done to Indian insurance companies in driving away customers from their field, but even other classes of insurance business with which the bank has nothing to do are also affected.

Most of the exchange banks doing business in this country earn their profit from the people of this country. Is this the sort of reward that Indian concerns should get in their own country from non-Indian banks? We hope that the banks will seriously consider this aspect of the matter and will see to it that they do not place any embargo on the normal growth of Indian insurance companies. These companies never ask for any direct help from banks.

—

Kolar Gold-Fields

The Bengal-Nagpur Railway Magazine for September publishes an interesting article on the inner workings of the Kolar Gold mines.

The Gold Fields present the appearance of huge sandhills with giant shafts sticking out of them like masts. Around these sandhills lie clusters of red-tiled, squat houses of the mining staff. Further out are hives of jhaferi-work huts of the coolies.

From the rough quartz to glittering gold is a magic transformation, but few people realise what amount of labour and industry goes to the production of that precious metal which is so dear to every one. That glittering little hoop on the finger of a young lady, the symbol of her romance, may thrill her heart as she presses her lips to it and conjures up visions of her lover, but it seldom reminds her of those who toiled in the bowels of the earth to obtain it.

Nature guards her treasures very zealously and those who want to wrest them from her have to delve deep. The quartz, a greyish and sometimes bluish rock, lies buried hundreds of feet below the surface and to get to it shafts are sunk. They are usually sunk about a hundred feet at first and then "drives" are made north and south. The miners then go down in shifts, sometimes as many as 500 men, armed with pneumatic drills and picks.

I had the thrill, though not without some misgivings, of going down a shaft—*facilis descensus Averni!* My Virgil, an officer kindly lent by the Superindent of the Mine, and I were shut in a "cage" a short of an iron box with holes for ventilation. A touch of the button and the cage began to go down, down, past lit-up "plats or stages, till we reached the working stage where operations were in progress. We found ghostly figures moving about with small points of light from their safety lamps. The drills and picks were busy.

On our upward journey, we stopped at one of the stages. Electric fans were in motion and swing-doors worked automatically to aid ventilation. In addition to these precautions, the stages which were buttressed with logs of wood, were also supplied with compressed air and in some places there were airholes or winzes. It was strange to hear a telephone bell tinkling so many hundred feet underground.

The quartz was carried up in "skips" or wagons which were worked by electricity. They ran automatically to a landing stage near the crushing mill which was pounding away like cannon shots. The powdered quartz passed through a funnel where it was mixed with a solution of mercury and acids, and then flowed over large trays with strainers. Small particles of gold that escaped with the overflow were caught in blankets, but even then some of the finer grains of gold escaped. To trap these elusive particles, the water and sand were again mixed with a stronger solution of mercury and acids.

In the melting department the miracle of science was completed. There were veritable walls of gold bars which one's fingers itched to touch, though one feared it would all crumble away as in a dream.

The history of the mines has not been without some interesting incidents. On one occasion, a carpenter whose duty it was to pack gold bars in wooden boxes, cleaverly concealed a bar of lead of equal size and weight in his tool box. In the process of packing he deftly substituted the bar of lead for a bar of gold. Shortly afterwards the packages were sent off to England and a little later the carpenter resigned his appointment and left the fields. When the fraud was discovered, inquiries were instituted by the police and the crafty carpenter was eventually brought to book. On another occasion, a sawyer of gold bars took to collecting secretly the fine gold dust which fell from the bars. In course of time he collected gold dust to the value of one thousand rupees, but he was afraid to take it away himself lest he should arouse suspicion, so he tied the dust round the waist of his son and sent him home. Unfortunately, for him there was a theft on the train and the police, suspecting the boy searched him and found the precious bundle which the ingenious father had tied round his waist.

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Lowest Paid Employees in the E. B. R.

The E. B. Ry. Labour Review remarks editorially :

Rai Shaheb B. C. Ghosh, Superintendent, Statistical Office, replied through the column of the E. B. Ry. Supplement to the Indian State Railways Magazine, to a query about the "lowest paid Employees salary" by stating that "it is Rs 13." But is that the lowest level? Rai Sahib may find it difficult to climb down below the level of Rs. 13 a month. But that is no reason for supposing that a still lower level does not exist. Our information is that a "Box Bearer" in the Traffic Department has long been drawing an allowance of Rs. 11 per mensem. No one cares to know how that employee feeds and clothes himself on Rs 11 a month. To hundreds of railway employees he is hardly a human being with human requirements.

—

Prevention of Tooth Decay

The Oriental Watchman and Herald of [illegible] for September publishes an interest-

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ing article from the pen of Dr. W. C. Dalbey D.D.S. on Tooth Formation and Decay. The learned doctor says that tooth Decay can be prevented if the following rules are observed.

Tooth decay can be prevented by proper care—principally by keeping the mouth and teeth clean. It is a fundamental law that a clean tooth cannot decay. Regular visits for inspection to a reliable dentist are advisable, and if there is occasion for treatment, have it done and done right. If work is done in the first stages of decay, the filling is quite painless. A good rule is that when you think your teeth are all right visit your dentist. The longer a person waits the bigger the cavity becomes, and the nearer the nerve it gets the more painful the filling process is. A break in any other part of the body may grow up, but a break in a tooth constantly gets larger if not stopped. If it is not stopped, the nerve will eventually die: then you will have to look out for trouble sure enough.

The little invisible enemies—the microbes—are not the only ones that injure the teeth, however; there is another enemy, in many respects just as bad. This enemy is called salivary calculus, or tartar. This tartar, by a natural process, forms round the teeth, especially near the gums. While not so dangerous as the microbes, if allowed to remain, it sets up an irritation (as it is a foreign substance) within the free margin of the gum around the teeth, thereby causing the gums to recede. The gums become unduly inflamed, and later on the teeth loosen so much that it brings about a very bad order of things,—pyorrhœa, the most baneful disease of dentistry. In very bad cases the teeth literally fall out. This is not all: the whole system is badly deranged Rheumatism, arthritis (gout), heart disease, stomach disorders, neuralgia, neuritis, and kindred ailments have been directly caused by, and are the result of, such a condition. All tartar should be removed.

Another enemy to good teeth preservation is an overindulgence in certain kinds of food. Too many sweets in general may cause havoc, because they are prone to ferment and manufacture acids quickly when left upon the teeth. Such food is the microbes' joy.

Teeth, as well as other organs of the body, must have exercise, and they cannot get this necessary exercise unless they are allowed to chew hard food. Of course, nuts should never be cracked by the teeth, as this puts undue strain upon them and is liable to crack the enamel. Neither should the teeth be picked with hard objects, as knife blades or nut picks.

—

The Ideal of Civic Life

In a small inspiring message to *The Indian*, the organ of The Indian Association of Singapore, the poetess Sarojini Naidu thus lifts up her voice in utterances of truth and beauty.

The thing which is very necessary for us to remember is that as modern civilisation progresses, as the world becomes more and more international in giving and receiving enlightenment, we are absorbing from other countries as we are giving to other countries. With such ideas, such treasures of knowledge and experience of wider horizon and scientific thought, the responsibility of personal service becomes greater. Life is more complex. I ask you to dedicate your life to this cause, to make your lights ready to be kindled at the flame of devotion, to serve your country worthily. I do not say to you to become teachers to preach or politicians by this or by that. Whatever your sphere in life is however small you are, remember, you are an indispensable unit in making up that vast social organisation which makes the country a nation. I want you all to remember that the greatness of a country will not lie in its great men, but in its average good men, who realised the daily life of purity, truth, courage in overcoming such obstacles that stand in the way of progress by giving equal opportunities to all human beings, of all castes and creeds and not to withhold from any man or woman his or her God-given, inviolable right to live to the fullest capacity.

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Biologists and Life

Just at this moment when the scientists are claiming to have at last found a clue to the "Mystery of Life.' it may be interesting to know how people, who are not scientists but all the same rational, look upon some of the much vaunted claims and assertions of the biologists. The Editor of the '*Prabuddha Bharat*' in a thoughtful and thought provoking contribution thus looks beyond the frontier, as he says:

We have mentioned the biologists' argument that all their observations show that life is always associated with matter. In our opinion that proves nothing. They are simply making their ignorance an argument. Unless they try to see discarnate life, they will always find life associated with matter. By their own admission, the biologists know nothing of where life comes from. They know life only in its middle state, they know nothing of its origin or its ends, and from a partial knowledge no correct conclusion is possible. There are facts, on the other hand, which do show that life and consciousness can subsist without their usual material associations. The case of the Hindu monk, Haridas, putting himself in a box and being interred in a grave which was carefully closed with earth and rising up from it after forty days, is well-known. His nostrils were closed with wax, so he could not breathe; and when he was taken out of the sealed box, an English physician carefully examined him,—he was medically dead, there was no pulsation of the heart, the temples or the arm. He had remained in this "dead" condition for forty days; yet within half an hour of his disinterment he could talk freely with all. How did the monk's life subsist so long, if material association were

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essential to its existence ? During all those forty days, the monk had no air, no food, no water ; his whole organism was at a standstill. Yet he lived !

The case of Sri Ramakrishna also is well-known. Often while in deep Samadhi, he would show all signs of death. Expert physicians of Calcutta sometimes examined him in that state, and found that the heart had stopped beating and there was a complete cessation of breath ;—there was no sign of life anywhere in the body. This happened many times during his life. But though the body was dead, the mind and consciousness apparently existed.

Nor do we find the other argument of the biologists that if the soul were an immaterial spirit, death would have been instaneous, convincing. They mention the fact that apparently dead persons can be revived by artificial means. But do they mean that *all* dead persons can be so revived ? Has the process been found invariably effective ? We do not think medical men go so far in their assertion, if then, there are many cases in which artificial means of revival have failed, why not consider that the cases in which they succeeded, were really not cases of death but of deep unconsciousness ?

—

Imperialism or Satanism ?

Writing in *Triveni* about 'The Self-Defense of India' Dewan Bahadur Mr. Ramachandra Rao thus concludes his able and well-balanced article.

The relation of empires to subject communities is, in fact, a great seed-ground for those states of mind which Professer Gilbert Murray has compendiously grouped under the name of Satanism. The spirit of unmixed hatred towards world-order, is increasing. It is felt to some extent against all ordered Governments, and Professor Murray thinks that it is chiefly dirrected against Imperial governments and it is directed more widely and intensely against Great Britain than against any other power. From the point of view of the British Commonwealth, the possible remedy for these evils is, in his opinion, that the British statesmen must first think carefully what their principles are, and secondly they must sincerely carry them out. The British have repeatedly said that they are in India, not for their own profit, nor to use Indians as food for cannons, but to enable India to govern itself. If this is their ideal, Great Britain must carry it out honestly and faithfully. Let there be no hypocrisy, conscious or unconscious, about the matter.

—

Why England is Great

"What are the secret of England's greatness" asks A. S. Panchapakesa Ayyar, M. A., (Oxon) I. C. S. in *The Garland*, and he does not forget as he tries to answer the question that

The disgruntled and superficial Indian is apt to give the reason as mere possession of physical strength and the ability to thrust her yoke on others.

Mr. Ayyar is neither blind:

I do not deny that part of England's greatness is undoubtedly due to her great military, naval and aerial strength. But these themselves are the result of certain qualities of her citizens which have little to do with fighting qualities proper.

But, he tries to be fair as he enunciates his aim in the examination of the question.

My aim below is to describe some of the most outstanding of those qualities.

There is in England a public spirit the like of which is not to be seen in India. Several thousands of people render services of the most valuable nature every day honorarily.

With this aim he begins his reply and the reply is presented here in brief excerpts:

Many fire brigades are manned wholly by such workers.

Almost all the hospitals of England are maintained by public subscription. India has the first hospitals maintained by citizens. The great hospital at Pataliputra was wholly maintained by the Municipality and the contributions of wealthy citizens and was the first thing of its kind in the world. There is a beautiful tradition which says that the hospital even refused with thanks the princely aid offered by the Emperor Asoka on the score that thanks to his Majesty's beneficent rule the citizens were able to run the institution themselves and so the money might be diverted to the purchase of medicines and drugs to be exported to the less fortunate neighbouring countries like Syria and Egypt. And so it seems was done. Well, things are far different in modern India.

Englishmen exhibit their public spirit also in aiding the police in detecting crime.

A remarkable way in which the public spirit of Englishmen manifests itself is in the periodical searches for missing persons and rendering valuable assistance to the police in murder cases. It does one good to read that a fleet of cars scoured Dartmoor or some other desolate region free in order to trace out missing persons. When will such a thing be possible in India ? Again, almost undetectable murder cases have been detected, sometimes after years owing to the co-operation of the citizens.

Another sterling virtue of the Britisher is his respect for the law and trust in the courts.

Unity in crises is another great civic quality of the Britisher. In times of crises when the country's honour or safety or prestige is at stake all disputes are postponed for the time being and a united front is shown towards the foreigner. Thus when Mustapha Kemal Pasha was threatening to fortify the Dardannels and close the straits there were keen differences in the English press about the desirability of going to war for this. In the midst of this war of words the cabinet sent a stiff note to Kemal Pasha and despatched two squadrons from Aldershot to the Dardannels.

I was surprised to find in all the morning papers photos of the troops sent and leaders to

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to the effect that now that the nation had committed itself all differences would cease till the crisis was over.

A not less noteworthy characteristic of Britishers is their love of orderly progress and hatred of all revolution.

Another great asset of England is the absolute freedom of her citizens from religious preiudices in matters political. In days gone-by Englishmen were far more intolerant than the Indians of today and with less justification as England had only sectarian differences and not such vast religious differences as exist between Hinduism and Islam. But now things have radically changed.

The thirst for knowledge and the desire to utilize it for the country's benefit is another predominant trait which should not be overlooked. Englishmen realize that the moment they become intellectually stagnant their greatness will be a thing of the past. So learning and research are encouraged both by the State and by private citizens. In experiments the Englishman is careless of loss of money or even life.

We are no anglophil; but we find more grounds to agree with the writer than to dissent from him.

—

Christian Missions and Industrial Problems

"The Gospel of Christ contains a message not only for the individual soul, but for the world of social organzations and economic relations in which individuals live." With this prefatory remarks the Jerusalem Council gives its opinions on industrial problems that rage through the Christian world: We learn from *The Youngmen of India* the following:

The Council advocates the abolition of all forms of forced labour. The following standard of legislative protection for the workers in industry was accepted:—

A limit of working hours and one day's rest in seven.
A minimum wage.
Elimination of child-labour.
Protection of women.
Accident and sickness insurance.
Adequate inspection.
Freedom of association.

This standard is in harmony with that set by the League of Nations and the Council had the assent of a member of the permanent staff of the International Labour Office with them in all their deliberations on this subject.

Of the foregoing provisions India has accepted all but the second. Elimination of child-labour below the age of 12 years has now been achieved by law in British India. The standard in all these matters is usually lower in Native States where the British Factory Act does not run. Protection of women is proceeding gradually. The question of eliminating women's work underground has now been taken up. In the coal mines, where the largest number are employed, Government proposes to take 10 years to achieve this end. Accident insurance hss been introduced. There is as yet no sickness insurance. There is a system of Factory Inspection, but inspectors themselves would be the first to declare that it is not adequate owing to the smallness of the staff. Freedom of association for workers was granted with the passing of the Act recognizing Trade Unions and providing for their registration.

It remains to be seen however, how the Christian people view these Christian conclusions.

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Indian Labour Unrest

Under the above caption, Mr. N. M. Joshi M. L. A. discusses in *The Indian Labour Review* the cause and cure of the malady which nobody can ignore. Nor can any one afford to ignore what Mr. Joshi has got to say in the matter. Says Mr. Joshi.

The general unrest in the country gives us a clear warning that the conditions of work and life in organised industries in India require the immediate and sympathetic attention of the Government, the employers, and the general public. The condition of the workers, both as regards hours of work, wages and security of employment and provision against risk of sickness, unemployment and old age require to be substantially improved. The workers have suffered too long on account of conditions which should not be tolerated in any civilised country.

The several strikes and lock-outs that are at present going on are only an expression of the discontent that exists and that has been unheeded and unattended to so long. The fight in Bombay and Lilloah is against worsening of conditions; the fight at Jamshedpur and on the South Indian Railway is against the impending unemployment. Nobody can blame the workers for putting up a fight to protect their interests. It is a natural corollary to the conditions which lie at the root of the present wide unrest.

No, I do not agree with you. The Communists could not have succeeded if there had been no real unrest. They may, and certainly do, exploit that unrest and the real grievances of the workers; but they do not create that unrest; the unhappy condition of the workers do that. I do not of course approve of extremists and Communists methods. But the extremists and Communists will not disappear so long as the workers are not convinced that they can improve their conditions quicker by other methods than those propounded by Communists.

And unfortunately the Government and employers do not appreciate milder methods; they will only give better conditions when they are coerced by a strike or a threat of a strike. It is therefore clear that the workers must resort to a strike when they can get their grievances redressed only by that method. The advice of moderation to postpone a strike until all other methods are

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exhausted is lost on the workers when they find by experience that a strike is the only method by which they can get something.

—

Technical Education in India

L. D. Coueslant thus concludes his article on the above subject in the *Calcutta Review*.

We should beware of the fallacy that teaching of mere craftsmanship is the whole, or even the most important, part of technical education, and should not allow it to be assumed that all that is wanted is a great multiplication of institutions teaching skill. India will ultimately have to take her place in the modern world, and as was explained in the beginning the direction of industrial development is away from skill.

If India refuses to accept the machine she may do one of two things. She may exclude the machine-made article by prohibitive duties. in which case the whole of the consuming public will be compelled to pay very high prices for an inferior article. Or she may open her ports, and see the producers in her own country ruined by a competition impossible to resist.

It will be of no avail that labour in India only costs a tenth as much as in the West. One man armed with power-driven machinery can do the work of a hundred artisans working with their hands. Besides, who that loves India can hope that labour will continue to be cheap? "Cheapness of labour" in this connection is only a euphemism for "misery of the working class."

—

Indian Medical Council

Calcutta Medical Journal discusses editorially the bill for the establishment of an All-India Council that is being sought to be introduced into the Central Legislature, and the points it makes out are instructive as the following excerpts show.

We are doubtful whether it is possible at present to lay down a uniform standard of qualifications in Medicine for the whole of India. The Universities and Colleges in a province are now part of the Medical Departments under the Control of Ministers in charge of transferred subjects. This provision in the Government of India Act of 1919 is meant to ensure that the administration of educational institutions in Medicine and of the hospitals attached thereto, should be under the control and guidance of a person who shall be influenced by public opinion. There can be no meaning in having this department transferred to a popular Minister unless the Act intended that the course of study, the control of examinatfons, the qualifications required to be possessed by medical practitioners before they are allowed to practise, should under the guidance of a minister, be 'adjusted to the peculiar needs of each province and that the people of the province should have a voice, however indirect it may be, in these respects.

There is a further difficulty in this matter of control of the standard of qualifications by a Central Council. The standard of qualification, the courses of study pursued and the examination conducted in each province are controlled by the Universities or by the Provincial Councils of medical registration who enjoy statutory powers for this purpose. It is difficult to understand how a bill, even if passed by the Central Legislature, can take away the privileges and rights of these statutory bodies unless there are provisions in the bill repealing these powers so far as the Universities and the Provincial Councils of Registration are concerned. The present bill makes no mention that such procedure would be adopted. It therefore, comes to this, that the medical institutions would be controlled by two bodies, *viz.*, by the Indian Medical Council and by the Provincial Statutory Bodies as mentioned above.

The bill before us gives no indication as to whether practice of medicine according to systems other than Allopathic will be affected by the provisions of the bill. If it is so, it would mean an undue interference with the indigenous system of medicine hitherto unknown.

The system of medical education based upon European methods is of a recent growth in many of the provinces in India. We do not consider that sufficient time has elapsed for each province to meet difficult situations and then only a centralised body would be of any use. We therefore, unhesitatingly condemn this bill.

—

Witness of the West

T. L Vaswani returned to India, as he says in *The Kalpaka* to find no echo there of his own inward faith and strength. Says he in his characteristic way:

I know that Indian idealism is being trampled upon in India. Several years have passed since I returned to her shores with the new experiences and the new hopes given me in my lonely wanderings in the West. I have looked into the eyes of India's men and women buying and selling in the market-place. I have looked and found them busy with many things but not with the one thing needful. With mournful cry I have lifted up my voice, saying, "Where, O Lord, where is the song of the Rishis of the past?" I have gazed into the eyes of the youngmen studying science and arts at the schools and the universities. I have found them eager for intellectual attainment but not for self-renunciation. I looked into the temples, once honoured centres of the sacred light, and a sadness has entered my heart. I have looked into the faces of the poor, down-trodden, patient multitudes of the land, and I have cried with a sorrowful heart, "Where art thou, O Lord, and where the song of the Rishis of the past?".

Can it be that the ancient message is dead? Is the sacred song stilled forever? I cannot think so! Not yet are snapped the chords of our souls. For even in these days if someone pure and devout, a teacher of idealism, a true *sadhu*, a bhakta of God comes to us. we are still able to offer him the homage of our hearts. We are

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fallen from the heights, but under the merciful Providence that shapes India's life we are, I believe, being prepared to rise again and play our part in building a new civilization. Will the day come soon when men and women of East and West may glimpse the beauty of the Rishis' vision, and worship together in the Temple of Humanity the "One whom the Sages call by many names?" As the darkness is deepening, I cling yet closer to my faith that India will yet be free and the Nations yet brothers be. For they all are His. And the world we live in is beautiful.

—

Jihad

'Jihad' forms the first instalment of a series of valuable studies. Pandit Chamupati is contributing in *The Vedic Magazine*, and the following deduction and conclusion of the writer deserves attention:

If the behaviour of the Arab Muslim towards his non-Muslim fellow-countrymen, during the first century of Islam, when the sources of inspiration were not yet soiled by the contaminating expiry of time, be taken to be the nucleus round which all subsequent inter-religious jurisprudence gathered as a system of Islamic exclusive imperialism, the riddle of the Hindu Muslim troubles in India is immediately solved. It is *Jihad* pure and simple. That the process in progress here is desultory is no fault of the Mulla. The biggest of the Prophet's battles would seem skirmish by the side of present-day wars. Islamic law-books mention tiny weapons of warfare, such as missiles and swords, the place of which is today taken by brickbats and butchers' knives, and the fanatic section of the faithful derives infinite solace from the present-day re-enactment of the drama of the Quran. Only, they do not call these *Saria* and *ghazva*, titles reserved for battles waged by the Prophet himself. Lying in wait and stabbing in the back, pillage and arson and brutal outrages on women are to a keen-sighted observer simply echoes of the din of the guerilla wars with which Islamic literature, beginning with the Quran, is full.

—

Paul Dahlke

We catch a glimpse of the great and devoted student of Buddhism, Dr. Paul Dahlke, from an informative study in *The Maha Bodhi*.

He was of opinion that there is already in existence all the books about Buddhism that we need: perhaps too many. For already in their multiplicity they tend to become a distraction from Buddhist life, instead of a promoting towards it. He felt, in fact, that what the European world to-day needs, is not Buddhist books, but Buddhist Viharas,—places where men can retire awhile from the press and throng of every day life with all its clamant needs, and "come to themselves," collect themselves, find out just what they are and what is their position, and take the steps needed to improve it along inner lines, having followed too long already the so seductive, but so deceptive, methods of trying to improve it along merely *outward* paths. This latter method, he felt, Europeans had followed for long enough now, and the result was only what he called a "polished barbarism" whose blackness was not a whit any the less for the high degree of its polish.

The savage 'barbarism' of mid-war Germany and the financial crisis of post-war Germany failed equally to cool the ardour of this devoted worker for *ahimsa* and the translator of the Gospel of *ahimsa*.

He persevered, and quietly and unassumingly gathered together what was needed to purchase the land on which he eventually built his Buddhist House. But as most of the money so-gathered was his own, the "House" was always his own, as also the land on which it was built But it was always open for any one whether they called themselves "Buddhists" or not, to stay there, so long as they observed the Rule of the House, for a period of three months free of charge, if they were unable to meet the cost of their food. But after that, if they wished to stay longer, they were expected to contribute towards their living expenses.

There were never more than a few inmates of the House at any one time; but quite a number of people—some of them, people of some eminence in the course of the few years since it was founded, passed through the discipline of the House, and doubtless some of them found it good for them, and received impressions which will stay with them throughout their lives. This fewness of residents did not surprise the Doctor. He quite recognised that only a very few people are "ripe enough"—his own phrase—for Buddhist life as apart from Buddhist doctrine, But he felt that such people ought to have waiting for them as soon as they were "ripe" a place to which they could go and live the life they wanted to lead; and he felt that he had done his part in providing such a place, and was quite satisfied to have done so; whether many or few took advantage of it, so he said, was their look out not his. He had done his share in the matter. It was now for others to do theirs, as soon as they were "ripe" for it,

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Centenary of the Brahmo Samaj

The following interesting information imparted by *The Inquirer*, that many foreigners are coming to participate in the Centenary now lends support to the view that Brahmo Samaj stands for a Universal religion. The information runs thus :

The Delegation from England to the Centenary meetings of the Brahmo Samaj in India will consist of Dr. and Mrs. W. H. Drummond, Mrs. Woodhouse, Miss Ruth Nettlefold and Mr. and Mrs. F. W. Monks and Mis 'Monks. Dr. and Mrs. Drummond will leave London on September 8 by the S. S. *Mulbera* and proceed by sea to Calcutta, where they are due to arrive on October 11. The rest of the party will leave Liverpool a few days earlier by the S. S. *Oxfordshire* and will join the *Mulbera* at Colombo. The English delegates will proceed almost at once to Darjeeling for the celebration by the local Brahmo Samaj. Subsequently they will take part in a missionary tour to important centres of the work in other parts of India, prior to the large meetings which will be held in Calcutta in January. Dr. Drummond has been invited to lecture on behalf of the Hibbert Trustees during this Indian visit. The leaders of the Brahmo Samaj have requested that he should deal specially with the growth of liberal religious life and thought during the past hundred years (1) in Europe (2) in England.

Dr. and Mrs. Drummond have accepted an invitation from Herr Rohrer of Jerusalem to visit the Temple Colonies in Palestine on the return journey next spring. It is hoped that other members of the party will also visit Palestine.

—

The Changing Face of Islam

We read in *The Commonweal* the following :

Dr. Hans Kohn, in "Foreign Affairs" for June, writes on the wonderful change in Turkey. "Twenty years ago ... Turkey was a mediaeval theocracy ... ... the Ottoman Empire with its head, the Caliph, was an embodiment of Islam ... not only a religious creed, as present day Europe understands it, but a creed embodying a definite attitude and outlook on all things sacred as well as profane, public as well as private. ... ... The Caliphate has been abolished, religious service modernised and strictly regulated, the power and influence of the clergy broken, European dress and headgear made obligatory, and—the greatest revolution of all—the Islamic Code of Law replaced by the Swiss Civil Code. ... Islam has no longer any official status in Turkey."

Indeeds Islam is not alone in this respect, as the *Commonweal* recognizes.

It is impossible that the great religions of the race can fail to be affected by the physical science of to-day, which undermines the conception of the physical and material world common to all of them; by the modern study and knowledge of human history: by the modern recongition of evolution, or development, or growth, as a law of life physical, mental, moral and religious; by the spread of education; by the growing intercommunication of the different races and nationalities to-day; by the spread of democratic ideas; by the new study and literature of Comparative Religion: by the decay of dogmatizm (religion based on external, miraculous authority; and by the growing recognition of the spiritual nature of man as the fountain of true religion of which Love is the supreme manifestation.

In Bahaism and Sufism, the Brahmo Samaj Modernism, Idealism, Religious Conference etc., we seem to see as it were a flowing tide that is gradually submerging the old world. Man, by virtue of the divine spark in him, is, we hope, emerging to a new level of physical, intellectual moral and religious life. We must die to live.

—

East and West

Is Western Civilization Worth Saving ? asks Mr. Paul Arthur Schilpp in *The World Tomorrow* and concludes that the West cannot remain in exclusion from the East.

Whatever of hope there may be for western civilisation cannot be found in any belief in inevitable progress and certainly not in the vain arrogance of a nordic supremacy complex. We are no more the chosen people of any deity playing favorites than any other nationality or race, past or present. We are chosen as were the Hebrews only in so far as we lose ourselves in these activities and tasks which, in the nature of the world-process or, if you will, of the divine purpose, carry on the constant evolution of world-creation. In so far as we block the road of that process, we must expect it to overrun and overpower and, if need be, ultimately to annihilate us—not as the punishment of an angry God, but as the inevitable consequence of igno-

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ance, unwillingness or inability to learn the workings of the world-process.

The important thing for us at this time is the return to a new emphasis on the humanities which might stave off the debacle of western civilization a little longer. Nothing can be reached by a continued one-sided emphasis on the physical sciences but the impasse of a pure mechanism and with it the ruin of western culture. For the salvation of the western world there is needed a good dose of the quietistic reflection and self-control of the oriental mind, even as the oriental cannot hope to survive unless he adopts something of the mechanical achievement of the occidental. In other words, we need not merely respect the distinctive features and characteristics of the cultures which digress fundamentally from our own, but the realization that each must learn from the other and the acknowledgement that only by a reciprocal approach and a filling up of the gaps of our own character can we hope to "hang on." As Max Scheler and Count Keyserling have put it, what is needed is "a reconciliation between the occidental and the oriental cultural hemispheres." Thus, perhaps, the western man may once again find his soul and survive.

—

The Future of Marriage

Selected passages from the sermon of Dr. John Haynes Holmes, reproduced by the *Birth Control Review* of America, throws light on the above interesting topic, which the greatest minds of the world are speculating upon. Says Dr. Holmes.

Marriage, like every other social institution will change because it must change. Nothing stands still in this unfolding world, not even the most firmly rooted of our social practices. But evolution is of two kinds. First, there is the evolution of progress, the change which moves onward and upward. This process operates in two ways; first by accumulating innumerable little changes which prove to be beneficial to life, and secondly by preserving these changes and building them into a permanent system of growing intricacy and beauty.

The second type of evolution the evolution of reversion or retrogression is the change which turns back and reverts to more primitive forms. Evolution social as well as biological, does not necessarily mean progress. It is the peculiar mission of man to control the onward sweep of cosmic forces. Man, if he will, may master evolution in himself and in the world at large, and drive it to ever onward goals. But evolution will not do this of itself. Change may as easily go backward as forward. Man must hold what he has gained, and gain still more if he would be saved.

Return now to the changes in marriage. Are we preserving the things gained with infinite labour and sacrifice, or are we wantonly throwing those things away and returning to where we started. It is not because I am opposed to change but because I fear the kind of change which seems implicit in the present tendencies in sex relations, that I am opposed to much that is now sweeping down upon us. In present tendencies in marriage we see the forces of dispersion at work, biologically and sociologically the forces of rampant and anarchic individualism. Along these lines lies the way back to primitive man not forward to a more civilized and enlightened man of the future. The more I study the the development inevitable in the marriage relations, the more sure I am that certain great achievements, infinitely favorable to man's higher life, will remain as fixed foundations upon which to build in years to come.

What are these achievements? Enumerates Dr. Holmes

First among these achievements destined to endure is the idea that sex relations between men and women are matters of public and not merely of private concern. The sex bond is a covenant, and it must be an open covenant openly arrived at.

Secondly, the union of husband and wife shall not only be public as a matter of knowledge but shall be bound by the social sanction as a matter of procedure.

Lastly, the union between men and women shall be a monogamous one and not a promiscuous one. Sexual love shall be restricted to one person at one time because we have learned through centuries that love is most potent and beautiful, as it flows through a single channel. In these conditions is a line or direction of progress along which we must move, unless we choose to return to those conditions of primitive barbarism from which we sprang. Within these bounds, however, great and beneficent changes are certain to take place, as they are already taking place.

Thus it has already become manifest that in the future woman shall be wholly free, master of herself and her destiny. Man and woman, in other words will be equal partners in the central experience of their life, each giving and taking in the glad exchange of utter master and utter surrender.

Secondly, in the future, as gradually now in the present, children will be conceived and born in marriage only as they are wanted. Generations will hence forth be a matter not of accident but of choice,

Thirdly, divorce will more and more be recognized as the inevitable complement of marriage. Even today divorce is still regarded as an evil. This must disappear, as men come to recognize that mistakes in marriage are only more liable than they are in other less difficult relationships, and must be corrected by some established process of relief. The process will certainly be more dignified and reverent than what we know today, but it will be as freely at the disposal of those who love no longer, as marriage is now at the disposal of those who love.

These are mere suggestions of change in the marriage relation. They very fact that such changes are inevitable only proves that marriage is succeeding. Throughout the whole range of physical and spiritual life runs the passionate demand of men and women for one another. In spite of every adjustment and every noble sublimation, there is certain and tragic frustration in

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the life that is denied union with the other sex. Marriage is today what it has ever been and it will be tomorrow, for all its inevitable changes, the best attempt that men have been able to make or even conceive, in the establishing of ideal conditions under which the basic hunger of life may be satisfied.

—

Women's Movements in Japan

In an informative article in *the Young East* M. Mita recounts the victories so far attained by the women of the far-east in some spheres.

To cite the most salient of instances where the movements of the women have by this time been duly rewarded, the following may be noted with no small interest:

Legal;

The women have practically succeeded in getting the attorneys' license act and criminal code so revised as to render the women eligible to the attorneyship, and also to share equally with their husbands the duty of chastity which has hitherto been unilateral with the fair sex. In this country in trying a fornication case the Court used to find the women alone guilty, but according to the Government bill introduced in the preceding session of the Diet, which unfortunately proved abortive on account of the dissolution, the man fornicator will in future be punished as much as the female fornicator,

Political:

The women have succeeded in passing through the Diet for enforcement by the Government in the near future their petition for investment of the fair sex with public citizenship, and also in asserting the women's liberty of participating in any political organizations.

Social;

The freedom of the factory girls to go out of their workshops at any time they want has been recognized by the Tokyo Muslin Company, although the factory girls have hitherto had to lead in their manufactories a practically imprisoned life for the terms contracted. The example will be followed by all the other factories in the near future. The general shipping companies have come to recognize the eligibility of women to ships' captainship, and as the first captain ever registered in this country has already been appointed Miss Tsuchiko Katapama.

Educational:

A success has been secured at length by the women movers in persuading the Government authorities to estimate the sum of Y350,000 next year for the creation of the first Government Higher Technical School of Women.

A private women's college called Bunka Gakuin has been established by Dr. Yoshino and other scholars interested in the women's cause, for three years' economic course for graduates from the higher girls schools while the women's higher commercial school, the first of the kind in Japan has been brought into existence by Mr. Yoshijiro Kobayashi, principal of the Hinode Higher Girls' School. The school authorities have been persuaded to entitle women as well to the right of gaining the degree (scholastic), and already the Doctorship of Science has been conferred on Professoress Konoko Yasui, of the Tokyo Higher Women's Normal School, this being the first female Doctor in this land.

Nor are the daughters of Nippon resting on their oars.

They are going to push on the following still more imortant causes to be accomplished:

Social:

Abolition of prostitutes system.

Stricter temperance act.

Exclusion of the geisha from public assemblages of any nature.

No more licence to be granted for geisha girls dancers, and cafe-maids.

Patriotic savings movement among the women's associations and higher girls school students to persuade them to save one sen per diem for six years to redeem the Empire's foreign debts.

Protection of women workers and juvenile workers.

Political:

Enfranchisement of the women.

Election of Mayors by citizens.

Legal:

To so revise the existing civil code as:

To make wife's consent essential to the legal validity of husband's recognition of his illegitimate children.

To give the legitimately born girls the right of precedence over illegitimately born boys recognized by the husbands later, in succeeding to the headship of a family.

To entitle women to the right of sharing the privilege of inheriting parents' estates with their brothers.

Educational:

Elevation of women's school status.

International:

Apart from peace movement, the women of Japan have come to take no small interest in the various international conferences of the fair sex and will always insist to send their delegates whenever any subjects of their own interest are to be discussed at such conferences.

—

Are the American Races Japanese?

Shujiro Watanabe in the August instalment of the series "The Japanese and the Outer World" that he is contributing in *The Japan Magazine* considers 'the relationship between the Japanese and American races.' Considerable curiosity must be roused to learn the following from him:

When Kampfer visited Japan in 1690-2 he saw a map drawn by a Japanese in which Kamtchatka and the N. W. part of America was exactly depicted. He ascertained that America had been accidentally discovered by the Japanese who sailed the Pacific in ancient times. Another writer, Mossman, referring to native traditions, remarks that the Japanese were the first discoverers of America. In a map published in France about 1710, the straits are described as "Detroits de

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Iesso" or Straits of Yezo, and Alaska is called "Terre de Iesso" or land of Yezo.

Canada, according to European geographers, was discovered by Cabot in 1497. Its ancient history is obscure, but there are two traditions. One of these, current among the inhabitants of the Arctic Circle, is that a Norseman called Leif Ericson drifted in a boat to the coast of Labrador and was the first discoverer, while another is that in ancient times Asiatics came to the country, crossing the starits on the opposite coast. Concerning these traditions a Japanese who has travelled in the country remarks: "The inhabitants of the north insist that Europeans were the first discoverers, but this is quite out of the question. The tradition that Asiatics were the first may be considered to conform with the truth, for the face of the natives of British Columbia (called Siwashes) greatly resemble those of the Japanese, and armour, nearly similar to that of Japan, had recently been unearthed at Vancouver. The opinion is not, however, based on any further proofs, and but one thing is certain: that in ancient times there were troglodytes in the country, as their caves and relics have been found in various places between the Bay of Mexico and Winnipeg. Their caves dug out in shady woods are of immemorial age. Most of them are now dilapidated and so have lost their primitive form, but their original state is clearly discernible. Their history, however, can not be traced, as the Indian natives have no traditions concerning them, and no account has been furnished by early visitors from Europe. The natives are long-haired, bare-footed and very stupid, worshipping strange gods and other objects. Their copper coloured faces and black hair resemble those of the labourers of Japan, so that it has been supposed that they are of the same race: but the inhabitants of the eastern portion of the country are considered of a different stock as they have skins of a deep red colour."

As stated above, the Siwashes or aborigines of America so resemble some of the Japanese in face, physique and general aspect that they are often mistaken for the latter. In British Columbia and Mexico the natives call a sandal *waratie* or *warazi* and a hoe *kuwa*, which seem derived from Japanese words.

—

Japan and Manchuria

That China is not yet out of the wood, so far at least as her territorial integrity is concerned, will be evident from the reply of Baron Yoshiro Sakotani, "a former cabinet Minister and one of the most prominent and active publicists in Japan at the present time," to Lloyd George. *The Japan Magazine* for September gives the reply the place of honour apparently to endorse it. We reproduce the reply of the Baron:

We are informed, according to a press despatch of July 30, that Mr. Lloyd George had expressed the hope that there would be no practical annexation of Manchuria by Japan. I am absolutely confident that there is not a single statesman in this country who entertains any views opposed to his. At the same time, I wish to call his attention to the following points.

I. While no Japanese statesman harbours any such thought as the annexation of Manchuria, it must be remembered that it is quite different from any other part of China in its historical, economic, geographical and other relations with Japan. The Chinese people themselves have, in the past, paid little or no attention to it. In some respects, they looked upon it as a "white elephant" and never exerted any special effort for the welfare of its inhabitants.

Nor did China ever raise a finger to put an end to the Russian encroachment in the Far East. The fact is so well known in history that when Russia demonstrated her unquestionable design to annex Korea. Japan was forced to take up arms against her in 1904-5. It was she alone, however, who was called upon to bear the brunt of the task of driving Russia to the north.

At present due to the Japanese guards scattered along the South Manchurian Railway, the safety of the transportation of both passenger and freight is secured, and incidentally this has prevented the spread of civil strife to that section of China, thus giving untold blessings of peace to those otherwise unfortunate people. Nor should the fact that no less than 800,000 annually seek haven there be ignored.

Hence while Manchuria is nominally under the sovereignty of China all that the Chinese Government has done was to exact something from it giving nothing in return. On the other hand Japan afforded the people of this section, peace and prosperity and required nothing in the way of compensation. Although our neighbours to the west of us enjoyed their sovereign right over Manchuria they assumed no responsibility consonant to it. A large share of this burden, economic, security or otherwise, rests upon Japan's shoulders.

II. Since 1905 Japan has developed Manchuria by virtue of the treaties between the two countries. She has invested billions for the improvements of its harbours and railways; she opened its mines and increased the export of its agricultural products, thereby contributing, in no small measure, to the civilization of the world. That she has peacefully promoted the economic welfare of this district is universally recognized. Its benefits are being shared by the nations of the world under the principles of the open door and equal opportunity; and Japan entertains no such irrational and district idea as to monopolize them in the future.

III. Thus, that Japan has a great interest in the affairs of Manchuria goes without saying. Besides the vested interest above mentioned, the number of the Japanese subjects including Koreans scattered throughout this vast area, is well over one million. Hence its peace and order are absolute prerequisites to the safeguarding of Japan's existing interests as well as for the benefits of the Chinese themselves. The development of Manchuria is not only necessary for Japan and China alone, but it is a great concern of the whole world. We feel, therefore, the maintenance of peace there should be studied from a broader vision and world viewpoint.

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How similar Imperialist arguments are all over the world !

To the publicist and ex-cabinet Minister we make a present of the following Editorial Comments of the *New Republic*.

The conflict between China and Japan over Manchuria grows steadily more serious. The Chinese revolutionists are seeking to win over General Chang Hsueh-liang, who has succeeded Chang Tso-lin as overlord of Manchuria. They know they have no chance in a war with Japan, but they wish to strengthen their influence in Manchuria in every possible way, pending an appeal to the public opinion of the world, or perhaps to the League of Nations. They have not forgotten that such an appeal caused Japan to relinquish the Shantung peninsula in 1922. In this case, however, Japan's position is quite different. Food and raw materials from Manchuria are essential to the maintenance of her crowded population ; and, whether wisely or not, she feels that her military strategy demands control of the province. Baron Tanaka more than a year ago announced his country's "special interest" in Manchuria ; and before and since then, Japan has acted as though she had annexed the territory. The excuse she now gives for objecting to the spread of Nationalist influence north of the Great Wall is that the Chinese government is still insecure, and has "a Red tinge." The first of these charges is no business of Japan's, and there is every reason to believe that the second is false. But if the Chinese government were like Gibraltar and as conservative as Poincare, Japan would still fight to keep Manchuria.

—

Nanking—not Peking

Arthur De Sowerly thus considers the respective position of Peking and Nanking in the *China Journal*, the removal of the Capital of the Nationalist China giving him the occasion for it.

The decision of the Nationalist Party in China now, dominant throughout the country, to transfer the seat of government from Peking to Nanking will doubtless be received throughout the world with mixed feelings. To all those travellers who have visited the ancient city in the north, and have been charmed by the sights, life and atmosphere of this old-world capital, the news will come as something of a shock, while we could well imagine that the members of the various foreign legations and other foreign residents in Peking itself will receive it with feelings akin to consternation.

The Chinese, on the other hand, with the exception, perhaps, of the Chihli people, will undoubtedly hail the transference with satisfaction, for Nanking to them is much more the capital of China than Peking has ever been.

Nevertheless, Peking, or Peiping, as it is now styled by decree of the Nationalist Government, in many ways far surpasses Nanking as a capital city Its numerous magnificent palaces, mighty temples and well laid out parks far out-rank anything that the southern capital has to show ; while the fact that for centuries, all through the period of Manchu dominance, as well as during the latter part of the Ming Dynasty, a period of high culture in many ways and picturesque ceremonial in court and official circles, it has been the seat of government, affording hospitality to the representatives of foreign governments in the Legation Quarter, has created an atmosphere of romance, a sort of glamour, an almost mediaeval remoteness, that has rendered it unique amongst the capitals of the world. Nanking, on the other hand, while it has had its history, and has seen days of glory, pomp and majesty, has practically nothing to compare with the palaces, temples and even modern government buildings of Peking. Nothing but crumbling ruins now exist, where once stood the palaces of princes, not even picturesque ruins, but mere flat heaps of rubble and crumbling brick.

—

Brains—How Come ?

Nothing can be more engrossing in interest and perhaps more baffling in ultimate solution than the above question which *Evolution* seeks to answer as follows :

His better brain makes man supreme over the other animals. The gap is wide between him and his nearest rival, so wide that even some scientists once took exception here to the theory of evolution. They admitted the probability of physical evolution; but surely that wonderful thing, the human mind, must have been specially created and implanted. Just how, they did not explain. Perhaps, at bottom, this reaction was not reasoned, but rather the prejudice of pride with demanded for superior man superior origins and graces. Nevertheless, there is a real problem here, the problem of how man got that way. The modern scientific answer is that man's hands made his brains.

Man's close relatives have all died out, but some second cousins, the anthropoid (man-like) apes still live. For mere animals, they have pretty good brains, stand almost humanly erect and have hands and use them. We shall find that hands make brains, so they might well be getting somewhere if man had not beaten them to it and crowded them off the high road. Now they haven't a chance.

But they do have the family look. Just compare them with some of the old family portaits we have dug up. We really had to dig for them, these portraits, for the family album is the earth itself and the portaits are the fossil bones we have found. It must be confessed that the earliest grandfather of them all, old Pithecanthropus Erectus of Java, was an unlovely low-brow. He was not an ape, oh no, but he certainly had the marks. In the scale of brains, he stood right between the ape below and ourselves above.

But just how did man get his brains ? Well, he just happened to get the right training. Then too, Nature gave him several good boosts. His hands, however, can take most of the credit. With hands he handless things, examines them, does things to them. He always learns best by doing. He learned reality by doing, for it really works. Apply an idea and you test it. If it is true,

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works; if false, it fails. Man got his truths that way. As he does his doing with his hands, he got his truths through his hands.

—

Our Double Heredity

Jesse H. Holmes reminds in *Unity* the 'double heredity' of man—a rational side and a material or animal side of his existence :

In spite of pseudo-science and pseudo-metaphysics everyone knows that in some sense he is both mind and body and that at one time or another either may be the dominant partner, It is a pity we cannot stop here, but it is impossible; for another feature of this self-complex turns up in a capacity we have of evaluating the demands of mind and body. This demands a third person of the personal trinity who is by no means wholly impartial, but is. I think, on the whole a just judge. It pronounces for the claims of the body when hungry, thirsty, or tired; against it when experience shows that its demands are not for its own best interests. Also it decides for the mind in its search for understanding, in its struggle for clear vision, in its efforts to plan effective futures. Moreover it selects the mind as the more important element, to which the body must yield in the cases where their interests conflict. It is not an infallible judge, for it may be overinfluenced and even carried away by bodily passions, or by exaggerated mind-vanities which condemn the body as essentially evil. This seems to me at least one way of helpfully viewing the "self" for practical purposes; and in considering this trinity I think there is much more danger of confusion in "confounding the persons" than in dividing the substance.

—

Christianity and Evolution

Professor Lewis G. Westgate, writing in the *Current History*, does not forget the point of the above writer; but in evolution he sees a truer aid to the religious belief. Concludes the professor.

Science gives valued support to intelligent religious belief. Science teaches that we live in a world of law, in a dependable world. And we are coming to see not only that the world of nature apart from man is a dependable world, but that our human world as well is a dependable social and moral order. What a man sows that shall he also reap. This conception is fundamental to religion.

Science makes a second and not less important contribution to religious belief in evolution. Evolution is not only not in conflict with essential Christianity, it is the strongest support which science can give to the spiritual interpretation of the world and so to religion. Evolution includes plants and animals below man and man himself; not only his body, but his mind and spirit as well —his total personality. As body and mind evolve together (we know not how) in the development of each individual, so they have evolved together (again we know not how) in the history of the race and of life. Through millions of years life has been developing, producing in succession the higher groups of animals. Through several hundreds of thousands of years mankind has been developing through half-human ancestors, through savagery and barbarism to civilized man at his best as we know him today; to Isaiah, Socrates, Paul, Savonarola. Shakespeare, to the countless men and women who in their limited spheres are living helpful, courageous constructive lives and aiding in the onward march of humanity. The whole process is a unity. It can be judged only when one sees the end, or enough of it to get some idea of the end. Different people will interpret in the different ways, and there is much about it that we cannot, perhaps never can, understand. Some are saying that it came about by the chance concurrence of atoms, in a purely mechanical way, with no intelligence behind it. Some of us cannot take this view of it, cannot look at this long result of time and believe that it took place without a directing intelligence behind it, an intelligence akin to our own but vastly greater, and conscious of the direction and meaning of the whole process, The stream cannot rise higher than its source. If at the end we find moral and spiritual values, they would seem to imply an intelligence caring for moral and spiritual values. But this is to make the universe spiritual and not material, to conserve religious values, I know perfectly well that this is faith, not knowledge. philosophy, not science. But no thinking scientist no thinking human being, can avoid becoming at times a philosopher. It is not a question of becoming a philosopher but of what kind of a philosopher one shall become.

The critical and pressing problem today is : Is this world spiritual? Does it conserve personal spiritual values, or is it indifferent to all that man holds dearest? The doctrine of evolution, proposed first in the field of biology to explain the origin of species and since extended to cover the origin of the earth and of the solar system, of the stars, and of man, both body and personslity, offers a definite contribution to the solution of this problem in a way that can help religfous belief.

—

How a German Servant Girl Spends her Money

It is interesting to learn from *Frankfurter Zeitung* (reproduced in *The Living Age*) how a German cook spends her money.

Some idea of what this 1928 German servant girl is like can be gained from a knowledge of how she spends her money. A correspondent sends to the *Frankfurter Zeitung* the following expense schedule of a twenty-old German cook :

One pair of silk stockings.....	§1.36
One chemise.....G.....	.23
One pair horn-rimmed spectacles (without glass).....	2.02
One comb.....	.07
One pair knickers.....	.23

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Two detective stories	.42
Monthly installment on cookery book	.30
One ring with fancy stone	.36
Lipstick, scent, and powder	1.43

The German servant girl is modernizing herself according to what she believes from the American films she sees, to be the best American tradition She put silk stockings on her legs, that they may be displayed to as good advantage as the legs of the film stars ; she watches her appearance carefully, paints and powders, spends little on undergarments not exposed to the gaze of friends and passers-by ; she is literary to the extent of reading detective stories in addition to cook books and, to increase the intellectual impression which is reported to have a strong effect on the German equivalent of the American boy friend, she wears horn-rimmed spectacles, even though in her case she does not go to the needles expense of having lenses put in them.

The cook seems to be no way worse off than many an Indian College boy.

—

Provision for the 'Teachers' Dependents

In considering the retirement system for the teachers in U. S. A.. the *Monthly Labour Review* (July) offers to our teachers, who are organising themselves as well as to the employees of the other public-service department, some very useful suggestions which they may examine for their own benefit. Provision for dependents differs in the different States as follows :

Eight of the State systems—Connecticut, Maryland, Massachusetts. New Jersey, New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania, and Wisconsin—provide that at the time of retirement the employee may choose one of severel options, either taking a straight allowance to be continued through his life, or choosing a smaller allowance, part or all of which is to be continued after his death to some selected beneficiary, or receiving some other actuarial equivalent of the total amount credited to him. In case of the death of a contributor before reaching pensionable status Maryland and Wisconsin give death benefits. The other 10 systems make no provision for dependents.

Among the city systems, New York, Minneapolis, and the New York Board of Education provide options at the time of retirement. Under the Mineapolis system if a member dies in service the amount of the city's deposits to his credit, with interest, is paid as a death benefit. New York gives six months' salary as a death benefit if the decedent had qualified for retirement, and the Board of Education system gives the same amount if a member dies in the service from ordinary causes. If, however, the death was due to injury received in the service, a pension of one-half the average annual salary for the last five years is given to the widow, dependent children, or dependent parent. The other systems make no provision for dependents of either contributors or pensioners, though in Milwaukee and in Washington if a pensioner dies before he has drawn benefits to the amount of his own contributions to the fund the difference will be returned to his heirs.

—

The Eleventh International Labour Conference

The conclusions in brief of the Eleventh International Labour Conference that met at Geneva from 30 May to 16 June to consider the questions of minimum wage and industrial accidents are reproduced below from the *International Labour Review* :—

The Eleventh Session of the Conference may be said to have closed on a general note of optimism. There was every justification for this since the Conference brought its work to a successful conclusion. It adopted a Convention and a Recommendation on Minimum Wage-Fixing Machinery, thus laying down the lines of the future work of the International Labour Organisation on the question of wage regulation.

As far as the question of accident prevention was concerned, the Conference decided to place on the agenda of the 1929 Session the general problem of accident prevention and the special questions relating to the safety of workers engaged in loading and unloading ships. Here again the work was accomplished without any very serious difficulty. The incidents which arose during the discussion of the question relating to work in ports were closed by a compromise which left no room for misunderstanding. The solution adopted on the question of accidents due to couplings on railways is only an interim one, but it is nevertheless a solution accepted by the principal parties concerned. Moreover, the period of waiting will be passed in an active and not in a passive way, since the Conference proposes that a parmanent committee representing all three groups of the International Labour Organisation shall be set up to follow the technical development of the question untill it comes up for discussion again. Thus, the Conference arrived at definite solutions on all the subjects on its official agenda.

—

Sacco-Vanzetti—Crime

"*The Nation*" of New York (Aug. 22, 1928) in a call for action reopens the story of the lamentable crime of statecraft of which a year ago the two unfortunate persons were the victims. Particularly noteworthy and reprehensible is the following aspect of the affair :

Probably the aspect of the case which to most people seemed especially unjust was that in the entire six years that intervened between the trial and their execution, and in spite of the appeals to various courts, Sacco and Vanzetti were never able to obtain a reexamination of the evidence upon which the jury convicted them of murder

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All appeals had to be based on errors of law. A reexamination of the evidence was possible only through a new trial to be obtained by order of the judge who had presided at the first one. The obstinacy and prejudice of Judge Webster Thayer in refusing a new trial sent the prisoners to the electric chair without ever a chance for a reinvestigation of a chain of testimony, some of which was outrageous nonsense and all of which was passed upon in the hysterical year of 1921 by a jury hot with passion against foreigners and cold with fear of radicals. After the execution of Sacco and Vanzetti Governor Fuller himself recommended amendment of the Massachusetts law so that in capital cases the right of appeal should carry with it the power to reexamine the evidence as well as the legal procedure. A bill was drawn which in this respect would have placed Massachusetts beside New York, but it was allowed to die.

—

Inventor of the Color Camera

The real inventor of some worthy attainment is hardly known to the public, who cheer the head or apparent leader. *The Nation* in examining the summer 'spasm of progress' cheers such an inventor:

Television by Radio, gas bullets that can be fired around corners, practical color cameras, three kinds of talking motion pictures, automatic repairing machines for silk stockings—we are dizzy with the multitude and variety of inventions that have been announced in the last few weeks. The summer of 1928 should be remembered in history as a continuous spasm of progress. The surprising thing about most of these inventions is the anonymity of the inventors. We remember Stephenson and Morse and Bell; our children will see their pictures in the school-books for many generations. But what name emerges from the brilliant summer of 1928 as immortal? The average American could not mention a single name as associated with any of the recent great inventions. Yes, perhaps he could mention one name, that of George Eastman in connection with the color camera. But who invented the color camera? Not Mr. Eastman or even the able head of his research laboratories, Dr. C. E. Kenneth Mees. The inventor was a man who spent ten years in the Eastman laboratories studying color photography. His name is John G. Capstaff. Three cheers for Capstaff!

—

Talking Robots

We learn from an interesting article reproduced by *The Literary Digest* August 18. that the mechanical man can now talk back. We read.

THE EVOLUTION OF THE MECHANICAL MAN has taken a further step, we are told by a writer in the New York *Times*. Formerly it could do nothing but hear and obey. Now it can talk back. The Televox was hailed as the perfect employee when it was first invented by R, J. Wensley of the Westinghouse Company. because it could obey orders, and do nothing else. It could not even speak when spoken to. Now, the writer says, the inventor has endowed it with words. He continues:

"Whem it is hailed over the telephone it responds in a well modulated and deferential voice,

"Televox speaking,"

"It can even imitate a conversation. If something goes wrong, for instance, at a power substation where the Televox is on duty, it can lift the receiver and say:

"This is the televox calling for Main 5000,'

"When the televox is connected with that number the conversation will continue in buzzer code. The man at headquarters will ask by interrogatory buzzes what is wrong and the televox will reply in the same form, one, two, or three buzzes, of a combination of buzzes, each meaning something different.

"In place of vocal cords the mechanical man has had a talking film introduced among its organs. The words to be spoken are recorded by photography on a film and introduced into the physiology of the man that was born in a laboratory.

"An English-speaking race of machines is now being reared by the Westinghouse Company to substitute for watchman in power substations where the information to be transmitted is not complicated. Adjustments are made so that a break in the electrical current in one place causes a set-up in the machine which reports that fact. A break elsewhere causes a different set-up and a different report.

"A particularly human touch was introduced by the inventor, who had started the talking career of his electrical young men by furnishing them with language in which to complain about the weather. They have adjusted so that they can call up headquarters and report. 'It's hot' or 'It's cold. This information is of value as a warning because too much heat or cold is dangerous to the engine.

"The first three members of the mechanical race—familiarly known as 'Adam,' 'Cain.' and 'Abel,' Eve being omitted because the automatic kingdom has not been divided into two factions—are on duty in Washington as employees of the War Department, assigned to report on the condition of the city's water supply. Adam, Cain and Abel furnish daily bulletins on the amount of water in each reservoir.

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The All-India Leaders' Conference at Lucknow has done well by nominating Srimati Sarojini Naidu as India's ambassador to America for replying to the vile and inspired propaganda by interested people against Indians in general, and India's womanhood in particular. Early in 1924 Mrs. Naidu



Mrs. Sarojini Naidu

went to South Africa on a mission on behalf of the oppressed Indians and rendered great service to the Overseas Indians. We think no better selection could have been made this time too, as by her culture and erudition she is the most suitable person to be entrusted with this noble mission. We hope she will give a smashing rejoinder to interested calumniators against Indians and dispel the ignorance of average Americans regarding India's culture and civilisation.



Mrs. Sriram Bhagirath Ammal

Miss Amiya Ganguli of Dacca, a girl of ten, was awarded several special prizes for her success in the recent Two Miles Swimming Race at Dacca. His Excellency the Governor gave away the prizes.

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Miss. MANORAMA, of Vizagpatam is the first Oriya lady to come out successful in the recent S. S. L. C. Examination conducted by the Madras government. She comes off a poor family and is now a student of the college classes in the Mrs. A. V. N. College, Vizagpatam. Her school career was



Mrs. Raghava Ammal

equally brilliant—she having won some certificates and medals of distinction in music, knitting, and for general profeciency.

MRS. SRIRAM BHAGIRATH AMMAL has just been appointed as a member of the Chingleput District Educational Council (Madras Presidency).

MRS. RAGAVA AMMAL and MRS. AMRITH AMMAL (a lady belonging to the Adi-Dravida community) have been nominated as municipal councillors at Vellore and Chidamburam respectively.

We print in this issue a photograph of SRIMATI SANTISUDHA GHOSE about whose academic



Mrs. Amrith Ammal



Miss Manorama

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Srimati Santisudha Ghose



Miss Amiya Ganguli

distinctions we referred to in *the Modern Review* for August.

RAM MOHUN ROY ON INTERNATIONAL FELLOWSHIP

[The letters printed below have been sent to us for publication by Mr. Brajendranath Banerji, who is well-known for his researches among old records. In the communication to the Foreign Minister ef France, the reader will find the principle underlying the League of Nations, with its international court of justice, anticipated by Raja Ram Mohun Roy. His belief in the unity of mankind, referred to by Rabindranath Tagore in his centenary addrress on the Raja, published in our last issue, receives a fresh illustration in this communication. All these show how much in advance of his age he was.—Editor, *The Modern Review.*]

To

T. Hyde Villiers, Esq.,
Secretary to the India Board

Sir,

India having providentially been placed under the care of the Board of Control, I feel necessarily induced to have recourse to that authority when occasion requires. I, therefore, hope you will excuse the intrusion I make with the following lines.

I am informed that for the purpose of visiting France it is necessary to be provided with a passport and that before granting it, the French Ambassador must be furnished with an account of the applicant.

Such restrictions against foreigners are not observed even among the Nations of Asia (China excepted). However, their observance by France may perhaps be justified on the ground that she is surrounded by Governments entirely despotic as

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three sides and by nations kept down merely by the bayonet or by religious delusion.

In the event of my applying to Prince Talleyrand for a passport I beg to know whether I shall be justified in referring to you in your official capacity as to my character. All that I can say for myself is, that I am a traveller and that my heart is with the French people in their endeavours to support the cause of liberal principles.

Sir Francis Burdett, at Mr. Byng's, liberally and spontaneously offered to give me a letter of introduction to General Lafayette, but this will not, I think, serve my purpose on my first landing in France.

I have the honor to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
RAM MOHUN ROY.

London, 48 Bedford Sq.
Decr. 22nd, 1831.

To
Hyde Villiers, Esq.,
Secretary to Board of Commissioners
for the Affairs of India.

Sir,

I have the honor to receive your letter of the 27th instant and I beg to offer my warm acknowledgements to the Board for their attention to my application of the 23rd of this month.

I beg to be permitted to add that, as I intimated to the Board my intention of eventually applying to the French Ambassador resident in London for a passport for France, I now deem it proper to submit to you for the information of the Board a copy of an intended communication from me to the Foreign Minister of France, the result of which I shall await before I apply to the French Ambassador.

Unless I have the honor to hear from you that such an address would be irregular and unconstitutional, I shall forward it to a friend in Paris to be presented in due form.

I have the honor to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient Servant,
RAM MOHUN ROY

London
December 28th, 1831.

[Endorsed]
28 December, 1831.
Rajah Ram Mohun Roy
Transg. copy of an intended communication to the Foreign Minister of France.
Private note from Mr. Villiers to Ram Mohun Roy, Jan. 4, 1832.

To
The Minister of Foreign Affairs of France,
Paris.

Sir,

You may be surprised at receiving a letter from a Foreigner, the Native of a country situated many thousand miles from France, and I assuredly would not now have trespassed on your attention, were I not induced by a sense of what I consider due to myself and by the respect I feel towards a country standing in the foremost rank of free and civilized nations.

2nd. For twelve years past I have entertained a wish (as noticed, I think, in several French and English Periodicals) to visit a country so favoured by nature and so richly adorned by the cultivation of the arts and sciences, and above all blessed by the possession of a free constitution. After surmounting many difficulties interposed by religious and national distinctions and other circumstances, I am at last opposite your coast, where, however, I am informed that I must not place my foot on your territory unless I previously solicit and obtain an express permission for my entrance from the Ambassador or Minister of France in England.

3rd. Such a regulation is quite unknown even among the Nations of Asia (though extremely hostile to each other from religious prejudices and political dissensions), with the exception of China, a country noted for its extreme jealousy of foreigners and apprehensions of the introduction of new customs and ideas. I am, therefore, quite at a loss to conceive how it should exist among a people so famed as the French are for courtesy and liberality in all other matters.

4th. It is now generally admitted that not religion only but unbiassed common sense as well as the accurate deductions of scientific research lead to the conclusion that all mankind are one great family of which the numerous nations and tribes existing are only various branches. Hence enlightened men in all countries must feel a wish to encourage and facilitate human intercourse in every manner by removing as far as possible all impediments to it in order to

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promote the reciprocal advantage and enjoyment of the whole human race.

5th. It may perhaps be urged that during the existence of war and hostile feelings between any two nations (arising probably from their not understanding their real interests), policy requires of them to adopt these precautions against each other. This, however, only applies to a state of warfare. If France, therefore, were at war with surrounding nations or regarded their people as dangerous, the motive for such an extraordinary precaution might have been conceived.

6th. But as a general peace has existed in Europe for many years, and there is more particularly so harmonious an understanding between the people of France and England and even between their present Governments, I am utterly at a loss to discover the cause of a regulation which manifests, to say the least, a want of cordiality and confidence on the part of France.

7th. Even during peace the following excuses might perhaps be offered for the continuance of such restrictions, though in my humble opinion they cannot stand a fair examination.

First: If it be said that persons of bad character should not be allowed to enter France: still it might, I presume, be answered that the granting of passports by the French Ambassador here is not usually founded on certificates of character or investigation into the conduct of individuals. Therefore, it does not provide a remedy for that supposed evil.

Secondly: If it be intended to prevent felons escaping from justice: this case seems well-provided for by the treaties between different nations for the surrender of all criminals.

Thirdly: If it be meant to obstruct the flight of debtors from their creditors: in this respect likewise it appears superfluous, as the bankrupt laws themselves after a short imprisonment set the debtor free even in his own country; therefore, voluntary exile from his own country would be, I conceive, a greater punishment.

Fourthly: If it be intended to apply to political matters, it is in the first place not applicable to my case. But on general grounds I beg to observe that it appears to me the ends of constitutional government might be better attained by submitting every matter of political difference between two countries to a Congress composed of an equal number from the Parliament of each; the decision of the majority to be acquiesced in by both nations and the Chairman to be chosen by each Nation alternately, for one year, and the place of meeting to be one year within the limits of one country and next within those of the other; such as at Dover and Calais for England and France.

8th. By such a Congress all matters of difference, whether political or commercial, affecting the Natives of any two civilized countries with constitutional Governments, might be settled amicably and justly to the satisfaction of both and profound peace and friendly feelings might be preserved between them from generatoin to generation.

9th. I do not dwell on the inconvenience which the system of passports imposes in urgent matters of business and in cases of domestic affliction. But I may be permitted to observe that the mere circumstance of applying for a passport seems a tacit admission that the character of the applicant stands in need of such a certificate or testimonial before he can be permitted to pass unquestioned. Therefore, any one may feel some delicacy in exposing himself to the possibility of a refusal which would lead to an inference unfavourable to his character as a peaceable citizen.

My desire, however, to visit that country is so great that I shall conform to such conditions as are imposed on me, if the French Government, after taking the subject into consideration, judge it proper and expedient to continue restrictions contrived for a different state of things, but to which they may have become reconciled by long habit; as I should be sorry to set up my opinion against that of the present enlightened Government of France.

I have the honor to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient humble Servant,
Sd. RAM MOHUN ROY

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By BENARSIDAS CHATURVEDI

Overcrowding on Board the 'Coolie' Steamers :—

Newspapers have published to-day the following news from Durban :—

Durban, Sept, 25.

Twenty-four Indians died on board repatriation ship "Sutlej" which called here on a voyage from George Town,

The "Sutlej" has seven hundred and seventy-five Indians on board and these were employed at George Town as indentured labour on sugar plantations.—"Reuter."

It is a pathetic news, the full significance of which has not been understood by our papers. There is a barbaric rule—a relic of the old Indenture days—according to which so much space is allowed to the labourers on board the 'coolie,' ships and though the indenture system has been abolished this rule still continues to hold good and consequently there is very much overcrowding on these steamers. Last time S. S. the Sutlej brought to Calcutta more than 900 persons from Fiji—all packed up like animals. I interviewed Honourable Badri Maharaj and Mr. Gopendra Narayan, who returned by that steamer, about this question and they bitterly complained against overcrowding on board the Sutlej Now comes the news that twenty four Indians returning from British Guiana have died on board the same Steamer. Who is responsible for these deaths ? The Government of India or the British India Steam Navigation Company ? Imagine the case of those poor people, who were deceived and sent away to British Guiana under indenture and who were returning to their Motherland after a long period but who died in the way on board the steamer. The cable has been sent from Durban and the Sutlej has still to make a voyage of 20 days more. We are therefore afraid that some more death may take place before she reaches her destination. It is the duty of the Government of India to enquire into this case immediately after the arrival of the steamer. The inhuman regulations which allow this overcrowding ought to



Prabhu Singh in S. Africa

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be removed from the statute book as early as possible.

The Successor of Right Honourable V. S. Srinivas Sastri

Mr. Sastri has decided to return from South Africa in the beginning of the year 1929. It is needless to say anything about his work there. Mr. Sastri has won the hearts of our people in South Africa by his great generosity, wonderful eloquence, perfect manners and above all his unaffected humility. A combination of these qualities of head and heart is very rare indeed and even India cannot produce two Sastris at a time. Now that he is coming away to the Motherland we have to consider the question of his



Prabhu Singh as at present

successor. Unfortunately none of our first class leaders can be spared at this time and what is still more regrettable most of them do not take any interest in the problems of Indians abroad. One thing is certain and that is we cannot find another man of Sastri's eminence to succeed him. Three names have been suggested by some papers, Sir Mohammad Habibullah, Mr. Jayakar and Kunwar Maharaj Singh. We do not intend to make any comparison of their respective qualifications. There is only one consideration which must overweigh others and that is, who will be able to serve the cause of our people most of all in South Africa at this stage.

From this point of view the choice of Kunwar Maharaj Singh will be decidedly the best under the circumstances. Kunwar Saheb was sent by the Government of India to Mauritius, British Guiana, Trinidad, Kenya, Uganda, Zanzibar and Tanganyika and he did his work in these colonies to the great satisfaction of our compatriots abroad. The dignified reply which he gave to Sir Edward Grigg's unfortunate utterance at Nairobi will not be forgotten by the latter for a long time to come. It was to a great extent due to the efforts of Kunwar Saheb and his friend Mr. Ewbank that our countrymen in East Africa could show a united front at the time of the Hilton Young Commission. Kunwar Saheb's speeches in Mauritius went a great way to bring about unity among our people in that colony and that gave an appreciable help in the election of two of our countrymen to the Legislative Council. His report about Mauritius was an admirable document. There is another gentleman in the Government of India whose services to our people abroad must be mentioned here and he is Sir G. L. Corbett. Sir. Corbett's despatches about South and East Africa and his part in preparing the Fiji report, which has been suppressed by the Government of India, will always be remembered with gratitude by our people. He can certainly be expected to defend our rights in S. Africa and were it not for the reason that we want an Indian to go to South Africa at this time, Sir Corbett's choice would have been as good as that of any Indian.

There is one thing more in favour of Kunwar Saheb. He is an educationist and our people in South Africa will receive great help from him in connection with their educational schemes. It is to be hoped that the Government of India will select him to succeed the Right Honourable V. S. Srinivas Sastri.

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Indian Question in Kenya

In view of the fact that conversations were going on between some of our leaders in Kenya and some reasonable Europeans in that colony regarding some sort of settlement of the Indian question, we think it necessary to give some definite opinion on this subject. We should urge it upon our countrymen in Kenya to keep before their eyes the following fundamental principles affecting the Indian position there :—

(a) There must be no encroachment at all by any immigrant community upon Native Reserves or Native rights in land.

(b) There must be no racial segregation as between immigrant communities in any shape or form by statute or regulation. Where such racial differentiation exists steps must be taken, as occasion arises, to substitute for it legislation or regulations of a non-racial character. This involves, for example, that Indians cannot on principle recognise the reservation of the highland area for exclusively white settlement or of any portion of the lowland area for exclusively Indian settlement. In practice it is highly probable that almost no non-white settlers will desire to settle in the highlands and that almost no white settlers will desire to settle in the other non-reserved areas. Theoretically, there should be the right of any community, including the Natives, to acquire land for settlement purposes in any part of the non-native areas of the Colony.

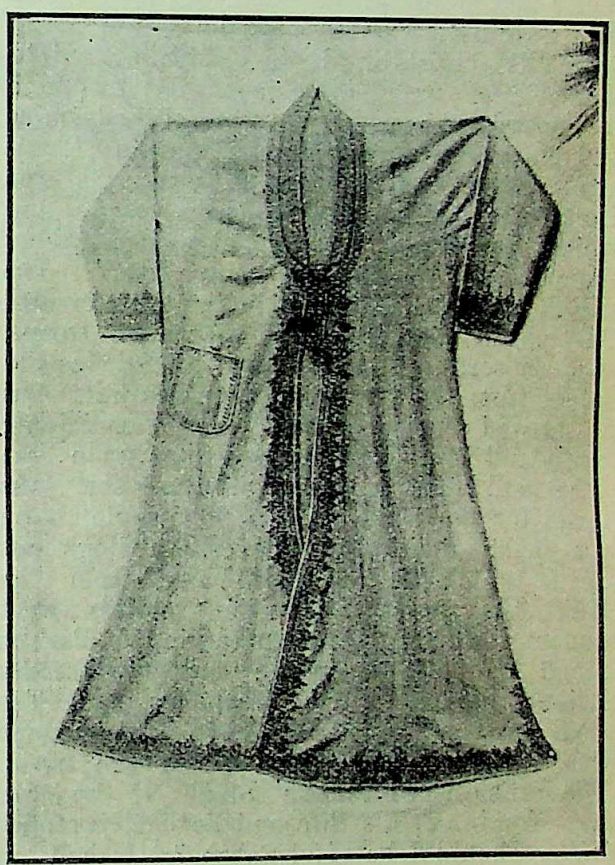
(c) There can be no recognition of communal franchise. The common franchise is essential. If an agreement is come to, for a term of years, that there shall be so many seats reserved for Europeans and so many seats reserved for non-Europeans, it must be made clear that at the end of this agreed period the position is automatically reopened, so that the relative number of seats reserved to any community is kept elastic, and may be modified according to the then existing situation. It is especially necessary to avoid the setting up of any standardised numerical proportions, or the treating of such numerical proportions as may first be agreed upon as a precedent.

(d) The door must, so long as immigration is at all permitted to the Colony, be kept effectively open for Indian immigration.

(e) Nothing must be done to compromise or jeopardise the position of Indians in the adjoining territories or the principles guiding Indian policy regarding the emigration and settlement of Indians abroad.

The Case of Prabhu Singh

The Indian public ought to be grateful to Swami Bhawani Dayal Sanyasi of Jacobs (Natal) South Africa for bringing to their notice the case of a Bihari gentleman who did very creditable sevice to the British Government during the Boer War, but whose services



The Choga presented to Prabhu Singh by Lady Curzon

have not been properly appreciated either by the Indian public or by the Government up to this time. Here is an account of Prabhu Singh and his memorable work during the Boer War.

Prabhu Singh, is an inhabitant of Bhabua in the Province of Bihar. In the year 1896, owing to a quarrel with his brother he left home and got himself recruited as an indentured labourer and was sent to Natal. Here he was employed by the Dundee Coal Company and served them nearly for three

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years, when the Boer War broke out on 12th October, 1899. General Joubert advanced with a force of 20,000 men towards Ladysmith, the strong-hold of the British, and took possession of the Coal fields. The Indians that were serving there, were sent away towards Johannesburg in a railway train to serve the Boers. At night fall some 500 of them managed to escape under the leadership of Prabhu Singh and reached the town of Ladysmith before it was besieged. They were admitted by the late Colonel Sir George White and were given work. Prabhu Singh with 26 others was appointed to serve the Scotch Regiment No. 7, the work allotted to him being to guard provisions. By this time the Boers had besieged the town of Ladysmith and placed their heavy guns on the North and North-East of the Town. On the Umbulwana Hill was placed a huge gun which carried a 96lb shell and was named by the British soldiers "Long Tom." The pieces of this shell falling in the town created havoc. Sir George White, with all his troops, made a sortie from the town to dislodge the Boers from their possession on the hills but it proved unsuccessful. Bags containing earth and sand were heaped one upon the other and thus a shelter of some sort was made for the soldiers. One day while ration was being distributed and Prabhu Singh was on his watch duty, a shell came from the Hill. The sergeant and the soldiers went under the heap of bags crying to Parbhu Singh to do the same; but the fearless Rajput did not move from his post. The shell passing over his head went beyond the town and fell in the water of the river. The Saheb asked Prabhu Singh if he was not afraid of his life and he boldly replied "Why should I be afaid Saheb ? I shall go to Baikunth (Heaven) with the shell if my death is come, otherwise I will throw off the shell with my stick." The matter was reported to the high military officer and Prabhu Singh was appointed to stand on a high place with the Union Jack in his hand and give timely warning to all to take shelter. This he did by waving the flag and crying aloud the word "Basab" in his peculiarly thrilling tone. The siege lasted for three months and provisions ran short. Horses and asses had to be killed for food and for a month Prabhu Singh had to live on four ounces of maize powder a day, but the brave man never shrank from his self imposed duties.

In the end the besieging army having been defeated and their General Cronjee taken a prisoner, Ladysmith was released by Lord Kitchner. There was great jubilation and thanks-giving at the time and Prabhu Singh was recipient of all the praise and honour that he was so nobly entitled to. "The Review and Critic," the then leading weekly of Durban published articles eulogizing the brave deeds of the hero. The proprietors of the said paper announced two classes of awards, first and second, represented by silver and brown medals respectively to be called "Critic Heroes Medals." They were to be awarded to any two men who were found after due investigation deserving on account of conspicuous bravery and heroism. All classes were to be equally eligible for this. The fact of their decision was published in the paper dated 6th October, 1900 as follows :—

The Silver Medal
(First Class) is presented to
"Prabhu Singh"

"The Editor has decided that the first Critic hero medal for conspicious bravery shall go to Prabhu Singh, his bravery is fully explained in the following extract from a contemporary.

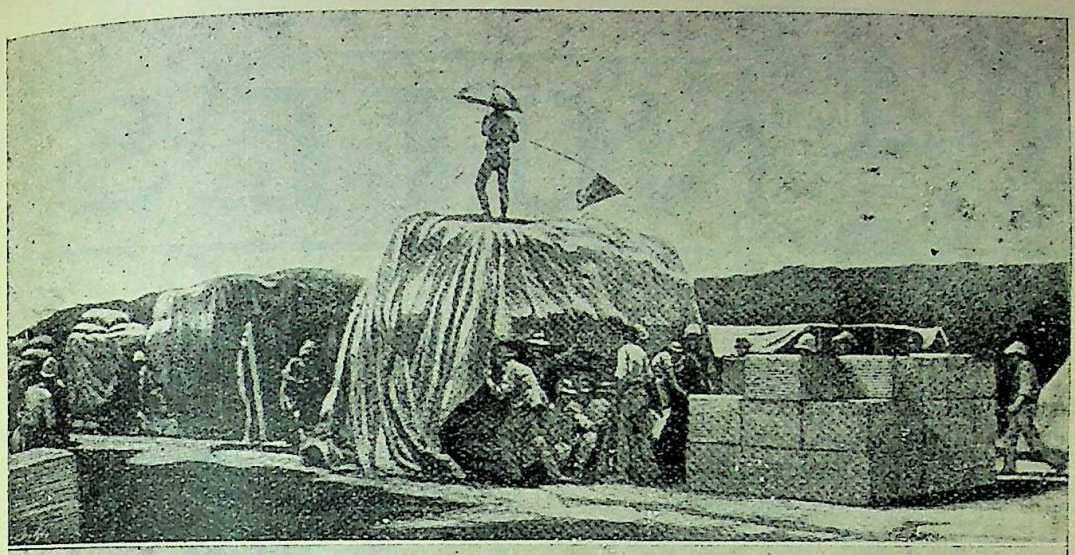
"During the siege of Ladysmith, Prabhu Singh acted as a guard of property and on the firing of the big guns on Umbulwana he warned the garrison with a flag and enabled them to take cover. In this way he no doubt saved many lives. Prabhu Singh put himself in a position of danger and endeavoured to save white men as much as possible. So faithful was this brave man in his duty that not in a single instance did he fail to warn the garrison of the firing of the enemies' guns.

"The Editor thinks that all the readers of the Critic will agree that this man has nobly earned by his conspicious bravery and devotion to duty the first Critic Hero's Medal. If it is possible the presentation will be made in public. The inscription on the Medal will be 'Presented to Prabhu Singh in recognition of his bravery during the siege of Ladysmith, when he signalled, from an exposed position, the firing of the Boer Guns on Umbulwana'. The clasp will bear the date '1899-1900'."

The Medal was not ready when the hero left the colony hence it could not actually

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(Photo by Lieut. J. F. Forbes, Gordons.

THE SIGNAL TO SEEK SHELTER.

A Hindoo, on a heap of flour bags, announcing with a flag the firing of a shell from "Long Tom." Gordons getting into shelter

be presented to him, nor has it been handed over to him up to now.

Sir George White specially mentioned Prabhu Singh's name in one of his speeches in England which attracted the notice of Lady Curzon, who was graciously pleased to send a Choga to be presented to him.

Prabhu Singh came out to India in December 1900 with a letter of introduction from Mahatma Gandhi to Shriyut Surendra Nath Banerjee. In this letter Mahatmaji had asked Mr. Banerjee to make an arrangement so that Prabhu Singh might pay his respects personally to Lady Curzon and also to the Viceroy.

Swami Bhawani Dayal writes :—

"Prabhu Singh left the Colony in December 1900 and reached Calcutta but as ill-luck would have it, he was not aware of the contents of Mahatmajee's letter to Babu Surendra Nath Banerjee and did not know that it had been arranged that he could see the Viceroy and place his case before His Excellency. He had no friend with him who could guide him is this matter. The result was that he came home with 90 guineas only, a major part of which was his own earning in the coal fields. He married and led the life of a simple cultivator. He is a little over 60 years now and a penniless man. He has to support a family of 5 or 6 souls with very little income from cultivation. Prabhu Singh, who was highly applauded and admired both by the Government and his fellow subjects (Indians and Europeans) for his fearless courage and selfless service, is now reduced to the condition of a miserable wretch for want of proper food and clothing for himself and his children.

This is in short the story of the saviour of Ladysmith, the siege of which lasted for 3 months."

We draw the attention of the Government of India to the case of Prabhu Singh and request them to help him in his hour of need. It is their duty to do so.

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NOTES

New Marathi Historical Records

Vinayak Lakshman Bhave, who died on 12th September, 1926, was best known as the author of the standard History of Marathi Literature and editor of the most scholarly text of the saint Tukaram's hymns. He was also a keen student of Marathi history, as his pamphlets on various episodes of the Shivaji period and his edition of the *Shedgaonkar Bhonsle Bakhar* show. We are glad that his son L. V. Bhave of Talabpali, (Thana P. O.) has just published the last work on which this scholar was engaged, under the name of *Marathi Daftar*, *Rumal third* (Rs. 2-8). It contains a detailed chronology of Shivaji and 230 historical letters,—out of which 23 belong to Shivaji's times and 204 were addressed mostly to Ali Bahadur, the founder of the Nawab family of Banda (Bundelkhand), who died in 1802. They are invaluable for the light they throw on the political and social conditions of Poona between 1786 and 1800.

—

"O' Dwyer is Murderer"

London, Sept. 24.

Uproarious scenes were witnessed at Brotherhood Church in North London when Sir Michael O'Dwyer rose and attempted to give an address on India. Members of the audience stood up, shouted and unfurled placards bearing the words, "O'Dwyer is murderer." "Murdering English workers." Sir Michael O'Dwyer realised the futility of proceeding and left the platform.—*Reuter.*

Among Anglo-Indian and British diehards Sir Michael O'Dwyer enjoys the reputation of having been the saviour of the British Empire in India. Has he now earned the honorofic title of 'murderer' for his work in India, or for his anti-Labour opinions in England?

—

Public Safety Bill

In the Legislative Assembly, there were 61 votes for and 61 against the Government motion for consideration of the Public Safety Bill. It was defeated by the casting vote of President Patel, who observed:—

"If any individual member seeks to place such an extraordinary measure on the Statute Book, he must convince the House and get the majority in his own favour. The Home Member has failed to secure a clear majority in his favour and cannot expect the Chair to give his casting vote in favour of the motion for consideration."

Even *The Statesman* supports his action by observing:—

It is not to be imagined that the PRESIDENT rejoiced in the responsibility that accident had placed upon him. His decision was determined for him by convention and tradition. A Speaker or President uses his casting vote to maintain the *status quo*, so that the matter at issue may be brought before the House again. Legislation by casting vote would be an anomaly; it is too much to expect of one man, placed in an office of which impartiality is demanded, that he should by his own word make changes in the rights of citizens or visitors. Mr. PATEL was loyal to the proprieties of his office.

"Warm and eloquent tributes are paid by the party leaders to the unofficial whips, especially Mr. Satyendra Chandra Mitra and Mr. Rafi Ahmed Kidwai, to whose untiring zeal and energy the unofficial victory is largely due."

Regarding the consequences of the rejection of the Bill, the Chowringhee paper writes:—

So as legislators have refused to give Government the power of simple deportation over undesirable Englishmen, it will have to take other measures. Under the Foreigners' Act of 1870 it already possesses full powers where foreigners are concerned, but it is understood that the particular Red agents it has in mind at present are British. There seems nothing left to do but to accept the advice tendered by the Opposition and proceed under Regulation Three of 1818. In that case those proceeded against will hardly feel grateful to their Simla champions. Discretion is the better

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part of valour and if we were the evangelists in question we should take the next boat.

Indians regard both Britishers and other aliens as foreigners. But it seems the Foreigners' Act of 1870 is meant for the special benefit of non-British foreigners. Hence, according to the Chowringhee paper, the Public Safety Bill was proposed for the summary removal from India of undesirable Britishers. But the same paper says that they can be proceeded against under Regulation Three of 1818. Therefore, by taking action under either the Foreigners' Act of 1870 or Regulation Three of 1818, foreigners hailing from any country can be removed summarily from India. Where, then, was the necessity for a new law? under whatever law brought about, deportation is deportation. So why should British deportees not feel "grateful" for being proceeded against under Regulation III of 1818 ?—Perhaps British white men would consider it derogatory to their whitemanity to be dealt with according to a Regulation which has been usually resorted to to punish men of a subject race !

—

"Colour Bar after Death!"

The Week, Roman Catholic organ of Bombay, writes:—

The length to which racial animosity can go is proved by an occurrence which we would have deemed unbelieveable, had we not the authority of the St. Louis *Centralblatt* (of April) for it. It appears that in a place of Georgia, called Meldrim, an old servant, Marie G. Underwood, "a colored woman," died and that her remains were buried in the White cemetery in compliance with a dying request that she be buried in the lot of the Mattox family for whom she had worked twenty-two years. A petition that her request be granted was circulated and generally signed by White citizens. The funeral services were held in a White church with a White pastor officiating and a White choir furnishing the music. Only a few Negroes attended the services. After the body had remained in the White cemetery for five days, a petition appeared asking that it be removed. The request was not granted but on February 24 an open grave was found on the Mattox lot and a new grave in the Negro cemetery: a group of unknown men had removed the body at night and reinterred it in the cemetery for Negroes.

—

An Eminent Scientist on Prof. Bose's Work

Professor H. Molisch, the eminent plant physiologist of Vienna, has contributed an article to *Nature* on Sir J. C. Bose's work, which begins thus:—

After the conclusion of his recent lecture at the University of Vienna, Sir J. C. Bose was kind enough to lend me his instruments for the repetition of some of his more important experiments in the Institute of Plant Physiology of the University. As this is the first time that his experiments have been successfully repeated in a European laboratory, the following results which I obtained will be of interest to readers of "Nature."

Of Prof. Bose's Infinitesimal Contraction Recorder Dr. Molisch writes:—

This ingenious apparatus records the cellular contraction in the interior of the plant under external stimulation. The principle of the instrument is extremely simple; the extreme delicacy of the apparatus bears testimony to the extraordinary skill of the Indian mechanicians trained at the Bose Institute. The stem or other organ of the plant is placed between a fixed and a movable primary lever. The diametric contraction of the plant under stimulation is indicated by the movement of this primary lever which is further magnified by optical means, the total magnification produced being a million times. The indication of the instrument is not affected by mechanical disturbances.

The Vienna professor's experiments with Dr. Bose's apparatus to prove the sensitiveness of ordinary plants were equally successful. His experiments to test Dr. Bose's theory of the movement of sap have convinced him that the Indian scientist is right.

As regards the similarity of plants and animals in certain respects Dr. Molisch observes:—

The pulsatory activity is greatly increased by drugs which enhance cardiac activity in the animal; it is enfeebled or arrested by depressing agents. Extracts from certain Indian plants have a potent influence on the propulsive activity of the plant and the cardiac activity of the animal. This aspect of the investigation has roused considerable interest in the Medical Faculty of Vienna.

"I have seen," writes the Vienna professor in conclusion, "Sir J. C. Bose carry out the experiments described above and can confirm, since I have repeated some of them with Sir J. C. Bose's apparatus, that the results are as he has described."

—

Government Attitude towards Social Reform

The following letter addressed by a non-British Christian missionary to the *Indian Daily Mail* throws additional light on the Government attitude towards social reform:—

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The matter of the demand which the Government make of every non-British mission is seriously hampering our work. It gives every missionary an anti-Indian bias before he comes to the field, and many never overcome it. I will refer to my own experience to show you how seriously the Government take this undertaking, which Foreign Mission Boards have given on behalf of every missionary, that they will loyally co-operate with the Government. This summer, I received a communication from Government to the effect that if I did not cease attending political meetings, they would complain against me to my Board and would withdraw the Government grant which is being given to the high school with which I am connected. They said that they had no charge to make against me other than that I had attended such meetings, but they considered this to be a violation of the Board's undertaking. *They even objected to my having attended such meetings as have to do with widow remarriage, the removal of caste restrictions and Hindu-Muslim unity, on the ground that these all have political implications.* I called attention to the fact that the meetings which I attended dealing with these matters, were addressed to the people and not to the Government, but evidently the Government make no distinctions. (Italics ours).

This letter gives the same impression of the official attitude towards social reform as the following passage from a speech of Mrs. Wood in America published in our last issue, page 282 :—

Three times representative bodies of Indian women and men in 1925, 1926, and 1927 have demanded the raising of the age of marrigae, and *each time the Government of India has turned down the application.*

—

Councils and the Simon Commission

The elected members of Councils represent the country to some extent, though not at all completely. But the official and nominated members do not at all represent the country. It is mainly with the votes of the latter that the Government has succeeded in getting some provincial Councils and the Council of State to appoint committees to co-operate with the Simon Commission. Therefore, the cry that India has given up her resolve to boycott the Commission and will in the main co-operate with it has no foundation in fact.

—

Irrigation in Bengal

Sir William Wilcocks, the irrigation engineer of Egyptian fame, who was criticised by some British and Indian supporters of official neglect of irrigation in Bengal, sticks to his assertion that the so-called dead rivers of Bengal are really neglected canals. Says he, in part, in *Indian Engineering* :—

Mr. Thompson says that my ideas have been formed in the delta of the Nile which flows into a tideless sea and has a greater slope than the Ganges; and that in consequence, I was misled. I surveyed, levelled and worked for three years in the Tigris-Euphrates delta, where the rivers have a gentler slope than the Ganges and flow into the Persian Gulf with its 11-foot tide. I made no mistake. He says that I fell into the hands of Dr. Bentley and was led about by him. Dr. Bentley kindly acoompanied me to places first by myself. I know my profession and did not waste my time in futile studies at the tails of the rivers but spent it profitably at the head of the canals. We have a saying in Egypt: "Does a fish begin to go bad at the head or at the tail?" It is a saying worthy of the typical irrigated country of the world. One has only to compare the ordered alignment of the Bengal canals with the tangled mess south-east of Faridpur and east of Barisal to see that the Bengal canals were originally artificial and that that funny mess where Mr. Thompson wished me to waste my time is natural.

I talked about no "permanent ribs". I have never heard of such things. Rennel's maps lay on my table and were always referred to by me. They support me. There is as much chance of the Jelingi having been the main stream of the ancient Padma or Ganges as there is of the Ganges having once flowed up the Damodar river. I can assure Mr. Thompson of that. He possibly thinks I did not go deeply enough into the Puranas. I quoted the Mahabharat. I shall now quote, from memory, the Ramayan. This old classic tells us that when 50,000 of the King's subjects, working with their hands, could not bring the Ganges southwards, his grandson Bhagiratha working with his brain brought it down all right. All these so-called dead rivers are as surely neglected canals as they will one day be life-giving streams.

So long as British prodominance lasts "the so-called dead rivers" of Bengal will not be "life-giving streams," because British exploiters do not expect to get wheat and cotton from this part of the country.

—

Coastal Traffic Bill

Two years ago Mr. K. C. Neogy introduced the coastal traffic bill in the Legislative Assembly. This time he allowed Mr. Sarabhai Haji to move it there. This Mr. Haji did in a masterly and comprehensive speech, meeting all objections. The Bill has been referred to a Select Committee. In the course of the debate on the bill Sir James Simpson, representative of the Associated Chambers of Commerce in the Assembly, said :—

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Mr. Haji was only a paid servant of the Scindia Steam Navigation Company, which would benefit mostly by the Bill. It would have been preferable that the Bill should have been sponsored by a less interested person.

Sir James also said that "Scindia" was a member of the Conference of Shipping Companies participating in coastal trade and it was not for Mr. Haji, a paid servant of that Company, to decry the existing monopoly. It was an ill-bird that fouled its own nest.

Mr. Haji's Bill would not encourage Indian Shipping any way. Dispassionately analysed it boiled down to represent the cupidity of Indian capitalists to gain unfair advantage at the cost of European traders. Finally he asked the House to play the game.

Following Sir James Simpson, Mr. K. C. Neogy gave a spirited reply.

Mr. Neogy said that he looked to the Indian Year Book to find who this Simpson was. There was one Simpson, C. I. E., who got a Police medal. The previous speaker did not answer to that description. He next consulted Thacker's Directory, but there were forty-five Simpsons.

The President—Order, Order. What has that got to do with the Bill ?

Mr. Neogy:—I am referring into them because personal factors have been brought into the argument in this House. I find there is one Sir James Simpson serving in certain European firms who are agents of four or five Shipping Companies. To my mind this paid servant is the particular gentleman in the House. He represents the European Chambers in which is represented that British Shipping Company, the Inchcape gang.

Continuing, the speaker said that he himself brought the Bill in the House two years ago and it was also ballotted but in order to oblige the Government he did not pursue the measure, because the Government wanted to know where they stood. This time he allowed Mr. Haji to move it, because he knew of it better than the speaker. They were in the House in a representative capacity and what they were in private life, had got nothing to do with the question they had to deal with in the House (Hear, hear). Continuing, the speaker said that he had been in the House for more than seven years but he never heard such a disgraceful speech as that which was delivered with reference to Mr. Haji. "Play the game, said Sir Simpson", went on Mr. Neogy. "What game? The British game ? Let us see what the spiritual fathers of Sir James Simpson did in the past in reference to the question."

The speaker then read extracts from the reports of the Directors of the East India Company in which they declared their uncompromising opposition to the employment of Indian ships for carrying goods to England. This is the British game, this is the game to which the Hon'ble gentleman refers" (cheers).

—

Talk of Equal Rights

In the course of his speech Sir James Simpson claimed as a "British Indian National no special privileges but equal rights with the sons of the soil. I claim nothing more and will accept nothing less."

Sir James next read from the report of the Nehru Committee that the British community need not be apprehensive of their legitimate interests and appealed to Pandit Motilal Nehru as the author of the report to redeem the promise contained in the report. The vote of the leader of the opposition on the Bill would be a test of the genuineness of the assurance extended to the British community in the Nehru Report.

Pandit Motilal Nehru said in reply:

The Hon'ble Member for the Associated Chambers has paid me the compliment of quoting from the Constitution Report and inviting me to go into the lobby with him. I am prepared to make him a sporting offer. I am prepared to consider his invitation if the Hon'ble Member's constituency is prepared to accept here and to-day the report of the Constitution Committee and accept Dominion Status (cheers).

The Hon'ble Member, Sir, spoke of the glory of India. It would be more appropriate to call it the glory of Anglo-India. I use it in a large sense the term. I saw what this glory means when I went to Gauhati up the river Hooghly. I came across palatial residences of jute kings on the one hand and only a few miles further across the misery of the Indians who work for them. They were ill-fed, ill-clothed and ill-protected from wind and rain.

How British Rights were Acquired

Sir James talked of British rights in coastal trade. How was that right acquired ? No reply had been given to the long indictment of Mr. Haji as to how Indian Shipping had been ruthlessly strangled. Sir James talked of British rights in coal, jute, coffee, tea and oil industries. That was a tragedy of the situation that in all these industries the non-Indians dominated. Sir James also talked about equal rights and equal opportunities. I would ask the Member 'Had we any opportunities ?'

Sir James : Yes.

Pandit Motilal : No. What about the hundred and more tales which we can tell of the ruthless repression of industries and commerce of India? These taunts of discrimination have no application under the present constitution under which there is any amount of discriminatory legislation. Have members of the European group ever stood by the Indian Nationals when laws were passed forging fetters on the Indians or when attempts were made by sections of this House to have those laws removed from the Statute Book? On every possible occasion the Indians have been discriminated against in all conceivable walk of life without a word of protest from the European group.

Need of National Mercantile Marine.

Continuing Pandit Motilal said that Sir James had claimed national rights. National rights went with citizenship. If and when the British subjects now exploiting India attained full rights of British Indian citizenship under Dominion Status then they would be able to claim national rights.

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And what were national rights? They did not exclude creation of a National Mercantile Marine. Mercantile Marine was a second line of naval defence. It was therefore, essential that a merchant fleet of the country must be entirely national. He was reminded of Col. Crawford's taunt that the Indians were not capable of national defence when the Indians had been disarmed and emasculated under the Government's action. Similarly after the Indian shipping had been throttled by all means they talked of competition and open fight. Indian opinion only wanted that after Indian shipping had been ruthlessly suppressed it should be put on its feet so that it might also be able to function.

NOT A RACIAL MEASURE

Continuing Pandit Motilal said that he did not consider the Bill to be racially discriminatory. No single section of the community had a right to say that they wanted perpetuation of sectional monopoly to the detriment of the entire national interests. The Legislature must legislate for the greatest good of the greatest number. If in making legislation in national interests one section of the community suffered it was inevitable and unavoidable.

—

Prof. C. V. Raman's Latest Discovery

According to a contribution published in *The Statesman*, which contains some non-scientific adjectives,

Physicists throughout the world are deeply interested in the discovery, at Calcutta, of a new radiation-effect. The Raman-effect, as it is called after its discoverer, is the most-discussed question in physics to-day. Numerous papers and reports dealing with it have already appeared in the scientific journals and the foremost centres of research in Europe have taken up the study of the new phenomenon. The degree of interest aroused by the discovery is indicated by the fact that a leading German scientific periodical devotes some twenty columns to a report on the new Effect.

The discovery made by Prof. Raman is that when light falls upon molecules of matter and is scattered by them, a remarkable change occurs, which is most readily perceived by observing the scattered light through a prismatic spectroscope.

EFFECT EXPLAINED

For the purpose of these experiments it is most convenient to use as source of light, a mercury-vapour lamp. This gives a very intense white light which; when examined through a prism, appears resolved into a spectrum containing a few bright lines of different colours, a bright indigo line, a blue line, a green line and two yellow lines. When the light from such a lamp passes through a transparent liquid or solid such as water or ice, the light scattered within the substances when observed through a prism is found to show a number of new lines not present in the light of the mercury arc itself.

This strange phenomenon is exhibited by all transparent bodies, the position and the number of the new lines being different for different substances.

As regards the field of research opened up by this discovery, the writer says :—

Apart from the fundamental interest of the radiation-process revealed by the discovery of the Raman-effect, the study of the new spectra thus produced opens up a wonderful field of research for the investigation of the constitution of molecules and of matter generally, and of its optical properties. So great is this field that Prof. R. W. Wood, a very distinguished Foreign Member of the Royal Society of London, in cabling to the Editor of *Nature* confirming the Raman-effect, characterizes it as "a surprising and brilliant discovery with immense potentialities."

—

The State of Scientific Knowledge in India

When Western scientists confirm and accept the conclusions of Indian scientists, Indians are naturally gratified. The practice of mutual testing and recognition exists also among Western scientists themselves. Owing to the pre-eminence of the West in science, it is necessary in the case of India to have our scientist's original work being tested and confirmed by occidental men of science. But this necessity cannot be a source of pride to us, nor increase our self-respect. Even small European nations, like the Danes, the Dutch, the Norwegians, do not depend entirely on the approval of scientists of other nations for confidence in their own work. The case is otherwise with Indians. The backward state of scientific education and knowledge in India accounts for this difference. Next to the achievement of universal literacy, both the state and the people in India must make the widest spread of scientific knowledge, from the primary stage upwards, one of the main aims of the Indian educational movement. The habit of observation and experiment, and of research at the proper stage, must be sedulously fostered. Then in course of time may India expect to be as self-reliant in science as other civilized countries.

—

Mrs. Sarojini Naidu's Mission

For political and economic reasons, those who are interested in keeping India politically enslaved and economically backward and unorganized have long carried on a libellous propaganda against this country themselves or by paid agents. Latterly this propaganda has become particularly venomous. Indian journalists and authors have been tryin

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to counteract the effects of this continuous campaign of calumny. It is necessary to do this work abroad in person by word of mouth also. By her gifts of oratory and poetry, by her courage, and by virtue of her position as an ex-president of the Indian National Congress, Mrs. Naidu is fit to do this work. She herself is an embodied refutation of many of the worst things said of India concerning the position of women here. It is not contended that their position is all that it ought to be. They have still many disabilities and are sometimes subjected to cruel wrongs. But their position is not as bad as it has been painted. Mrs. Naidu's example shows that it is feasible for an Indian woman to rise to the highest non-official civic position, to become a distinguished orator and a recognised poet, to successfully play the role of reconciler between races and creeds and to be offered the highest academic distinction *honoris causa*, which she declined.

She will not, of course, enter into any controversy with any slanderer of India. Her speeches and her poems, recited by herself, will suffice to give an idea of what Indian society stands for, and thereby make her motherland respected.

Mrs. Naidu has declared that she is going abroad, not as mendicant, but to assert India's national honour.

—

Bureaucrats as Defenders of Indian Faiths

One of the funniest arguments advanced from the official side in support of the Public Safety Bill was that it was intended to protect the Hindu and Islamic faiths from the onslaughts of Bolshevism. So even the Anglo-Indian bureaucracy can, for their own purposes, raise the mob cry of religion in danger!

If these defenders or would-be defenders of Indian faiths be sincere in their protestations, why do they not deport the army of foreign Christian missionaries before seeking to expel some stray communists from the country? For, it is the openly avowed direct object of these foreign missionaries to undermine the faith of Hindus and Moslems in their religions in order to convert them to Christianity, whereas Bolshevism has no such object. It must not be understood that we want Christian missionaries to be deported. Their work in India has benefited directly and indirectly. They have as much right to be in every country as the followers of other faiths have though the right of Hindus, Moslems and Indian Christians to go to and live and work is denied in many a Christian land.

Lala Lajpat Rai gave utterance to some home truths on the love of Indian religions professed by the bureaucracy and Sir Hari Singh Gour, when he said in the course of his very telling speech :

> I am quite prepared to admit that communism and imperialism stand at two opposite poles. I have absolutely no doubt that the success of communism in this world will mean the destruction of all empires. I am, therefore, satisfied that this effort on the part of this Government and on the part of my capitalist friends is perfectly natural. They want to suppress communism. But why should they say that they are doing it in the interests of this country? Why import into this discussion matters which are not included in the Bill itself? My friend the Hon. the Home Member and also Sir Hari Singh Gour waxed eloquent upon the protection of religion.....
>
> Sir Hari Singh Gour talking of religion! That was quite a surprise to me, because only a few months ago I read a document signed by that gentleman in which he framed the constitution of a league for modernising India which asked all Indians to adopt all western methods and do away with religion altogether. I know he will deny it, because he is accustomed to doing that.
>
> *Sir Hari Singh Gour* : Can my friend produce that document.
>
> *Lala Lajpat Rai* : Yes, I will, just as I produced a telegram which he sent to me in favour of the boycott of the Simon Commission and the sending of which he denied when I quoted it from memory. He has got into that habit and we on this side of the House have ceased to take him seriously, either when he opposes or when he supports us. Therefore, it is a surprise to me to hear Sir Hari Singh Gour pleading for this Bill in the name of religion. I do not know what his religion is. There is a religion known as Mammon worship ; there is a religion of God worship, which, of course, pious Hindus and Mussalmans follow. I do not believe that he follows any God worship. He follows Mammon worship. And then again, the British Government talking of the protection of religion in this country! Why, they have destroyed the very foundations of religion in this country by their very existence and by allowing forces to work in this country which are anti-religious. Religion has different meanings. Even communists believe and allege that Bolshevism is a religion. If that is the meaning to be attached to religion, then perhaps my friend is perfectly religious and I am prepared to apologize for saying he has no religion. Religion has different forms. What form was meant when an appeal was made to the Hindus and Mussalmans of this House to rouse their passions on behalf of religion because the communists attacked their religion? Well, Sir, if the communists attack

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any religion they attack the conventional Christian religion. They do not attack religion altogether, and as I have said, they do not attack every organized form of government.

Mr. Lajpat Rai concluded by suggesting the deportation of all exploiters.

We wish all foreigners to leave this country and leave us free. We will always welcome them as friends, except when they want to come here as exploiters: then we would wish them to leave and would be willing to pay their passages and something more. We are prepared to give them any money they want if they will leave us free to fight out our own battles. You talk of protecting these labourers. We don't want any of your protection. All we want is freedom to develop ourselves on our own lines, even to fight among ourselves, if necessary. Give us that freedom and go away. We do not want your protection. You have come to make money, money, Sir, money. You have come to fill your pockets with our hard-earned money. Our hard-earned money all goes into the pockets of foreign capitalists and foreign exploiters. We understand all these tactics, we understand all these disguises and devices.

—

Indian Boys and the Sea

The attention of Indian parents and other guardians of boys is drawn to the fact that, like last year, a batch of boys is to be selected for training in the *Dufferin*, the first training ship of the Indian Mercantile Marine. It is a very small beginning. But advantage should be taken of it in order that in future Indians may own sea-going vessels manned entirely by their countrymen. Last year 30 cadets were selected from all over India. Candidates for training must be between the ages of 13 and 16 on September 15, 1928, and must have received school education up to the lower secondary standard, *i. e.*, three standards below the matriculation. There is a qualifying examination in English and a medical examination with special reference to eye-sight. The course of training lasts for three years and the fees payable are Rs. 50 a month for each month of training on the ship. The last date for receiving applications is the 5th of October, 1928. The qualifying examination will be held about the first of December. If any further information be required, it may be obtained by sending for a prospectus to the Captain Superintendent, I. M. M. T. S. *Dufferin*, Mazagaon Pier, Bombay, together with a remittance of one rupee.

—

Appointments on the Railway Board

In aswer to a question asked by Mr. Jamnadas Mehta, Sir George Rainy, the Commerce Member, is reported to have said:

"Appointments on the Railway Board are not reserved for Indians. At the time of appointing the successor of Sir Austen Hadow the claims of Indian officers will be fully considered, but the final choice must be guided by the consideration of fitness alone, irrespective of race or nationality."

If anybody says that appointments to high posts in the Railway or other Departments, have been made, are made or will be made (during British predominance) according to fitness alone, irrespective of race or nationality, he says what is not true. As regards the Railway Board, the patent fact is that no Indian has up till now been appointed on it. It is not true that this has been due to the utter absence of qualified Indians.

As regards fitness, the abstract principle laid down by Sir George Rainy that the fittest must be appointed, irrespective of race or nationality, is not acted upon in any country so far as foreigners are concerned. There are many vacancies every year and month in every Western country for which the fittest men may belong to foreign nations. But generally each country chooses some fit men from its own nationals, though they may not be the fittest considering mankind as a whole. It is only when no man sufficiently qualified for some particular kind of work can be found among the nationals of a country that some qualified foreigner is appointed in European countries, American countries, Japan, etc. The practice in India should be exactly the same. If an Indian is competent to discharge the duties of some office and is the fittest among Indians for doing such work, he should be appointed to it, even though he may not be the fittest in the British Empire or in the world. In the abstract, the ideal thing would be to ransack the whole world for the fittest man, every time a post falls vacant. But no nation pursue or can pursue this ideal. So, there is no reason why an abstract principle should be used in India as a cloak to hide the ugly naked fact that the Anglo-Indian bureaucracy want all the fat jobs for themselves to the exclusion of the permanent inhabitants of the country, as far as they can.

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Racial Discrimination in Railways

It is not merely as regards appointments on the Railway Board that Indians are discriminated against.

Racial discrimination exists throughout all grades of appointments, except those in which the pay is such as will not attract the least qualified Anglo-Indians and Britishers. The attention of the Government has been drawn to such discrimination and it has been officially admitted more than once; but it has not yet been knocked on the head. A few figures from the railway administration report for 1926-27 will show the nature and extent of the evil.

As many as 78·8 per cent. of the higher posts are occupied by Europeans and Anglo-Indians and only 21·2 per cent. by Indians. In the subordinate services 70·4 per cent. of the posts are held by Europeans and Anglo-Indians and 29.6 per cent. by Indians. Yet the number of qualified Indians for both the higher and the lower services is vastly greater than the number of Anglo-Indians and Europeans in India having the same qualifications.

Racial discrimination exists in the appointment of guards, for example. The general practice is to appoint Indians to grade II and Anglo-Indians and Europeans to grade I initially. Similar discrimination is made in the appointment of ticket collectors, engine drivers, firemen, charge men, electricians and permanent way inspectors.

Racial discrimination exists as regards the arrangements and grants for the education of the children of Anglo-Indian and European employees and of those of Indian employees. For example, the East Indian Railway makes a grant of Rs. 1,34,000 to the Oakgrove school alone, meant for Anglo-Indian and European children; but the highest grant made by it to any Indian school is Rs. 4,500, and the total grant made to all Indian schools taken together is Rs. 14,700. There is provision for the education of Anglo-Indian and European girls, but none for that of Indian girls.

As regards medical relief, separate blocks are provided for the two classes of patients, the senior officer attending to the Anglo-Indians and Europeans, the junior to Indians.

Most of the fines are paid by Indians, but the proceeds are spent mostly on European institutes for recreation. Christmas passes are issued only to Christians. Passes are occasionatly issued only to ministers of the Christian religion but not to Hindu and Muslim religious teachers.

—

Dr. Sudhindra Bose on the Hindu University

Dr. Sudhindra Bose has seen much of the world, much of educational institutions, and is himself a lecturer in a State University in America. His opinion on universities is, therefore, worthy of attention. In the course of an article on the Hindu University, sent by him from Naples to *The East Bengal Times* of Dacca, he says :

During my recent visit to India, the one remark which I heard from the Government officials and Anglo-Indians more frequently than another was that Indians lack the power of organization and administration. Are these critics always right ?

Men of great administrative gifts are seldom to be found in unlimited quantities in any country, and they can hardly be looked for in a subject country with its many inhibitions and restricted opportunities. I can, however, point to the Hindu University, which I visited not long ago, as an eloquent refutation of the charge that all Indians lack administrative abilities. This great educational enterprise at Benares, which marked an epoch in the history of Indian education, was organized by Indians and administrated by Indians. It shows what Indians are capable of doing when they have half a chance.

As a member of the instructional staff of one of the largest State Universities of America, I have had considerable opportunities during the last fifteen years to come in contact with many of the leading American educators. It is, however, my opinion that Pandit Madan Mohan Malavyia, the present Vice-Chancellor of the Benares Hindu University, will rank high in any group of American educational statesmen. His passion is for education ; but he is not a mere visionary. A talk with him will convince even a hardboiled Anglo-Indian how vigorously and incisively and sensibly he has dealt with every situation and problem arising out of the Hindu University during the past few years. He is a far-sighted, warm-hearted, and loveable man. Malaviya, to my mind, stands at par in diplomatic and administrative ability with the best captains of education that America or Europe can show.

As regards the education the students, all of whom are *not* Hindus, receive here, Dr. Bose says :—

The Hindu University, which is attempting to combine the ancient and honored culture of India with the modern science of Europe and America must go on. It grants B. A., M. A., M. SC., degrees in almost all the Arts and Science subjects taught at other Indian Universities. Perhaps that is not saying a great deal. But the high standard it

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has maintained in applied Science—Technical and Electrical Engineering, Metallurgy, Mining and Industrial Chemistry demands special recognition.

The laboratories, workshop and colleges, particularly the new women's college, which are doing such a vast amount of good to bring India in line with the rest of the progressive world, should not be crippled for lack of sufficient funds.

—

Chinese Nationalist Programme for the Development of Army and Navy

On July 18th Marshal Chiang Kai Shek in an address to the Chinese students in Peking emphasised the need of abolition of unequal treaties between China and other nations. He exhorted the Chinese students that "*in order to free the country from Imperialist aggression they should prepare themselves and take up military training.*" It is the ambition of the Chinese nationalists that "*in 15 years China will have an Army and Navy equal to any in the world.*"

Chinese nationalists are determined to spread military education among the students. This is evident from the following despatch :

> Shanghai, June. 1 The Students' Union has decided to hold a review of the Military Cadets Corps in Shanghai shortly, when military authorities at Shanghai will be invited to give instructions. Up to the present about 40,000 students have joined the Military Cadets Corp and they are receiving rigid military training every day.

The Chinese Nationalists have the programme that within 15 years their national army and navy will be second to none, whereas the British masters of India are content with spreading the lie that the Indian people are not able to develop military leadership to undertake the responsibility of Indian National Defence. While the Chinese Nationalists are doing their best to rouse the martial spirit of the nation and spreading military education, the British authorities have refused to carry into action the meagre recommendations of the Skeen Committee towards the nationalisation of the Indian Army.

T. D.

—

An American Estimate of the Activities of the League of Nations

The Nation (New York) of June 20th, in its editorial notes, makes the following comment on the activities of the League of Nations :—

"As a sort of loud-speaker for little nations with a grievance the League of Nations is a success. As a machinery for settling bitter international disputes it serves chiefly as an electric fan, cooling heated disputants and blowing off some of the vapour. The recent session of its Council afforded a whole series of examples of its talents and shortcomings. For five years Hungary and Rumania have been making faces at each other over the question of compensation for the Hungarian "optants"—the Magyar landlords who retained both their Hungarian citizenship and their Transylvanian landholdings when that province was transferred by treaty to Rumania. They object to the Rumanian law dividing up the great estates. The League has proposed solution after solution—every one of which either Rumania or Hungary has turned down. Again the League has failed to solve the problem, and now invites the disputants to settle it face to face. On the other hand, the League machinery has aired the question before all Europe and given both sides a chance to calm down.

It is when one of the parties to a dispute is clearly stronger that matters are worst. Poland by sheer brute force defied the League seven years ago and seized Vilna ; she is still in possession, and strong enough to retain possession. So Austen Chamberlain and the other high priests of the League direct their reproaches against intransigent little Lithuania. Similarly in the question of the arms seized on the Hungarian frontier. They were shipped, in plain violation of the Treaty of the Trianon, by Italy, which is not reprimanded or even mentioned, to Hungary, which gets off with a mild slap on the wrist in the form of a not-guilty-but-don't-do-it-again verdict. If the Little Entente, which fears an armed Hungary, had been stronger, the rebuke would, we suspect, have been sharper."

There is much truth in the above statement.

T. D.

—

A Curious Comparison between Dominion Status and Independence

The following is the *Week's* contribution to the controversy relating to the goal of independence and dominion status :

If a man like Mahatma Gandhi, whom no one can accuse of weakness, can accept and approve of the Nehru scheme with all its implications, we need not worry about what the Shaukat Alis or even Srinivasa Iyengars may be saying. We are not of those who barter the substance for the shadow. Why be slaves to words? Egypt is supposed to have an independent status. Canada is but a dominion. But is there a man in his senses who would prefer Egyptian independence to Canada's dependence? Dominion status is independence for all practical purposes with security thrown in—security which is of no small importance during the transitional period when India will be engaged in consolidating her defences. But apart from motives of expediency, we hold that India by remaining in the federation of the British Commonwealth will be more in

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with the normal development of world polity, which increasingly tends to co-ordination,—not the isolation—of the peoples and nations of the world.

Serious notice need not be taken of the Catholic journal's personalities;—every opinion held by Gandhiji is not necessarily to be preferred to every opinion held by persons of lesser celebrity. Let us attend to its argument. Why does it take Egypt as the type of an independent country? It is not really independent. Had it taken France or Japan for purposes of comparison, could it have said, "Is there a man in his senses who would prefer French or Japanese independence to Canada's dependence?"

For ourselves, we certainly prefer the goal of independence to that of dominion status. But as dominion status *like that of Canada* is equivalent to independence in most matters, and as it must ultimately either lead to independence or be exactly equal to it, we do not quarrel about words with those who are for dominion status. Nor do we think the argument from security and the normal development of world polity entirely negligible. At the same time, no one should shut his eyes to the fact that the argument from security may breed a sense of false security and keep the Indian nation weak by taking away the main incentive to developing its full strength for self-defence. Dominion status, if properly used, may be good for "the transitional period," but there would be no need for it afterwards. As for "co-ordination," are even the small independent nations of the world dying to be included in the British Empire?

—

The Bengal Students' Conference

In this country the success of conferences is judged by the number and emotionalism of the audience, the quality of the presidential address and other speeches, the nature of the ideals and objects indicated in the resolutions, and the degree of orderliness which marks the proceedings. Judged by all these standards, the Bengal Students' Conference was a great success, if the newspaper reports of its meetings are correct. But a conference can be called a real success only if it bears good fruit. So for the present judgment must be reserved.

It was a good idea to get the Conference opened by the Rev. Dr. Urquhart, Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University, who said in the course of his speech:—

You are here to prepare yourselves for life, to be ready to take your places as leaders of the community. Do not too hastily bring that period of preparation to an end, and rush into actions which you have not had the opportunity of sufficiently considering. This is your time for pondering over problems, and discovering the best means of solving them. It is not the time for you to rush into action before you have found the solution. Nor should any others condescend to make use of you before you have arrived at independent and free judgment for yourselves. If you cherish this spirit you will without doubt arrive at a solution of your problems, but only if you cultivate this spirit you may find ways of activity which are at present hidden from the eyes of those who are older, and I would say that when, under the guidance of God and in the exercise of your own power of deliberation, you do discover these ways, it should not be the part of your seniors to create obstacles to your entering on these hitherto untried ways. Meanwhile, in all freedom of thought, in all discipline of spirit, in all respect for the past, consideration of the present and loyalty to the future, prepare, prepare, prepare for the days of action which will come to you at a later stage of your life, when you will be sent out from this University to become the responsible leaders of your country in its progress towards all that is true and beautiful and good. Prepare, I say, with open mind. Prove all things and hold fast to your souls that which is good. "Whatsoever things are true, whatsoever things are honest, whatsoever things are just, whatsoever things are lovely, whatsoever things are of good report—think on these things"—think about them calmly, but also with enthusiasm for individual and social ideals; deliberate upon them, make them your own and so live according to them that your country will be the better for your conferring together.

No exception can be taken to these words, of wise counsel and none has been taken even by those papers which have ridiculed discipline and the idea that the life of students is a period of preparation. Public memory is said to be proverbially short. Still some may remember what showers of abuse were poured on the devoted head of Professor Jadunath Sarkar for laying due stress on discipline and preparation for the work of life lying ahead for students, in his convocation address. And Professor Sarkar was adversely criticized for his views on these points even by some of the papers generally friendly to him.

What are the reasons?

Mr. Pramod Kumar Ghoshal was chosen chairman of the reception committee. In a students' conference this honour should be reserved for some one who is distinguished as a student and as a public worker, or

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at least as either. We are not aware that Mr. Ghoshal is the best qualified among Bengal students in these respects. His part in the Presidency College disturbances is well known. But that ought not to have made him a hero. In the course of his speech he laid down the following duties for the Students' Association :—

The Association should carry on a ruthless war against the appalling ignorance and illiteracy of the country and make strenuous attempts to spread free primary education in the country. The Association should help in the spreading of sanitary knowledge in villages and improving their sanitary condition. It should organise co-operative measures for the betterment of the economic conditions of its members, develop a spirit of adventure and enterprise amongst them and desire to deviate from the beaten track in search of better avenues to happiness and prosperity. It should attempt to inculcate discipline, sense of duty and an esprit de corps amongst its members by organising and training a volunteer corps. It should organise and run on proper and up-to-date lines, gymnasiums for physical culture and libraries, debating societies, extension lectures for intellectual culture. It should organise a new type of journal to propagate its ideas and encourage new lines of thinking.

It is an ambitious programme, though a good one. The students' resources are limited. If they mean business and not mere talk, they must begin with a few small things. What problem or problems will they tackle first?

There is unconscious humour in Mr. Ghoshal's address in the words. "It should attempt to inculcate discipline."

Mr. Ghoshal is right when he says "that the attempts to portray the students as a band of political agitators working under the hidden hand of Moscow, are but the products of some unbalanced imagination." But he is not correct in asserting that "the recent strikes in some colleges were due to a genuine desire on the part of students to get redress of some legitimate grievances." They were the first to offend and subsequently became tools in the ill-concealed hands of some Bengali agitators.

—

Pandit Jawaharlal's Address at the Students' Conference

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru delivered a fine presidential address at the Bengal Students' Conference. He "declared himself in agreement with Dr. Urquhart in counselling students not to rush into action," for which counsel neither of the speakers was howled down, or criticised in the press. Professor Jadunath Sarkar received different treatment for giving the same advice in different language.

The Pandit rightly characterised the differences between the inhabitants of the different provinces of India as comparatively unimportant.

Strong are the common bonds that tie us, the bonds of a common legacy from the past, of common suffering and the hope of building up a great future for this country of yours and mine. And indeed you can carry this comparison a little further, across the artificial frontiers that separate country from country. We are told of vital differences of race and character. Such differences there undoubtedly are, but how many of them are purely accidental due to climate and environment and education and how liable to change they are? You will find that the common bond is greater and more vital than the differences, though many of us may not realise the fact.

He went on to say :—

Youth can think and is not afraid of the consequences of thought. Do not imagine that thought is an easy matter or that its consequences are trivial. Thought is not or should not be afraid of the wrath of the heavens or the terrors of hell. It is the most revolutionary thing on earth. And it is because youth dare think and dare act that it holds out the promise of taking out this country and this world of ours from the ruts and mire in which they have sunk.

Are you, young men and women of Bengal, going to dare think and dare act? Are you prepared to stand shoulder to shoulder with the Youth of the world, not only to free your country from an insolent and alien rule but also to establish in this unhappy world of ours a better and happier society?

Youth *can*, no doubt, think. But do most of the young men and women of Bengal, or even a considerable minority of them, really think? Or do they merely repeat shibboleths, parrot-like?

Properly equipped, youth, *and even age*, can free India from an insolent and alien rule and also establish in this unhappy world of ours a better and happier society. It is no use flattering youth—and we are sure Pandit Jawaharlal did not want to do it. And, therefore, we feel bound to utter the unpleasant truth that men and women whose only asset is their youth cannot do great things. Nor are those hardworking servants of the world useless whose only disqualification is that they have been in this world a good many years.

According to Mr. Nehru,

National independence and perfect freedom to develop on lines of our own choosing is the essential requisite of all progress. Without it there can be no political or economic or social

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freedom. But national independence should not mean for us merely an addition to the warring groups of nations. It should be a step towards the creation of a world commonwealth of nations in which we can assist in the fullest measure to bring about world co-operation and world harmony.

He added :—

You cannot have a purely political ideal, for politics is after all only a small part of life, although, situated as we are under alien rule, it dominates every branch of our activity. Your ideal must be a complete whole and must comprise life as it is to-day,—economic, social, as well as political. It can only be one of social equality in the widest sense and equality of opportunity for every one. It is notorious that we have neither of these to-day.

We, too, stand for social equality, equal opportunities for all, and an equitable distribution of the products of labour. But we are not sure that any of the forms of socialism advocated by theorists can bring about such a state of things. Of communism and the communists Mr. Nehru says that personally he does not agree with many of the methods of the communists and he is by no means sure to what extent communism can suit present conditions in India. "I do not believe in communism as an ideal of society."

Russia has many faults, as other countries have,

But inspite of her many mistakes she stands to-day as the greatest opponent of Imperialism and her record with the nations of the East has been just and generous. In China, Turkey and Persia, of her own free will she gave up her valuable rights and concessions, whilst the British plundered the crowded Chinese cities and killed Chinamen by hundreds because they dared protest against British Imperialism.

In the city of Tabriz in Persia, when the Russian ambassador first came, he called the populace together and on behalf of the Russian nation tendered formal apology for the sins of the Tsars. Russia goes to the East as an equal, not as a conqueror or a race-proud superior. Is it any wonder that she is welcomed?

Some of you may go in after years to foreign countries for your studies. If you go to England you will notice in full measure what race prejudice is. If you go to the continent of Europe, you will be more welcome, whether you go to France or Germany or Italy. If any of you go to Russia you will see how racial feeling is utterly absent and the Chinamen who throng the Universities of Moscow are treated just like others.

Some of his final words were :—

The Avatars of to-day are great ideas which come to reform the world. And the idea of the day is social equality. Let us listen to it and become its instruments to transform the world and make it a better place to live in.

Live dangerously. Let our elders seek security and stability. Our quest must be adventure but adventure in a noble enterprise which promises to bring peace to the distracted world and security and stability to the millions who have not.

—

Should Students be Everything but Students ?

Infants, boys and girls and young men and women do not live in airtight compartments separated from the rest of the world. According to their capacity for understanding and being interested in passing events and pressing problems, they become interested in things, get excited by some events, depressed or elated by some others, and so on. For this reason, there cannot be and ought not to be an "atmosphere of pure study" anywhere. It is natural for students to want to know all about what is taking place around them and even to be actors among other actors. They should not be blamed for this natural desire ; rather should they be encouraged to be up-to-date in their general information. But to be well-informed about current events and problems and things in general is an ideal meant for all, not for students alone. Students have their main and special work just as other kinds of people in society have. Peasants, artisans, mechanics, craftsmen, traders, merchants, teachers, lawyers, engineers, physicians, artists, scientists, philosophers, litterateurs, etc, have all their special work to do. This they generally do, and in addition they acquire information regarding the world of to-day and do their duty as citizens. Also there may be and are statesmen and politicians whose main work lies in the field of politics. But they are not *in statu pupillari.* Are students the only class of people who have no duties which entitle them to be called students ? Is it because they have not got to earn their bread and are maintained by others that they are to be called upon to be everything else but students ? Is the book of nature a useless superfluity ? Are *existing* libraries, laboratories musiums, demonstration farms, botanical gardens, etc., useless lumber ?

It has become necessary to repeat these questions, because whenever students are reminded of their main duty, agitators at once place before them the supreme duty of freeing the country. But in what sense is it *their* supreme duty and not of every

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one else? We are old-fashioned enough to believe and assert that the proper duty of students is to study. And, of course, like other people, they have other duties, which are subsidiary. When they leave their schools, colleges or universities for good, let them, if they choose and are fit to do so, devote themselves entirely to politics or other kinds of social service.

It is very far from our thought to suggest that students as students are not all to be social servants. They are certainly to be social servants as part of their training but study must be their main and special work. Why else do they call themselves and allow others to call them students? If they do not want to study or if they want to give their studies a subordinate place in their scheme of life, they should call themselves simply boys or girls, young men or young women.

We have glanced over the speeches delivered and the resolutions passed at the Bengal Students' Conference. With the exception of the speech of Dr. Urquhart, all these might have been quite appropriately delivered and passed at any other gathering of young people; and some parts of the speeches and most of the resolutions might have been appropriately delivered and passed at any other political gathering. What one misses is anything having a direct bearing on the proper work of Bengali students. No doubt, in the programme outlined in Mr. Ghoshal's speech the *running* of libraries and debating societies, and extension lectures were mentioned. But there the matter ended. Are the students of Bengal the intellectual equals of the students of other parts of India and of other countries in various fields of intellectual work? If not, how can their intellectual achievements and status be made equal to those of other students in and outside India? These and similar questions were neither asked, pondered over or attempted to be answered in this *students'* conference. Youth assembled there wanted very much to do good mainly to others, but not so much to themselves. It was very altruistic, no doubt, but unsatisfactory all the same.

The literature of Bengal, the scientific, philosophical and historical achievement of Bengal, should have received some attention at this conference. But politics monopolised almost all the attention instead, as if the main work of students were political.

Age is generally blamed as *laudator temporis acti* (a praiser of time past). At the risk of being sharply reminded of this failing, one may draw the attention of the present generation of Bengali students to many of their predecessors who were good students first and political workers afterwards. Their achievements both as students and political workers are not unworthy of the consideration of their venerable juniors.

—

Ancient Ruins at Paharpur

"The contribution of Paharpur to the cultural history of Bengal in regard to religion, art and architecture is unique and unrivalled," said Mr. K. N. Dikshit, Superintendent, Archaeological Survey of India, Eastern Circle, in the course of a recent Indian Museum lantern lecture.

The Paharpur temple, the lecturer observed, supplied an architectural missing link between the earlier monuments of India and the later exuberance of Indo-colonial art as exemplified in Java, Cambodia and Burma. The art of Paharpur supplies the first indications of a prosperous school of sculpture in Bengal in the golden age of the Guptas. Besides exhibiting the well-known characteristics of broad intellectualism common with the other contemporary schools, the Bengal masters show their individuality in their peculiar refinement and emotionalism. The terra cotta plaques, of which no fewer than three thousand specimens have so far come to light, represent probably the most well-defined provincial folk art, in which Bengal is prominent to the present day.

Aborigines clad in leaf aprons, ascetics reduced to skeletons, acrobats and dancers, represented the lighter side, and illustrated vividly the sense of humor of the Bengal artist 1500 years ago.

On the whole, the terra cotta artists were very successful in delineating in plastic materials the moving world of men and animals in which they lived. The discoveries would thus prove invaluable to students of early art in Bengal.

Among small antiquities of historical importance discovered were several copper plates of the 5th century recording grants of land to the early Jain temple on the site of the excavations.

—

Ram Mohun Roy on Passports

In the prefatory note to some letters of Ram Mohun Roy which have been printed in this issue under the heading, "Ram Mohun Roy on International Fellowship," attention has been drawn to the fact that the Raja anticipated the principles underlying some of the organisations and activities of the League of Nations. It is also to be noticed that he

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gave therein reasons for suggesting the discontinuance of the system of passports. In this respect also his views were in advance of his age. It is only recently that in some European countries it has been seriously proposed that the practice of demanding passports from visitors from foreign countries should be discontinued.

—

Ram Mohun Roy and His Persian Paper

Those acquainted with the biography of Ram Mohun Roy know that he conducted for some time a Persian weekly named *Mirat ul Akhbar* or "The Mirror of Intelligence". Not much is known about its contents, nor why it ceased to appear. Mr. Brajendranath Banerji has been able, by his researches, to remove our ignorance on the subject partially. He has published in the *Calcutta Municipal Gazette* an article, entitled "An Unknown Chapter of the Calcutta Press" which throws some light on the subject. Mr. Banerji says that

"Certain remarks of Ram Mohun on the doctrine of the Trinity, published in the *Mirat* in August, 1822, were considered highly offensive. On 10th October, 1822, Mr. W. B. Bayley delivered in Council a lengthy minute regarding the tendency of the Native Press which gives full details about Ram Mohun's *Mirat* and those of his articles to which objection was taken."

Mr. Banerji reproduces in the *Gazette* that portion of the minute which has been permitted by the Government of India to be publicly used by him. After publishing that portion he writes :

Lord Hastings sailed for England on 9th January, 1823. and the Acting Governor-General, J. Adam, who did not share his Lordship's liberal views on the subject of the Indian Press, passed, on 14th March, 1923, a rigorous Press Ordinance which was duly registered by the Supreme Court on 4th April, in spite of a memorial, signed by Ram Mohun Roy and five other distinguished gentlemen of Calcutta, protesting against the new regulations as putting an end to the freedom of the Press.

One effect of the new regulations was the closing of Ram Mohun's *Mirat*, immediately after these regulations had been registered by the Supreme Court. In the last number of his paper, he "declared his inability to go on publishing under, what he would represent as to him degrading conditions and he laments that he, one of the most humble of men,' should be no longer able to contribute towards the intellectual improvement of his countrymen."

After the Supreme Court had rejected the memorial against the new ordinance, Ram Mohun, as a last measure, sent an appeal to the King in Council, which was signed by him and many other respectable men of the city, but it met with no better success.

On account of the excellence of the diction, style and arguments of this Appeal to the King, it has been called by Miss Sophia Dobson Collet, the Raja's English biographer, the *Areopagitica* of India.

In the last issue of the *Modern Review*, pp. 368-369, a letter of Professor H. H. Wilson was printed in which it is stated : "Mr. Sandford Arnot, whom he had employed as his Secretary [in England], importuned him for the payment of large arrears which he called arrears of salary, and threatened Ram Mohun, if not paid, to do what he has done since his death, claim as his own writing all that Ram Mohun published in England." This Arnot did in the *Asiatic Journal*, September—December, 1833, first by supplying materials for the Raja's memoir in it written editorially and subsequently in a signed letter to that journal in reply to Dr. Lant Carpenter's "A Review of the Labours, Opinions and Character of Raja Ram Mohun Roy."

Some people were similarly inclined to think that the memorial to the Supreme Court and Appeal to the King were not written by Ram Mohun. But, writes Mr. Banerji,

The following extract from the East India House Debate, held in July, 1824. on the banishment of Mr. Silk Buckingham, corroborates the general belief that Ram Mohun was its author, and testifies to his wonderful power of English composition :—

"*Sir John Malcolm*:—We have heard a petition said to be written, and I have no doubt it is, by that respectable native, Ram Mohun Roy, whom I know and regard. I was one of those who earnestly wished his mind could have been withdrawn from useless schemes of speculative policy, and devoted to giving us his useful aid in illustrating the past and present history of his countrymen ; for that knowledge of which we are yet imperfectly possessed must form the basis of every national plan of improvement". (9th July, 1824.)*

"*Capt. Gowan* next rose to address the Court, but we regret that the confusion which prevailed during the time the Honourable Proprietor was speaking, prevented us from hearing him distinctly.

We understood him to say, that he rose principally for the purpose of bearing his testimony to the competency of Ram Mohun Roy to write the Memorial which had been so often referred to in the course of the discussions. He had received a letter from that individual relative to

*Speech delivered at a General Court of Proprietors of East India Stock on 9th July, 1824. Malcolm's *Political History of India* (1826), ii. ccxlvii

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a subject which he (Captain Gowan) had much at heart, namely, the foundation of some schools in India, which was written with extraordinary talent, which letter he would read to the Court." (23rd July, 1824)

—

All-India Women's Conference Report

The honorary secretary's half-yearly report of the All-India Women's Conference on educational reform, 1928, makes encouraging and interesting reading. Besides its other activities,

The Conference has as usual shown keen enthusiasm in dealing with the problem of child marriage. Public meetings have been organised by the Conference in every nook and corner of the country condemning the custom of child marriage and supporting Har Bilas Sarda's Child Marriage Bill and Hari Singh Gour's Age of Consent Bill, but demanding that the legal age in the first Bill be raised to 16 and 21 for girls and boys respectively, and in the second the age of consent to 16. It was in pursuance of the Conference resolution on this subject that the All-India Child-Marriage Abolition League was started by H. H. the Rani of Mandi, and a resolution in support of this demand was carried through the Madras Legislative Council by Dr Muthulaxmi ammal. A similar resolution is expected to be moved in the C. P. Legislative Council by the lady member of the Council

—

Muslim Opinion on the Nehru Report and Lucknow Settlement

On account of the adverse manifestoes issued by some Musalman leaders, it was feared that Muslim opinion would be worked up to oppose the Nehru Committee's report and the Lucknow settlement which followed. But there have been signs which show that there is a fair chance of Muhammadans generally accepting the conclusions of the All-Parties Conference. Take, for example, the largely attended meeting of the Punjab Musalmans which was attempted to be broken up by hired hooligans. The chairman sat calm and unmoved inspite of the throwing of missiles and other disturbances. The result was, some ten thousand persons voted in favour of the Lucknow decisions and only 20 against them.

—

The National Party of Scotland

It was one of the oft-repeated jokes of the late Babu Motilal Ghosh, printed in his paper after the annual St. Andrew's Day dinner, that as the Bengalis and the Scots were both subjects of Englishmen, the Scots in their annual celebration of that day ought to invite the Bengalis instead of the English. And sometimes some serious-minded son of Caledonia protested against Motilal Babu's insinuation that the Scotch were a subject people. But it seems he was right after all. For in a report of the proceedings of the inauguration demonstration of the National Party of Scotland, held in King's Park, Stirling, on the anniversary of the battle of Bannockburn (June 23), it is stated by Compton Mackenzie that the object of the Party is "the achievement of Scottish Independence without bitterness against England." R. B. Cunninghame Graham, J. P., D. L. said at the meeting :—

We have substantial grievances. Scotland, to-day, is the most highly taxed per capita of all the nations of Europe. In proportion to the population we have more unemployed to-day in Scotland than there are in England. Every Autumn you see the sad spectacle of the emigration of the best bone and sinew of the Western Isles. And why? Because Scotland lies to-day legally under the heel of England, and every measure for the alleviation of Scottish grievances is legislated for, debated on, and decided by men who know no more of Scotland than I do of the Emperor of Korea. We must change all that. We must do something to wipe away the National disgrace under which we lie in regard to matters such as these. We want a National Scottish Parliament in Edinburgh in order to deal with Scottish measures under the eye and pressure of a Scottish electorate. (Applause.)

Another speaker said :—

We see in our own country here that over two millions of our population are condemned to live in houses of not more than two rooms. We see that unemployment in our own country is higher than in any other European country, and we ask ourselves, are any of the political parties, with their set doctrines and their policies prepared before they attack their problems, are any of these political parties doing anything whatever to alter those conditions? And the answer is most certainly "No."

The resolution passed at the meeting claimed "such powers of self-government as will ensure to Scotland independent National Status within the British group of Nations."

All this will suffice to show the view-point of the disinherited Scottish people who want to recover their birthright of freedom. On the other hand, Englishmen complain that they are really governed by Scots—and that not only in politics but, what is of greater importance, also in business. Whatever may be the case in other parts

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of India, in Bengal the Jute Kings mostly hail from Caledonia stern and wild, meet nurse not so much nowadays for poetic children as for chiels who prefer pelf to poetry.

In India the people are under the heels of Englishmen, Scots and the Irish equally. Without any discrimination against or in favour of any of them, they have all been allowed to rule and exploit the country. So Indians are unable to sympathise with the downtrodden Scots from any direct ocular or other evidence. All the same, they wish all success to the National Party of Scotland

—

God save the King

On the Friday afternoon, the last day of the Lucknow All Parties Conference, the *Pioneer* sent the following telegram to Dr. Ansari, the President of the Conference:—"As the Conference has now accepted Dominion Status will you close proceedings by singing "God Save the King?" Dr. Ansari replied:—When India attains Dominion Status your suggestion might be considered. Meanwhile I hope you will join us in singing "Bande Mataram." This reply is instructive. It goes far to prove that much of the talk of Indian politicians about Dominion Status is neither honourable nor honest nor sincere. The acceptance of the principle of membership of the British Commonwealth of Nations should be based almost entirely upon a whole-hearted belief in loyalty to the Crown. To refuse to sing "God Save the King" savours of the seditious.

Thus the *Pioneer*.

The question naturally arises: Were the Boers and Irish Free Staters required to sing "God save the King" before or even after obtaining internal autonomy? It is not known that they were Why then this insolent suggestion, equivalent to a demand, in the case of Indians?

The utmost that may be expected of a people ruled by aliens is that they will be law-abiding. To demand more is to put a premium on hypocrisy and servility.

The Pioneer's demand has its droll side, too. Among the many accomplishments of Dr. Ansari, Pandit Motilal Nehru, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, Lala Lajpat Rai and other leaders, the ability to sing an English song in chorus is not believed to be one. So if in a fit of sweet obligingness they had sung the British national anthem, the noise would probably have been fit for the gods to hear, not human beings.

—

Residences for High Officials

Questions asked in the Legislative Assembly by Mr. Gaya Prasad Singh relating to official residences in Simla have elicited the information that officers drawing salaries of Rs. 4,000 and 5,000 a month reside in furnished houses with tennis courts kept at the Government expense and free of house and ground taxes at rents between Rs. 1,150 to Rs. 1,430 per season of seven months, whilst subordinate officers have to pay much higher rent for inferior unfurnished houses. That is the way of the world. Friends of the poor, ill-housed, ill-fed railwaymen at Lilooah who struck, could not obtain any promise from the Government railway authorities that decent sanitary rooms would be provided for them at a fair rent. But higher railway employees have sometimes free quarters and sometimes furnished dwellings at moderate rents. The rule is to "pour oil on oily heads". These "small" grievances produce cumulative effects, sometimes called by the name of bloody revolutions.

—

Musical Education in Bengal

We have received the following communication dealing with the question of musical instruction in Bengal which has given rise to so much controversy of late in the Calcutta Press.

To the Editor, *The Modern Review*.

Sir,

You must have noticed in the daily press the intensive campaign that is being carried on against the Vishnupur musicians of Bengal by certain persons who presume to be experts in classical Indian music. The Director of Public Instruction, Bengal, at whose initiative these musical experts have come together to discuss the future policy of musical education in Bengal, is, like most English officials, practically innocent of indigenous cultural matters, and, as such, is likely to be bamboozled by anybody whose knowledge of classical Indian music may be nil but ability to use cultural technicalities with indiscriminate abandon great. Just as those who are the worst at business and shop-keeping are the ablest in "talking shop," so it is in music, in which the ablest in talking music are the greatest infliction when it comes to the practice of music. Unsuccessful artists have a knack of becoming great art

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critics. The nature of the present controversy points to the shallowness of those who are taking a leading part in it. Let me explain.

The question has been raised whether in Bengal one should follow the Vishnupur style or the classical Hindustani style of music in the matter of school education. In this connection the names of Pandit Vishnunarayan Bhatkhande and Srijut Gopeswar Banerjee have been brought in, the first to be boosted to the skies and the second to be defamed in the worst fashion. I have taken a good deal of interest in classical Indian music for many years and have studied a little its theory and practice. I fail to understand what our learned musical talkers at the Writers' Buildings mean by differentiating the Vishnupur and the Hindusthani styles; for these styles are fundamentally and, also superficially in most respects, absolutely one and the same. Vishnupur, like Gwalior, Mysore, Lucknow or Hyderabad, is merely one of the centres of classical Hindustani or Indian Music. Of course, there may be points of mannerism and execution in which musicians of certain centres may show certain characteristics; but if the question of musical theory or education is raised, it is utterly imbecile to think that there are differences, worth the name, and the ink that is being spent to create the same. Mr. Dilip Kumar Roy, who is taking a leading part in this controversy (propaganda?), and his disciples are probably mixing up their likes and dislikes of individual musicians with differences of musical style. Style is too great a word to be used where one prefers the singing or the looks of one musician to those of another. Any one who has read the books of Bhatkhande and Banerjee would notice the great similarity between the method and theory followed by the two musicians. As to style of singing, Bhatkhande has none, for he does not sing very much and is only a theorist. Banerjee, on the other hand, is a finished singer, the Doric grandeur of whose execution of the great *Ragas* and *Raginis* has ever been a source of inspiration to the younger school of Bengali *Dhrupad* and *Kheyal* singers, to whom the contortions, shrieks, and *Sinhanada* indulged in by non-Bengali and some Bengali *Ustads* and pseudo-*ustads* have been a nightmare and a torture. Srijut Gopeswar Banerjee has written many books which have been acclaimed as scholarly and thorough, and the lessons contained in his books are easily followed by all students. His pupils number in hundreds and though they may not come up to the expectations of Mr. Dilip Kumar Roy, they are bringing about a revival of *Dhrupad* and *Kheyal* in the field of Bengali music which has long been occupied by whining and long drawn *Kirtans*, rustic *Bauls*, *Ramprasadis* and *Bhatialis* and the songs of the modern stage dramatists of Bengal, which approached more the English Rag-time than the Indian *Raga*. By his ceaseless efforts and untiring school work Sj. Gospeswar Bannerjee has kept the flame of classical music alive in Bengal. No one has greater knowledge of the musical *forte* and *foible* of the Bengali youth. I am surprised to see how insanely ungrateful we can be in Bengal. Instead of paying his due homage to Sj. Gopeswar Banerjee we are enjoying the sight of musical urchins pelting him with cheap insults, thereby injuring him and his art in the eye of the public of Bengal, who, unfortunately, take their cultural tips from the columns of certain rabid dailies in English and vernacular whose ignorance in all matters is surpassed only by their audacity. Among the critics of Sj. Banerjee, we find some whom we noticed singing out of tune and competing for school prizes only the other day. Them we shall leave on one side and proceed to the leader of the clique, Mr. Dilip Kumar Roy. Few men within recent memory have rivalled Mr. Roy in making indiscreet grabs at cultural *gurushiip*. His wise dissertations on European music, etc., which invited such merciless snubbing from Mon. Romain Rolland in *Current Thought* and *Prabuddha Bharata*; his dignified silence when mistakenly referred to in the Press as B. Musc and Doctor of Music, though he holds not even a diploma of any good, bad or indifferent musical institution; the slimness with which it has been made to appear that the article, entitled "The Function of Woman's Shakti in Society," published in *The Star* for July last, is "by Dilip-Kumars Roy"; etc; all go to militate against any view of Mr. Roy as an impartial, unbiassed and frank assessor of social and individual values. I should also like to point out here that, judging by either his career or his musical ability, one has no reason to accept Mr. Dilip Kumar Roy as an authority on styles of Indian Music. I have often listened to his singing, in which he

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displays an amazing attachment to the easiest of *tals* and the cheapest of decorative melodies which are half *thumri* and half *kirtan*. If one day I could hear him execute a perfect *Alap* in *Sri Rag*, *Lalit* or *Multan* or sing faultlessly in *tal* to *Surfacta*, *Dhamar*, *Aratheka* or *Madhyaman* in pure *Dhrupad*, *Kheyal* or *Tappa-thumri* style, I should probably die of surprise and shame:—surprise for reasons obvious and shame for having misjudged him.

Lastly, one word to the D. P. I., Bengal.

Vixere fortes ante Agamemnona
Multi; sed omnes illacrimabiles
Urgentur ignotique longa
Nocte, carent quia vate sacro.

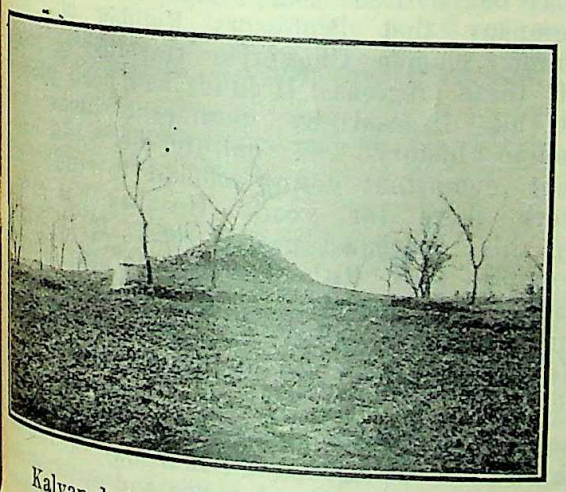
Bhatkhande is no doubt great; but let not those who have also served die unsung and unlamented; because a blind man does not sing of them.

Yours, etc.,
Grasshopper

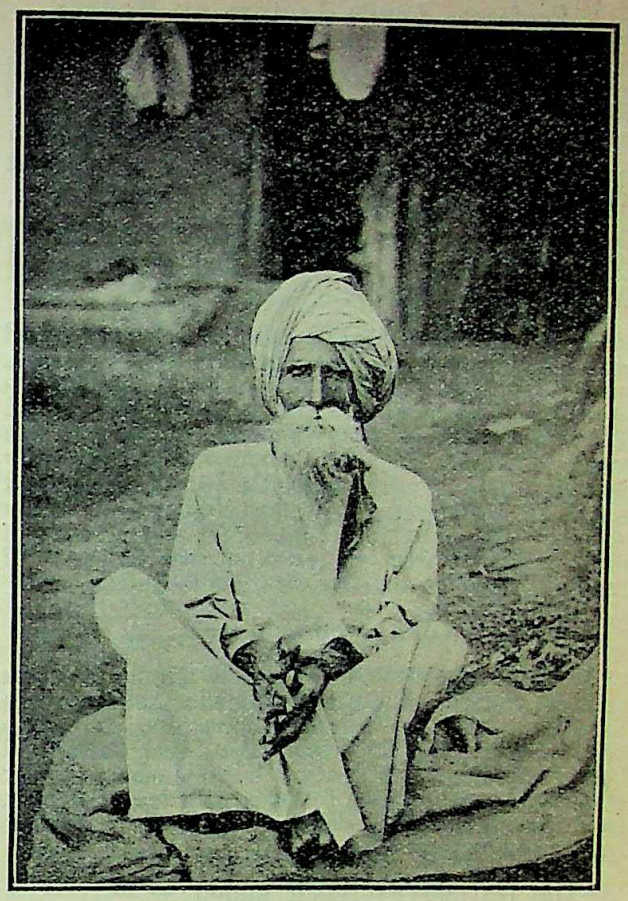
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Black hole in the Punjab

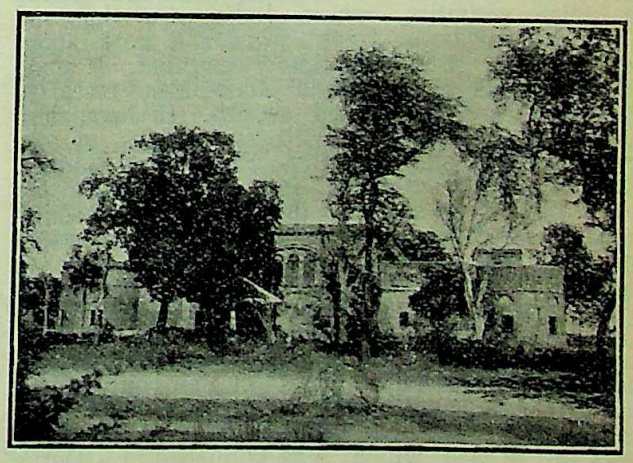
Shriyut Sundarlal of Allahabad has contributed an article on 'Black Hole in the Punjab' to the August number of *Vishal Bharat*. He has given extracts from Frederick Cooper's book 'The Crisis in the Punjab', which describes the awful tragedy in detail. The article is illustrated with the portrait of Baba Jagat Singh, who was an eye witness of this terrible incident and two other photographs which are reproduced here.



Kalyan-da-khuh, Ajnala the well in which 282 dead bodies of Indian soldiers were thrown



Baba Jagatsing aged 100 years
An eyewitness



Kalyan-da-Burz, Ajnala where 45 Indian soldiers died of suffocation due to want of air

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Professor Levi's Lecture at Madras

The lecture which Professor Sylvain Levi delivered at Madras under the auspices of the Sanskrit Academy contained a suggestion and an exhortation, indirectly conveyed, that Indian students should go to Japan, Java, Bali, etc., to study the cultural achievements of their ancestors. Some sentences from his lecture are quoted below.

He began his Sanskrit studies in 1881, and read some parts of *Mahabharata*. It happened, just as he was a beginner, some inscriptions came to be discovered in Cambodia and Indo-China. There were stones with enigmatic figures. It was found that they were Sanskrit words and not only Sanskrit, they were beautiful pieces of a Sanskrit Kavi. He had never heard that Indian Civilisation spread so far away from India. It was a work of poetry which was evidence of the intensity of Indian Culture in that far away Indo-China.

Regarding Japan he said :—

Last year, he visited the oldest temple in Japan and he heard there Buddhistic music with Sanskrit texts in Chinese characters. It was a beautiful stanza. He heard that that song had been sung in the 8th century by a Japanese monk who had been to China to learn a little of Sanskrit. In Japan, they could still find perhaps the oldest Indian song preserved.

The learned Professor added :—

His wonder was that, in visiting many countries in the East, he never met any Hindu student anywhere there. He noticed so many Indian students going to Oxford, Cambridge, London, etc., for studies. On the other hand, there was a side of Indian activities where India of a thousand years ago had been doing wonderful work, about which so few of Indians know anything. If some Indians would go there and start some research, they would get unexpected results. In Java, they found in the remotest villages statues of old Indian *murtis* such as Siva, Parvati and Ganesa. Even Muslims went there and offered puja every day with flowers exactly as in India. They had something like 250 images out from the Mahabharata and the Ramayana. Rama and Sita were as familiar to them as to Hindus here. The old Javanese writings were written in a particular language called Kavibhasha, full of Sanskrit words. What they knew of Bali was very little. The Dutch became masters of the Southern part of Bali only thirty years ago. A Dutch scholar went there for a short time in 1876, and he wrote a kind of Sanskrit literature in Bali, which was published in a Dutch paper, and then translated into English. He (the lecturer) went to Bali and found most cordial help from the Dutch authorities, who invited the local scholars to talk with him (the lecturer) and give him information. In that small Island with a population of about a million, they had the same four castes as in India. They had two religions, one Saiva and the other Bauddha living in harmony. The Pandits there were respectable people who knew not a word of Sanskrit. They had forgotten Sanskrit for over a thousand years, but still they had translations of Sanskrit works. The morning service—Sandhya—was performed just as it was performed in India. They were Sanskrit verses, written fairly well, but in complicated metres. He (the lecturer) found a lot of scope for research in that small Island Bali.

It is indeed to be regretted that Indian students have not yet done any research work in the countries and islands of Asia where there are evidences of the intensity of Indian culture in ancient times. Professor Levi has done well to draw the attention of the Indian public to this field of work, though it is not one of which all Indian students have been entirely ignorant. Among the younger generation of Indian students of history Dr. Prabodh Chandra Bagchi, Dr. Bijan Raj Chatterjee, Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterjee and Dr. Kalidas Nag have visited these Eastern lands. But they could not, in the absence of State, University or private research fellowships, stay anywhere long enough to start the work of independent research in right earnest. They have, however, given the benefit of their visit to the public by their speeches and writings. The poet Rabindranath Tagore has long felt the need of Indian students studying and doing research work in Indo-China, Java, and Bali in order that a complete history of India and Greater India may be written some day. It was in his company that Professors Kalidas Nag and Suniti Kumar Chatterjee travelled in some of these regions. If funds had been placed at his disposal by munificent lovers of Indian history and culture, he could have sent competent young scholars to study and work there for years. He has not given up his cherished project yet. It is just possible that with the help of a liberal patron of learning a competent scholar may yet be enabled to proceed to and stay in Java and Bali for a number of years.

So far as his own institution of Visvabharati is concerned, all that may be learnt about Indian cultural enterprise and penetration abroad from Chinese and Tibetan sources is being slowly studied here in a small way by Indian students, as far as funds will permit. The small sum of Rs. 30 per mensem suffices to keep a student of Chinese or Tibetan here. There are surely Indians who can each found at least one such scholarship. Will they not do it ?

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Rangoon Ramakrishna Mission Sevashram

The Ramakrishna Mission Sevashrama at Rangoon has published its report for the year 1927. Having visited its charitable hospital, we can testify to its efficient management and great usefulness. The monks of the Ramakrishna Mission are devoted and competent workers and will be able to use all contributions received, however large or small, for the service of suffering humanity. They receive regular help in their work from highly qualified medical practitioners.

During the year 1927 the total attendance of patients at the Sevashram was 1, 13, 507. This exceeds the total of the previous year by 10,000. All these patients did not belong exclusively to the city of Rangoon ; a considerable number of them came from the suburbs and from some remote districts of Burma. This fact goes to show the popularity and usefulness of the institution and to plead for further development of its resources in the future.

The activities of the Sevashram are not limited merely to medical treatment and nursing of the patients. They extend also to spreading among the people elementary principles of sanitation and hygiene by trying to instil into their minds the beneficial effects of prevention rather than the cure of diseases.

The number of patients admitted in the in-door department during the year under review was 1,616. The aggregate of the daily totals of attendance came upto 21, 876 ; and the average daily attendance was 60. The average period of stay in the hospital in each case was 14 days. Some chronic cases, however, had to be kept for months.

At the Out-patients' department the total number of attendance came upto 91, 631, including men, women and children.

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Some Indian States

According to *New India*, "it is well-known that some of the most leading States in India like Hyderabad, Mysore, Travancore, Cochin and Baroda have decided completely to stand out of the ring formed by Their Highnesses the Maharajas of Patiala, Bikanir and some others. The position of these dissentient states would seem to be that it is unwise and inexpedient for the Indian States to raise any such thorny question as has been raised by Sir Leslie Scott and re-echoed by Sir Manubhai Mehta." It may be interesting to note the population and revenues of these states.

State	Population	Revenue
Hyderabad	12,471,770	768 lakhs
Mysore	5,859,952	339 "
Travancore	4,006,062	221 "
Cochin	979,019	71 "
Baroda	2,126,522	237 "
Patiala	1,499,739	128 5 "
Bikaner	659,685	91 5 "

One of the questions raised by the paid advocates of the Patiala group and the princes of the group is whether their states are in direct relations with the British Crown or with the Government of India. It is easy to see that it would be prudent for the British authorities to avoid giving a definite opinion on this point. If they were willing or, in any case, felt certain that they would have to accede to the demand for dominion status, they would no doubt be inclined to the view that the Indian states were in direct relations with the British Crown. For, by upholding this view they would be able to have a grip over a large part of India even after the passing of the government of British-ruled India into Indian hands. But if they do not feel that they *must* transfer power in India from English to Indian hands, they would not feel called upon to give any decision on the point and disturb the *status quo*, whatever that may be. And after all, as in British India, the police constable is the defacto master, so in the Indian States the princes are as a matter of fact, the heels of the local political officers of the Government of India,—whichever theory one may accept.

The Patiala group are unnecessarily working themselves up into something like fury and acting in such a way as to create bitterness in the minds of Indian leaders where none exists. For, the Nehru Committee's report has been very considerate and courteous to the Indian Princes. Its criticism is directed, not against them, but against Sir Leslie Scott, the counsel engaged by them. As the princes of the Patiala group are not fools, it should be easy for them to understand that no British bureaucrat, advocate or monarch can protect them from the working of world forces. The people of British-ruled India and the people of the Indian States, under the guidance of their leaders, have been trying to move with the times, whilst some Indian princes, represented by the Patiala group, are trying to stem the tide of the world forces. Those who have read history know what the result would be.

—

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Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru's Reply to the Maharaja of Bikanir

Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru's reply to the Maharaja of Bikanir's elaborate attack on the Nehru report is polite, dignified and effective. In concluding his reply,

Sir Tej Bahadur regretted that the perfectly friendly attitude of the Nehru Committee should have been misunderstood by His Highness. His Highness had failed to discriminate between friend and foe, allowing his mind to be affected by visions of disaster looming ahead or by suspicions wholly unfounded. Members of the Nehru Committee did not desire to encroach the on States' liberties or autonomy. On the contrary, they had been over-anxious to leave them absolutely intact. Unlike many critics of the Indian States, the Committee had not even suggested the introduction of democratic institutions, trusting to the growth of public opinion and the interplay of moral influence to have their natural effect. A sheltered existence, either for the Government of India or for any prince, however exalted, was becoming impossible in these days. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru hoped that when His Highness reviewed the recommendations in the proper perspective, he would realise that he had been somewhat precipitate and ungenerous in the expression of his opinion.

—

Mr. M. Ramachandra Rao's Reply

Replying to the recent statements made by His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner and Sir Manubhai Mehta, Dewan Bahadur Ramachandra Rao, President, All-India States Conference, made a statement to a representative of the Associated Press which begins thus :

There is no justification whatever for the complaint made by His Highness that "that political memories are notoriously short and that the services of himself and other princes in supporting the legitimate claims of India towards constitutional advance have not been sufficiently recognised in British India." This is not at all correct. We are aware of the great part played by him and other princes in the Imperial Conferences, the League of Nations and other world gatherings as representatives of India. In my speech as President of the All-India State People's Conference held in Bombay, I made specific reference to their services and to their patriotic advocacy of the cause of India's freedom and her status in the sisterhood of nations, as also to their speeches on various occasions pleading for the constitution of India as a self-governing dominion in the British Empire. The charge of ingratitude made by His Highness is, therefore, altogether baseless and after all, as he himself points out, every man has to do his duty to his country, gratitude or no-gratitude. It is a matter of gratification, therefore, to learn from His Highness that to his dying day it will be a matter of pride and gratification to him that he discharged his duties to his countrymen by helping India in the direction of self-government. He further tells us that the princes had in their hands the opportunity to put a very real spoke in the wheels of political progress in India in 1919 and in the years following. That they abstained from doing so is a matter on which they are entitled to take full credit.

Mr. Ramachandra Rao makes a good hit when in reply to His Highness's demand for specific guarantees for the Indian States he says :

His Highness asks for specific guarantees in the declaration of rights as laid down in the Nehru Report, and I would suggest for his consideration and the consideration of others of his order, the desirability of issuing a declaration of rights for the people of the states. He will then realise what magic effect it will have in securing the support and loyalty of the people to their rulers and their causes.

—

Professor Sylvain Levi in Calcutta

After a short stay in Rabindranath's Santiniketan, Professor and Madame Levi proceeded to Nepal, and, spending about a fortnight there, returned to Calcutta towards the beginning of September. During their short stay in Calcutta, Prof. Levi visited several academic and cultural associations of the city, and his friends and pupils also had the rare joy of meeting him on the eve of his return home.

Reception at the Indo-Latin Society

The members of the Indo-Latin Society assembled at the hall of the Asutosh Building, Calcutta University, to receive the distinguished guests, and the Vice-Chancellor, Rev. Dr. Urquhart, accorded them a warm welcome. Dr. Subodh Chandra Mukerjee, M. A., D. Litt. (Paris), delivered a neat speech in French on the value of the cultural relationship between India and France as the representative of Latin culture. Prof. Levi in reply delivered a profound discourse on the universal basis of human culture and pointed out how a nation's contribution is finally evaluated in terms of the services it has rendered to Humanity. From this point of view Latin genius and its modern representative France had played a grand role in history and he was happy to find that Indian scholars were beginning to appreciate the same. He felt that India was growing on diverse new lines of great possibility and he paid in that connection a glowing tribute to

Raja Ram Mohun Roy,

The Father of Modern India. Ram Mohun

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said Prof. Levi, was one of the most remarkable personalities of his age. While representing all that was best in Indian tradition, he showed his special genius in a line where the Indians of to-day are weakest—in translating into practice by the force of will the dictates of idealism. Not satisfied with merely ascertaining the ideal, Ram Mohun fought, with phenomenal heroism against desperate odds,to *realise* his ideal. If India to-day wanted any model to shape her present destiny and future history Ram Mohun should be that model. He was really the first to bring modern India abreast of universal history. A profound scholar in Sanskrit and Brahmanical lore, the Rajah's unbounded intellectual curiosity and insatiable thirst for the discovery of the fundamental unity of the human mind, drove him to study the ancient Hebrew, Arabic and Persian literatures. Ever drawn towards France and a finished scholar in Persian as he was, Ram Mohun might have come in touch with the great French Orientalist Eugene Burnouf (search should be made into Burnouf and other French archives) and also with those who were editing the Avesta at that time. His philological acumen, the rare universality of his outlook and the courtesy he showed towards his Indian as well as European contemporaries opposed to his views, go to make him a great man in the real sense of the term."

Levi on Greater India

Prof. Levi then described his recent tour through Java and Bali just before coming over to India. The most striking achievment of Ancient India was the building up of Greater India. Even after over eight centuries of separation and nearly five centuries of Islamic domination, these cultural colonies are still retaining their Hindu character and it was high time that Indian scholars paid their best attention to this department of history. He could within the short time that he was in Bali transcribe many of the mantras (in corrupt Sanskrit) uttered by the *Pedandas* or Brahmin priests of Bali and he found the Balinese boys in the schools playing the question and answer game relating to the Mahabharata! Unexpected questions like "Who was the Father of Pandu", etc., were asked and it had to be replied to promptly. Prof. Levi expressed his hope that historical and archaeological missions would be sent to those parts regularly from Indian universities and learned societies.

Prof. Levi at the Greater India Society

The evening previous to his departure from Calcutta, there was a representative gathering at the invitation of the Greater India Society, Calcutta. Pandit Durgacharan Samkhya-Vedantatirtha, the President of the Sanskrita Sahitya Parishad, presided over it and in the absence of Mr. Jadunath Sarkar, M. A., C. I. E, the President of the Society, Sir Brojendra Lal Mitter, the Advocate General of Bengal, welcomed Prof. and Madame Sylvain Levi. Mr. Van Manen, Secretary Asiatic Society of Bengal, Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, Prof. Taraporewalla. Mr P. Chowdhury and others spoke eloquently on the acheivements of Levi as an Indologist, and Mrs. K. N. Chowdhury, representing the ladies of Bengal, paid a warm tribute to Madame Levi whose exemplary devotion and constant watchfulness alone enabled the Professor, said Mrs. Chowdhury, to do so much work of enduring value. Mrs. Priyambada Devi, the talented poetess, then offered the humble presents of the Society—Murshidabad silk and a few utensils of Bengal—to the guests and a Sanskrit address was presented to the professor under the joint auspices of the Sanskrita Sahitya Parishad and the Brihattara Bharata Parishad followed by eloquent extempore speeches in Sanskrit.

The Honorary Secretary finally explained the origin of the Greater India movement and showed how much it owed to the inspiring examples of Prof. Levi, whose whole life was consecrated to the reconstruction of Greater Indian history and that it was a rare fortune for the members of the Society to have that chance of entertaining Prof. and Madame Levi in their midst.

Prof. Levi in reply, a polyglot that he was, spoke first in French, then in English and finally in Sanskrit to the great joy of the audience. He thanked the ladies and gentlemen for their kind words and blessed the young band of workers of the Society who were trying to awaken the interest of the world in the history of Greater India. He assured all help, as the President of the Asiatic Society of Paris, and wished all success to the Greater India Society. He was presented with the publications of the Society and was elected its Honorary Member.

Professor and Madame Levi left *via* Madras

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for Colombo and will resume their activities in Paris after two years of strenuous work in Japan and the Far East.

—

The Patiala Interview

The following are extracts from an interview "granted" (or sought) by His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala to Reuter's representative at Montreux :—

They were profoundly convinced that the paramount and uniting influence of Britain was the one link between British India and the Indian States.

The Princes, he declared, did not desire to add to the difficulties of the progress of British India towards self-government, and wished nothing more than to live in harmony with British India and to co-operate with its Government in promoting the progress of the whole of India.

"It is most regrettable", he said, "that the All-Parties' Conference did not reciprocate our attitude of friendliness, but went out of its way to settle our future without consulting us. The time has, therefore, come for us to make clear what our political relations are with the British Crown, with which our ancestors entered into engagements which we are proud to honour, and that we and our people will never submit to be governed by British India over many parts of which our States formerly held sway.

"The proposals of the All-Parties' Conference have only strengthened our unalterable determination to safeguard at the cost of any sacrifice our separate political existence.

"While we offer friendly co-operation with British India we and our people will not tolerate for an instant British-Indian dictation.

"The great majority of Indian States are appealing to Britain to rectify the present position before it is too late and recognise in any future scheme of governance of India that British India and Indian States are two entirely different entities between whom it is the responsibility of Britain to see fairplay."

The Maharaja added that the Princes were entirely unanimous in holding that the present system invariably, in the last resource, sacrificed the interests of States to the interest of British India. They had yet to arrive at complete unanimity in regard to the best remedy for the difficulties. Very many of them believe that the solution would be along Federal lines.

They were endeavouring to devise a scheme which would secure the participation of States in All-India affairs but which would leave the States and British India alike free to pursue their own lines of development in domestic affairs.

The Maharaja will get a reply from the All-Parties leaders. In the meantime it may be asked whether the bonds of race, language, religion, country and culture are not connecting links between the Indian States and British-ruled India. When Britain did not exist as one entity, when Britons roamed in the woods in a state of savagery, when the civilized traders from Britain had not set foot on Indian soil, when these traders had not become rulers of India—during all these periods there were links between the people of different parts of India. But, in the opinion of the Maharaja at present none of these links exist; the one only link is British paramountcy or India's bondage. It is much to be regretted that this potentate is not free from the snobbery and servility from which many plebeian Indians are free and that he does not possess the national pride and national self respect which they possess.

The leaders of British India also wished to live in harmony with the princes *and people* of the Indian States.

The All-Parties' Conference knows that it has no power to *settle* the future of the Indian States. It has only drafted a scheme. The objections and wishes of the princes and the people of the States are sure to be noted and proper action taken. The conference *did* consult representatives *of the people* of *the States*. Had it asked the princes to send their representatives to it, would they have condescended to do so ? We trow not.

The Maharajas and their people will, of course, never submit to be governed by British India over many parts of which their States formerly held sway. But the *people* of British India and their leaders have never desired to govern the Indian States. So, so far as these people are concerned, the Maharaja's bravado was superfluous. But British India also means the white men who constitute the Government of India. The princes have to submit to be domineered over by the white residents and political agents appointed by the Government of India. Such submission must be taken to increase the political stature of the princes.

As to the arrogant reminder that the princes held sway over many parts of British India, that must be taken by us as meant to be a great compliment. We may return the compliment by reminding the Maharaja that men of his class have often to be greater slaves to Britishers than the direct subjects of Britain.

No responsible Indian person in British India has sought to destroy the "separate political existence" of the Indian States or subject them to "British Indian dictation." Uncalled for bravado again, therefore.

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The Maharaja wants Britain to have for ever the responsibility (and the power) to see fairplay between the Indian states and the British provinces. This exactly echoes the wish and opinion of British and Anglo-Indian diehards. If His Highness had not been a Maharaja, he would have been made a Rai Sahib for the resonant quality of his mind.

"Federal lines" have not been dismissed by the All-parties' conference, nor are they inconsistent with its report.

The leadars in British India also want to devise a scheme which would secure the participation of States in All-India affairs but which would leave the states and British India alike free to pursue their own lines of development in domestic affairs. But the Maharaja should understand that the people of India cannot agree to the participation of autocratic Princes in all-India affairs. The princes should come as the freely chosen representatives and servants of their people. When a really independent king like His Majesty Amanullah Khan has called himself the servant of his people and has conferred civic and political rights on them, the non-independent rulers of the Indian states should be able to see the wisdom and propriety of being the real servants of their people.

—

Indian States Subjects Deputation to England

The Indian states' subjects deputation to England is a timely move. The government and people of Britain ought to know their case. The Maharajas' case is different from theirs.

—

Jaipur People's Open Letter to Viceroy

A printed copy of "an open letter to His Excellency the Viceroy of India" has been sent to us from Jaipur, Rajputana, by Mr. A. K. J. Lall. "I need not tell you," says he in a printed covering letter, "how much the people of Jaipur are oppressed and harassed by foreign officials of the State who have no stake in Jaipur." The very first words of the letter proper are, "We the oppressed and humble subjects of the Jaipur State"

This open letter, dated August 3, 1928, enumerates many grievances and prays for enquiry and redress. It complains of unemployment and depression in all branches of trade, and "non-safety of the lives and properties of the people." Representations have gone unheeded. Vast sums are spent on roads, electrification, polo grounds, etc., but no care is taken to improve the condition of the agriculturists, or to develop trade and industries. State banks, agricultural banks and co-operative societies do not exist. About half the total revenues of the state are swallowed up by the Public Works Department, but no amount worth the name is spent on compulsory education. The Administration Report is kept confidential. Comparatively cheaper Jaipur talent has been ignored and less competent non-Jaipurians with exorbitant salaries have been imported. What is worse, poorly paid and efficient Jaipurians have been turned out to make room for costly outsiders, of which fact an example is given.

Jaipurians are not taught or given any chance to utilize the abundant mineral resources of the state. P. W. D., Excise and other contracts are given to outsiders.

During the time of His Highness the late Maharaja (the present one is a minor) state money was utilized by local businessmen. But under the present British administration a branch of the Imperial Bank has been opened, into which all state monies thus becoming unavailable to local business pass. The establishment of a state bank would have been the proper thing to do.

Though the expenditure of the police department in salaries alone has gone up four times, crimes have increased abnormally. "The number of goondas has greatly increased and the honour of women and children of respectable citizens is without any protection."

"No draft legislations are placed before the public." The condition of the bar is pitiable.

These are some of the grievances narrated in the open letter. The memorialists want a legislative assembly with three-fourths of the members elected by the public, prsentation of the draft budget to it for sanction, the city municipality to consist of elected members only, a regular scheme of revenue boards and municipalities for districts and towns with elected bodies, immediate separation of revenue, judicial and executive functions, Jaipurians only to be taken into the State service, removal of the bar on printing presses and public meetings, establishment of a state bank, appointment

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of a public commission to enquire into trade depression and unemployment, and the making of primary education compulsory throughout the state.

It is not known whether this open letter reached His Excellency the Viceroy and what action, if any, he took on it. The grievances stated therein are serious enough to deserve a thorough enquiry.

By way of elucidating the state of things in Jaipur, a recent appointment in the Jaipur Maharaja's College may be mentioned. It is said that, more than one first class M. A. in two subjects, besides other holders of Master's degrees, (for example, Professor M. R. Oak, a first class M.A. in philosophy and also in English) have been serving for years with credit and efficiency. But the principal's post having recently fallen vacant, a gentleman has been imported from outside to fill this office who passed his B. A. in the second division and his M. A. in the third division and served as professor in the Dera Ismail Khan D. A.-V. Intermediate College. He gets Rs. 500 as principal and Rs. 150 as officiating Director of Public Iustruction. If our information be correct, the appointment of this gentleman is a mystery.

—

Abhoy Ashram

The creed of the Abhoy Ashram, given in its annual report for 1927, is "self-realisation through the service of the Motherland," and its seven vows are, those of fearlessness, of truth, of love, of non-stealing, of activity, of purity, and of patriotism. The report gives the history of the Ashram, its constitution and the creed. It has adopted the following programme of work :—

1. To preach the gospel of nationalism all over the country, absence of this spirit being the main cause of our political serfdom.
2. To promote Hindu-Muslim unity based on the consciousness of common nationalism.
3. To remove untouchability, hereditary caste distinction and other social evils, as are irreligious and opposed to the growth of Indian nationhood.
4. To develop hand-spinning and hand-weaving with a view to remove mass unemployment and chronic poverty; to stop foreign exploitation and economic slavery ; thus preparing the country for the struggle of Swaraj.
5. To spread education on national lines, with a view to awaken mass consciousness and train up a band of national volunteers.

In pursuance of the above programme its activities have been classified under the heads of Charkha and Khaddar, medical work, removal of untouchability and hereditary caste, national education, dairy and agriculture, and other correlated activities.

To show that *Khadi* adds to the income of and carries a message of hope to the poor, the report gives the following figures of distribution of remuneration during 1927 :—

(*a*)	Weavers ...	...	Rs 28,500
(*b*)	Spinners ...	...	,, 27,000
(*c*)	Ladies for embroidery work ...		,, 1,736
(*d*)	Washermen ...	...	,, 3,233
(*e*)	Tailors ...	...	,, 6,056
		Total	Rs. 66,525

The Khadi department of the Ashram has 63 whole-time workers in 20 production and sale centres.

During the year under report the Dyeing Department has been successful in bringing about further improvement in dyeing and printing. The Department has now under construction a Chemical Laboratory. With its completion and necessary equipment, Ashram dyeing and printing is sure to achieve further and rapid progress. In the rich variety of the stuff, its growing adaptability to varied tastes and in the improvement of dye and print, is amply demonstrated the potentiality of Bengal Khadi to be well nigh immense.

Its medical work is carried on by means of an out-door dispensary, an indoor hospital, a medical school, and a Seva Samiti. The medical school is residential. Its object is to train up a band of national medical missionaries, who, after the completion of a four years' course, are expected either to become members of the Ashram or to settle in different parts of the country. The number of students is at present 20 and they are all kept free. In admitting students preference is given to candidates belonging to the so-called depressed classes.

The members of the Ashram, giving up the special privileges due to the accident of birth, have abjured caste both in practice and profession.

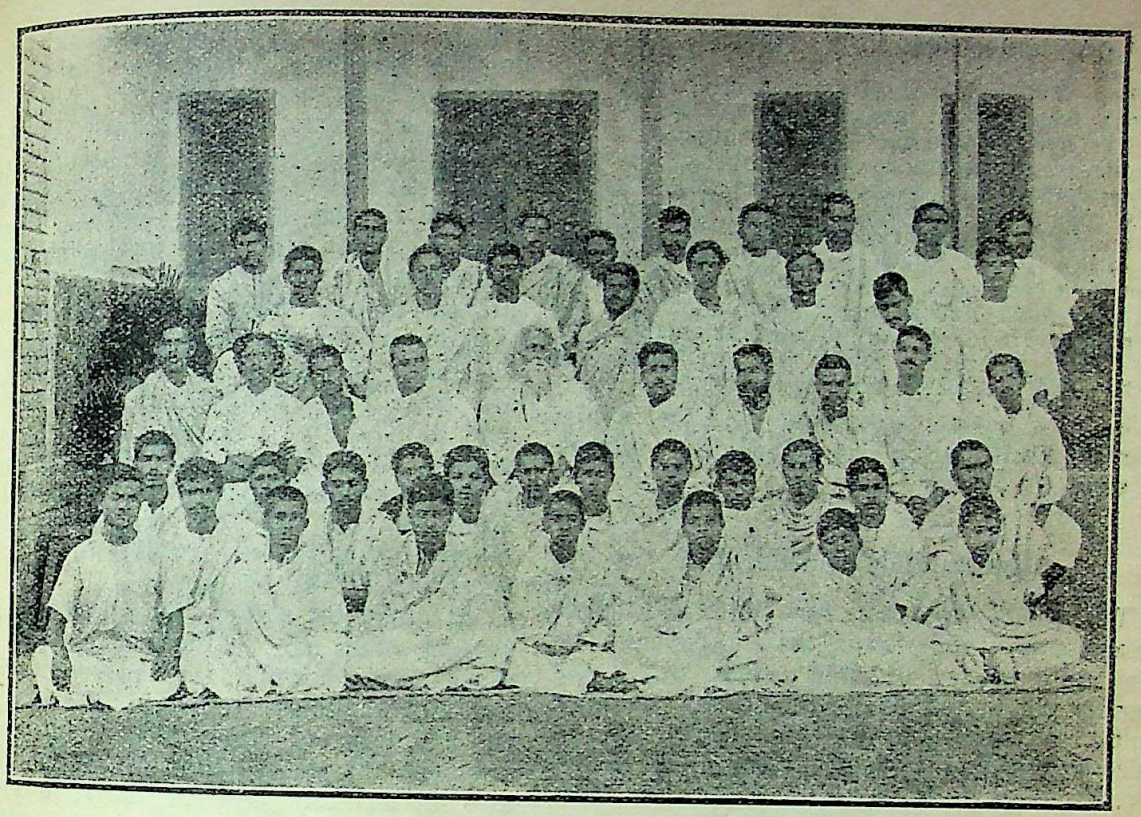
The eradication of the evil of untouchability and caste, eating into the vitals of the Hindu society and a blot upon its fair face, has been an article of faith with the Ashram ; and unrelenting are the efforts of the Ashram at its removal. Apart from the Ashram itself, scrupulous non-observance of caste is enforced even in the Indoor Hospital. There patients, at meal time, irrespective of castes, are seated in the same line and partake of the food cooked and served by a Namasudra. With a view to remove hereditary caste disrinction, inter-caste dinners are occasionally arranged in which Brahmins and the lowliest of the lowly, the Methars, are seated side by side in the same line.

With the same end in view Primary Schools are being started in villages among the so-called depressed classes.

In addition to the Sikshayatan in the

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Workers of the Comilla Abhay Ashram with Sj. Rabindranath Tagore

Ashram premises in Comilla, its headquarters, there are at present seven primary schools mostly in adjacent villages.

At present it produces about half its requirement of rice in its own fields, and some vegetables in its gardens hardly sufficient to meet its needs. It has also the nucleus of a dairy with 9 milch cows. Friends of the institution can greatly facilitate its work by helping it to buy more land and more milch cows.

It has a library in the town of Comilla and another in the Ashram premises with a free reading-room. It held monthly meetings for discourses on religious, political and literary subjects in the Mahesh Prangan, a spacious covered quandrangle given to Comilla by Babu Mahesh Chandra Bhattacharya, the richest and most public-spirited merchant of that town.

For carrying on its work in various directions, the Ashram requires pecuniary and other kinds of help, which it richly deserves.

—

Sanguinary Riots at Khargpur, Godhar, Etc

Not unoften has it been observed that successful efforts made by the different communities in India to compose their differences have been followed almost immediately by bloody riots between some of them. These are generally ascribed to the innate cussedness of our people or to Accident. If these hypotheses be correct, there must be great method in our cussedness and in Accident. Perhaps Accident is a deity like the Greek deity named Nemesis. In that case it would be prudent to propitiate this deity by offerings like those made at the shrines of the goddesslings of small pox, cholera, influenza, etc. But the previous question is, where are the Accident temples to be built and who are to be its priests? Should they be located in or away from the imperial and provincial capitals? Should the priests have nothing to do with those entrusted with the duty of maintaining law and order?

—

Contribution to League of Nations

Geneva, Sept. 26.

Lord Lytton, speaking at the Assembly, protesting against the increased League expenditure, said there was nothing in the present circumstances to justify an exceptional expenditure. Increase was caused by inadequacy and defective nature of the method of controlling and limiting spending. India

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found it very difficult to justify the increased contribution.

There was a widespread view in India that the League was not of much value to the Eastern countries and its tendency was definitely in the direction of strengthening the European interests at the expense of other countries and races.

He reminded the Assembly that the question was often discussed in India whether the membership of the League was really worth the price and feared that time might come when the Government of India would find it impossible to answer in the affirmative. He felt bound to protest on behalf of the Indian delegation which was profoundly dissatisfied with the year's budget.—"Reuter."

In the views expressed in the above telegram Lord Lytton has voiced the opinion of India.

—

Afghan Independence Day

Ten years ago, on the 26th of August, Afghanistan won complete independence. The anniversary of that great day was recently celebrated at Paghman, the summer capital of Afghanistan. In reply to an address presented to King Amanullah Khan, His Majesty made some observations, from which some sentences are culled below.

"I wish all of you to be independent externally *as well as internally*. I cannot here repeat the assurances I have already given you that I would sacrifice my very life in your service and in keeping Afghanistan independent."

Indians should ponder deeply over the words we have italicised above.

Addressing the Afghans assembled in front of him, King Amanullah observed:

"Independence has to day raised your status not only in this world but also in the next."

—

Amanullah's Reforms

The *Jirgha* or grand assembly convened by King Amanullah has arrived at certain decisions under his guidance. All ceremonial uniforms and dress are to be abolished, and all officials, including the King and Queen, are to be addressed in correspondence as "My dear—." Possessors of medals can keep them as souvenirs, but are not to be allowed to wear and flaunt in public medals other than those awarded for military service. Deoband in North India is a noted centre of Islamic theological teaching. His Afghan Majesty has evidently found men trained there undesirable specimens of humanity. So it has been decided that "all Deoband Ulemas should be turned out of the country and not allowed to re-enter Afghanistan, owing to the likelihood of there being foreign propapandists among them." Afghan Ulemas returning from Deoband are to be kept under observation for a period. Government servants will not be eligible for election to the Afghan National Assembly, and perhaps will not be nominated to it. Amanullah has adopted a good plan for preventing corruption among officials. When they enter Government service, lists are to be made of their property, and accounts are to be kept subsequently of their income and expenditure. Perhaps what is aimed at is that, if an official's accumulated wealth be found inordinate according to these lists and accounts, he may be prosecuted either for misappropriation of public funds or for accepting bribes, or both.

It may be stated here incidentally that several years ago a high officer of a certain department asked the present writer to publicly challenge a certain Minister to state the amounts of his debts and his bank balances, (1) at the time of his appointment and (2) on the date in question when the officer had been in service for an appreciable period, and to explain how he had been able to wipe off his debts and amass so much wealth, his salary and other legitimate incomes being what they were.

—

Our November Number

Owing to the ensuing Durga Puja Holidays, our November Number will be published and mailed earlier than usual, that is, on the 20th. of October current.

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Our Durga Puja Holidays

Our account of the Durga Puja Holidays the office of *The Modern Review* will remain closed from the 22nd October to the 4th November, both days inclusive. Orders for the magazine and our other publications, letters communicating changes of address, literary contributions, etc., received during this period will be dealt with after the re-opening of the office.

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KRISHNA AND VIDUR

By Mr. Promode Kumar Chatterjee

Prabasi Press, Calcutta.

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THE MODERN REVIEW

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Dr. CHARLES F. DOLE

An Eminent American Religious Teacher and Writer

By J. T. SUNDERLAND

[Editor of *The Modern Review*,

I send you the following article about, or written in appreciation of the Reverend Doctor Charles Dole, one of our noblest Americans, who died in Boston a few weeks ago. It will show your readers that some Americans are not materialists or money worshippers, but are in sympathy with the highest ethical and spiritual ideals of your noblest Indian religious teachers. Certainly it will show you that not all Americans are like Miss Katherine Mayo. J. T. S.]

Wrote Philip Gilbert Hammerton:

I compare the life of the Intellectual to a long wedge of gold—the thin edge of it begins at birth, and the depth and value of it go on increasing till at last comes death which stops the auriferous process. O, the mystery of the nameless ones who have died when the wedge was thin and looked so poor and light! Oh, the happiness of the old men whose thoughts go deeper and deeper, like a wall that runs out into the sea!

Charles Dole lived past eighty, truly a golden life, the "depth and value of it" increasing till death came. Happily the end did not arrive until he had written and published the beautiful story of it, "My Eighty Years."

What a story it is! A New England boy, reared in a religious home where duty and love ruled; a graduate of Harvard and Andover; professor of Greek for a year; pastor of an Orthodox Church for three years; forty years minister of a Unitarian Church in a suburb of Boston; eleven years free from church responsibilities a minister at large; and during all the long adult years of his life a fearless seeker for truth, a devoted lover of men, and an ethical and spiritual teacher giving forth constantly by voice and pen a message as high and fine as that of Channing.

When the end came, how did he go?

He went down
As a kingly cedar, green with boughs,
And leaves a lonesome place against the sky.

Who shall fill his place?

As I think of Mr. Dole, he seems to me above all else to have been four things—a Thinker, a Humanist, a Worshipper, and a Fighter.

What a Thinker he was! A few months ago I put the question of one of the most brilliant to your younger Unitarian ministers, who had had fine training at Harvard and elsewhere: "Who in our ministry or in that of any of the other churches, do you

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regard as our best religious Thinker today—I mean the man whose thought seems to you the freshest, the most alive, the truest, the deepest, the most worth while ?" He answered : "Dr. Dole." Would I have answered the same if the question had been asked me ? Yes.

Charles Dole seldom quoted though a wider reader. He seldom mentioned the thought of others, either to approve or disapprove, but if for either it was almost certainly for commendation, not for criticism. He never posed as one who had a philosophical or theological system to propagate or defend, much less as one bent on overturning the theological or philosophical system of somebody else. He was less an echo than almost any other man in the American pulpit. First, last, and all the while, he was simply a thinker of his own honest thought ; and whether you liked his thought or not, you had to confess that it was as fresh as morning sunlight, as fresh as the water from a deep well. And if you listened to it or read it in a really candid mood, you generally found yourself compelled very soon to like it, it was so candid, so sincere, so genuine, so penetrating, illuminating and appealing, so modest and yet so profound, and so true to the truest and deepest in your own soul.

What a Humanist he was ! Not a Humanist of a negative kind ; not of a kind that drops out any of the great, deep ethical or spiritual realities of the past, calling that progress ; but of the kind that keeps every faith, every hope, every ideal, every incentive that ennobles humanity and comforts the deep heart of man,—a mighty Humanist of the type of Channing, Theodore Parker, Jenkin Lloyd Jones, and, if I may add poets, Frederick Hosmer and Samuel Longfellow—a kind, of which, from the first the Unitarian movement in this country and England has been so gloriously full. No man ever lived that was more deeply interested than was Dole in everything calculated to benefit humanity, to cure the ills of humanity, to lift up humanity to its finest, strongest and best. Every sermon he ever preached showed this ; so did every book he wrote ; so did all his splendid work in the Boston Twentieth Century Club, and other lines of public activity. Nor was his humanism confined to Boston, or New England, or America, or the white race ; it was big as the world—it reached out to all men everywhere who suffer or are wronged.

What a Worshiper he was ! It seems to me I never saw any other man to whom God was so near and so real—so much the joy and inspiration of his every day and every hour, so truly the very life of his life—the upper sky of all his dreams, of all his thoughts, all his hopes and faith,—the splendid meaning of his own life, and humanity's life and of the world. The glorious thought which makes man a child of the eternities, not a mere insect of a day, and which makes the universe not a blind idiot's dream, but a living Cosmos, full of infinite significance from the smallest electron to the vastest sun in space. He looked so deep, so deep, into the heart of things, as to see that

There is enough of God
In the heart of a rose,
In the smile of a child,
In the dewy blossoms of dawn,
To prove
That Beauty is the Soul of Him.
That Love is His Sceptre,
And that all things created by Him.
Face not the night,
But Eternal Morning.

What a Fighter he was ! A physical fighter, a brute fighter, a fighter to kill or wound or injure men ? Never ! Never ! Only little men, moral cowards, men who are only half *men* and the other half *beasts yet* fight in that way. Dole was a moral fighter,—and it takes bravery infinitely greater than that of beasts to do that kind of fighting. When the whole nation had gone insane with fury to go across the sea and kill Germans, he had the intelligence, the patriotism, the honor, the almost superhuman bravery quietly to say, "No !"

Killing Germans is wrong—just as wrong if we kill millions of them in war as if we murdered them one by one with pistols and knives. Furthermore it can accomplish no possible good for France, or Britain or ourselves, or the world ; but only evil, evil, evil to everybody.

Dole had the superb, the almost unbelievable courage to keep his sanity and say just that, while the multitudes around him, many of them his dearest friends, called him "Red," a "Bolshevik," "a traitor to his country" and other names the bitterest that they knew. It was a terrible experience ; it was a crucifixion like that of Calvary. But he no more shrank than did Jesus. Such men are the greatest possible heroes, who shine like stars in the history of the world.

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And Dole was that kind of a hero, not only in opposing the futile and horrible war of 1914-18 but all war as unnecessary in this twentieth century, and every other evil that afflicts humanity. Wherever there was a man-fight as distinguished from a beast-fight that is, wherever there was a fight for freedom, for justice, for right, for truth, for striking chains from human bodies or human souls, in a word, wherever there was a fight that asked men to carry it on with love and not with hate,—there was Dole, always, and in the front rank. And he was as mighty as he was brave. He did not shout and swing a big battle-axe and make a great commotion; but he pierced the armor of his foes with the lance of his keen and irresistible thought and thus was wonderfully effective in winning the battle.

I think we may look upon Dr. Dole as in a sense our American Mahatma Gandhi: or, upon Gandhi as India's Dr. Dole. Dole is not so famous as Gandhi; I am sure it would be for the world's spiritual enriching if he were. I think we may regard the religion of the two men as essentially identical. While Gandhi is the child of Hinduism, he draws his faith not alone from the Bhagavad Gita and other Hindu sacred literature, but also from the Christian Sermon on the Mount and all other inspiring religious books. While Dole was the child of Christianity, he drew his faith not alone from the Bible, but also from the literature of all the religions of the world and all humanity. The world is amazed and electrified at the absolute sincerity and moral fearlessness of Gandhi. Dole was hardly less sincere or fearless. Gandhi is a pacifist. Dole was the same. That two such men should be called by that name ought to lift it up to be one of the most shining and honoured names in all the world. Gandhi believes that love is the greatest of all forces, and that sometime, men will find it out and it will rule the nations. This was Dole's splendid faith too. This proclaims them both true brothers of Jesus.

I remember reading a fine story about Rev. Frederick W. Robertson, of Brighton, England, that most chivalrous knight of the spirit, that Lancelot, that King Arthur, among Church of England preachers. A tradesman of Brighton who had sat for years under his magnetic words and felt all their mighty uplifting power, tells us that after Robertson's death he placed a fine picture of him in the back room of his store and for years whenever he felt a temptation in his business to do anything that was not in the strictest sense right, he made himself go back and take a look at that strong face and into those pure eyes; and at once the temptation was gone, and he found it impossible to stoop below high honor. Dole was another Rebertson. His influence was just the same. It always seemed to me that in his presence it was impossible to think a sordid or low thought, or to have a feeling that was other than fine and sweet, or to be a coward, or to hate anybody, or to be indifferent to any human interests. If ever in his presence you were tempted to say a mean word or think a mean thought, his clear, pure eyes looked straight down into your soul and said to you with infinite tenderness, "No! No! No! Life is too high and beautiful for that." And then all the little devils of low thought flew out of your mind, ashamed and bright angles of good thoughts came in their place. I am sure Charles Dole though no longer seen in the flesh, will go on and on and on, longer than any of us know, putting integrity, purity, sanity, sincerity, honor and moral strength into all who personally knew him, and also into thousands who only knew of him, or read his words of simple beauty and spiritual penetration so marvellously like the words of Jesus.

Thank God for that daring, that luminous soul
Who "saw things straight and saw them whole"
Whom with pride we call *our* Charles F. Dole!
With conscience sound
As the world is round!
With love as wide
As the ocean's tide!
With courage true
As the sky is blue!
A glorious knight
Of love and light,
Of manhood's worth
And reason's might!
God give us men like Charles F. Dole!
And then, and then,
As the seasons roll,
They shall nearer bring the shining day
When war and hate shall pass away,
When Love shall over the nations brood
And earth become the Kingdom of God,

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PROGRESS IN THE CHEMISTRY OF COLLOIDS AS APPLIED TO MEDICINAL AND INDUSTRIAL PURPOSES

By DR. R. ZSIGMONDY

*Professor of Chemistry at the University of Goettingen.**

MOLECULES of sugar are able to diffuse through parchment paper; so, too, when dissolved in water, can kitchen salt, soda, permanganate of potash and a number of other soluble chemical compounds. By evaporation, solutions of sugar and salt form crystals or crystalloids, which, in turn, dwindle away and become absorbed on introduction into a solvent.

Opposed in nature to crystals, there exists a series of substances which, in solution, do not diffuse through parchment. These substances were named by Graham, who was the first to recognise the significance of their characteristics colloids (from the Greek Kolla, glue) because glue, gelatine, gum arabic etc., are typical examples of this class of compounds. Before dissolving, colloids swell in the presence of a solvent, the fluid penetrating into their substances. Hence, the interstices in colloids are greater than in crystalloids.

Colloids play an important role in medicine and in technology. All living beings consist mainly of colloids, protoplasm, cellulose, haemoglobin etc., being fundamentally colloids: It is, therefore, readily comprehensible that the study of colloids is frequently of decisive significance in dealing with the problems of biology and medicine. Coagulation of the blood, for instance, as well as of egg albumin under the influence of heat, is a colloidal phenomenon: so, too, in essence, as the well-known Wassermann reaction. One result of research in connexion with colloids is Lange's discovery that the characteristic coloration of gold dissolved in colloidal water and mixed with spinal fluid provides clear evidence of the existence of certain diseases. Colloidal silicic acid is employed in making pharmaceutical preparations. Colloidal silver is used for various medical purposes, e. g., for intravenous injections, for ointments etc. Finely pulverised "silversol" (a colloidal solution of silver) impedes the growth of bacilli.

The most important of the natural colloids is caoutchouc; consequently, as might be expected, the caoutchouc industry has recently come under the influence of colloid research, the substances added in the manufacture being selected according to the teachings of the new science.

The various artificial silks are particularly successful products of colloidal research. The leading description is, at present viscous silk, which aggregates 85 per cent. of the total production. Colloidion silk is manufactured in the following way; the collodion—produced by treating cellulose with nitro sulphuric acid is dissolved in a mixture of alcohol and ether; and from this mixture the silk is spun. Acetate silk is made by the acetyl-cellulose process; it lends itself admirably to dyeing and, in appearance etc., comes nearest to real silk; it is accordingly also the dearest of the artificial products. The latest development in artificial silk manufacture is the cellulose-ether process; it is, at present, in the experimental stage, but there are interesting signs of approaching success. The consumption of artificial silk is now only 1.65 p. c. as compared with 8 p.c. cotton and 17.5 p. c. wool; if it proves possible to better and to vary the features of this silk surrogate, its consumption will rise very considerably.

Another important branch of industry in which colloidal chemistry has now begun to play a role is asphalts and tars. These substances are themselves colloids; and the object of the research is to increase their applicability and their durability. Considering the importance of road-building in these days of motor-cars, this research is a matter of very particular interest.

Again, in the production and working of the raw materials used in ceramics, in the forming and melting of the various constituents, the colloidal processes are of

* Professor Zsigmondy was awarded the Nobel Prize for Chemistry in 1926.

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great significance. As, however, the manufacture of earthen-ware has been practised for thousands of years in the Old World and has consequently been brought empirically to a high state of perfection, the new colloidal methods find it difficult to make headway in Europe. On the other hand, in North America, where tradition and prejudice do not stand in its way, the new science, assisted by publications of German colloidal ceramics, has made considerable progress and, having got into close practical touch with the industry itself, has performed achievements greater than almost anything which the old science of ceramics could boast; still more important results may be expected from an extended application of the knowledge acquired through colloidal research.

New light, too, is being shed by colloidal research on the cultivation of the soil and the manufacture and use of fertilizers. It has been discovered that it is the numerous colloids present in the soil which hold and carry to the plants the soluble inorganic foods necessary for their growth and sustenance. Armed with this knowledge, scientists are about to create a partially new basis for the practice of manuring and of soil cultivation, which will mean a very considerable advance in agriculture and kindred industries.

It is not possible to discuss here all the technical uses of the colloids. Sufficient, however, has already been said to give some idea of the importance of the new science. Besides the industries mentioned in the foregoing, there are many others destined to receive stimulus and improvement from the discoveries of colloidal chemistry, among them being metallurgy and the manufacture of dyes, cement, glass-paper and margarine.

SCULPTURE IN ORISSA

BY SARAT CHANDRA GHOSH

ORISSA'S pride is her ancient sculpture. The very existence of the fine temples of Bhubaneswar, Jagannath and Konarak a few miles off from Puri deserve mention as the best specimens of ancient sculpture in India nay even in the world. The art of carving figures on stone is entirely dying out of Orissa. In fact, it has died out so to say. This art brought our famous ancestors at one time to a unique position among the citizens of the world but alas those days are gone, and I think gone for ever. Our sculptors were no way inferior to the sculptors of the European countries. The sculptures of the famous Hindu Temple of Orissa are very similar to those of the Gothic structures. The carving of beautiful life-like pictures on stone, viz,—male and female figures, soldiers and dancers with dresses on, lions, tigers, war-chariots, musical instruments, birds, and the like, can be well seen in the beautiful engravings on the Temples of Bhubaneswar especially in those of the Goddess Annapurna, and at the Temple of Konarak too. The workmanship reached its climax in the Temple of Konarak. This Temple was designed for the Sun-God but at present there is no diety within it, and it is in a dilapidated condition, singing the sad tale of its former greatness. An observer who happens to go there cannot but shed tears at the sight of this ancient glory of India being reduced to dust from day to day. The British Government has tried its best to preserve the ancient glory from ruin, and has arranged a museum there to satisfy the curiosity of visitors. My words fail to picture the fine engravings on the Temple of Konarak. The closer one sees the more he will be charmed with it. It must be admitted on all hands that this old industry is dying.

Several times I had been to Bhubaneswar, one of the ancient places of interest. Hardly can I find a sculptor now who can even repair the old broken stone figures. There is one man Bairagi Maharana by name, who knows something of this art. With the death of this man the art will come to an end, and is sure to die out. I sat

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several times by the side of this sculptor and saw him carving beautiful figures of Hindu gods and goddesses on black *Mugni* stone and the like. If anyhow this industry be encouraged and improved, the ancient prestige of Orissa will be preserved along with it. In this connexion I humbly suggest that Training classes may be opened with this man at the head, or one such steps be taken as the authorities think fit.

Four miles off from the Bhubaneswar Railway Station to the east, we find the inscriptions of Maharaja Asoka on the Dhouli Hill, which are of great interest as affording model rules of morality and the like. The inscriptions are in Pali character and some of the letters have really been effaced owing to inclemencies of weather. The whole of the inscriptions would have been effaced in course of time had not Lord Curzon, the father of the Ancient Monuments Preservation Act come to its rescue. It was Lord Curzon who kindly visited the place, took steps to construct a roof over these inscriptions to save them from wearing out by rain and sun-shine, and thus preserved the valuable writings for ever. A short trip to the locality will make everyone think that there was once a man who made these rules of morality carved on stone for the future guidance of us one and all, and gave these such a lasting shape, but there are none at the present day, who can even preserve them far from doing such useful deeds at present. It is Asoka who can be well said to be ever living and not dead. I think I shall leave a gap here if I do not say what these inscriptions mean. The principal points in the valuable inscriptions containing the eleven Commandments of Asoka when translated run thus :—

1. Animal slaughter to be stopped.
2. Trees to be planted and wells sunk by the road ; charitable dispensaries to be opened.
3. Missionaries to be sent all round to preach the religion.
4. Every fifth year a Buddhist Council to be held to take steps for preaching the doctrine of Buddhism.
5. Spies to be engaged to inquire into the customs, manners and morality of the subjects.
6. Discourses on Religion to be encouraged as affording real solace to the mind.
7. Apathy towards material prosperity and eagerness for spiritual attainments to be fostered.

In this connexion the writings on the caves of Khandgiri and Udaygiri Hills are also worth mentioning. These two Hills are about six miles to the West of Bhubaneswar. The caves were actually carved out by the orders of King Aira during his reign in the fourth century B. C. These caves were fit for human habitation, and many Buddhist monks lived and comfortably continued their silent meditations there for days together. The writings on the caves contain the principal events during the reign of King Aira of Kalinga. He was at first a Hindu but subsequently became a convert to Buddhism. A student of History, will derive incalculable joy by visiting these places of rare interest.

In conclusion, I hope that if proper step be taken to improve this art of sculpture referred to above, it will not only provide food for the millions of our poor brethren, and will enable them to earn a decent sum and thereby live comfortably, but will at the same time preserve the ancient glory of Orissa nay of India.

THE TEMPLE OF THE SACRED TOOTH

A World famous Relic

By E. L. WATTS

A building that contains the relic sacred to the largest number of devotees of any faith must, of necessity, have many sacred associations. The fact that the Temple standing by the side of the picturesque lake of Kandy, in the centre of Ceylon, contains what is believed by millions of Buddhists to be the actual tooth of the great Enlightened One, Buddha, cannot fail to appeal to the imagination of even the

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most prosaic mind. This relic, guarded with every care, holds a place in the affections of Buddhist followers all over the world, which the westerner can conceive. It is unchallenged in its supremacy. There may be other teeth for which a claim is made, but every true Buddhist will readily acknowledge that the Tooth in the Dalada Maligawa in this Ceylon town, holds a unique place, and to it is due all reverence and worship. Nevertheless, it requires a very highly developed faith to believe that the relic so jealously guarded was once a part of the dental apparatus of a human being. Even Sir Edwin Arnold, whose sympathies with Buddhist life and thought are well-known, writes in his "India Revisited" that it is not the least like a human tooth, and more resembles that of a crocodile or large pig. But the point is that the devout Buddhist still believes it to be genuine, and holds it to be the most sacred thing in the whole world. It is a relic for the possession of which bloody wars have been fought and incredible sums offered. Its safe arrival in the town of Kandy in the sixteenth century has changed what was a well-nigh inaccessible village into the mountain capital of Ceylon. Year by year the abiding place was visited by thousands of pilgrims from all over the East. They braved the dangers of the road, they climbed into the mountain fastness in order that they might see this relic. Here they offered their gold and silver, and precious jewels as a token of gratitude. Legend says that one of the Ninety Kings who ruled Ceylon offered six millions of blossoms in one day to this rapacious tooth, and that another daily offered one hundred thousand blossoms all of one sort, and a different flower each day. The tooth itself is an oblong piece of discoloured ivory, tapering to a point, and about one and a quarter inches in length, and half an inch in diameter at the base. On rare occasions this relic has been exposed to public gaze, as on the occasion of the visit of the Prince of Wales in 1875 and his two sons in 1882. When funds are required for the repair of the temple and exhibition of the sacred tooth is arranged for, and during the time of its exposure, thousands flock to gaze upon it. Miss Gordon Cummings was privileged to see the relic on one of these occasions, and she has recorded her impressions of the scene in the temple. "Within the temple the scene was striking in the extreme, both as regards its human interest and as an artistic study of rich colouring. For crowds of most reverent worshippers, men, women and children, almost all bringing flowers as well as more enduring gifts of jewels, money, and pieces of silk were all pressing toward the further end of the temple, which was now arranged as a sort of chancel, hung with rich draperies and curtains which could be drawn at will, and there on a slightly raised platform were grouped a phalanx of brown-shouldered yellow robed priests of all sizes and ages, from those who might have been gray-headed had they not been so closely shaven, down to quite small boys. With them stood the great laymen associated with them in the charge of the temple and its property, all in rich dresses of Kandyan nobles, with the large-sleeved jacket and jewelled hat. The greatest of them was dressed in the same style, but his clothes were white and gold.

All these were grouped around a temporary altar—really a silver table supposed to represent a lake on which the golden lotus floats. There on stood an octagonal cupola of solid silver and gold, supported by slender pillars. In front of these were three miniature crystal dagobas or bell-shaped relic shrines, each resting on a square base, and two candlesticks of gold with lighted candles. In the small dagobas on either side were displayed priceless jewelled objects—royal gifts. But all eyes were riveted on the central shrine, of purest crystal, within which lay a large golden lotus-blossom, from the heart of which, upheld by a twist of gold wire, was upraised the worshipful piece of ivory, which to the unquestioning eye of faith actually passes for a human tooth.

Though the tooth is exposed to view on very rare occasions, it is annually brought out in its casket, for a procession round the town in the month of August. This historic festival which has been held for upwards of two thousand years, takes place at night and forms "one of most weired sights to be seen in this or any other country." There is a large stud of elephants in connection with the Temple and on this occasion they are all gaily caparisoned with gorgeous trappings quite covering the heads and bodies. The finest of these elephants is taken into the Temple by the main entrance. The shrine of the tooth is removed and placed within the howdah, the whole being

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surmounted by a huge canopy supported by rods which are held on either side by natives. Two other elephants are then brought, and after being gaily dressed are mounted by several headmen, whose servants sit behind holding gold and silver umbrellas. "Between each section of the procession are rows of other headmen in gorgeous dresses, and groups of masked devil-dancers in the most barbaric costumes, dancing frantically, exhibiting every possible contortion, and producing the most hideous noise by the beating of tom-toms, the blowing of conch-shells, the clanging of brass-cymbals, the blowing of shrill pipes and other instruments devised to produce the most perfect devil-music that can be imagined. Nothing more *eerie* can be pictured than this procession, about a mile long, consisting of thousands of dark brown figures, gaily dressed, intermingling with hideous groups of devil-dancers, all frantically gesticulating around the forty elephants by the dim red light of a thousand torches." It is a curious combination of the Hinduism and Buddhism, for the Hindu deities and relics form an important part of this procession.

Before giving a brief history of this wonderful relic, something may be said of its present home, the Dalada Maligawa. The Temple and the Pattirippuwa which is the name given to the octagonal building on the right of the main entrance, are enclosed by a very ornamental stone wall and a moat. The temple itself is concealed. by the other buildings within the enclosure The chief characteristics of the buildings is the low square-cut pillars, the lavish display of grotesque carvings and mythological frescoes painted on the walls. As we pass into the building we notice on the lower portal a beautifully sculptured semi-circular stone; then past two wonderful stone beasts. In the outer temple are various objects of interest gaudily painted images of Buddha, gigantic drums and tomtoms, rich draperies, curious great honorific sunshades etc. We pass inside and soon stand before the door leading into the little sancturay where the sacred tooth is kept. Within this chamber, in dim religious light, is a solid silver table, behind which the huge silver guilt dagoba, or bell-shaped shrine, with six inner shrines protecting the tooth, is usually visible through thick metal bars. On great occasions this nest of priceless value is brought forward and the tooth displayed. The shrines surrounding this relic are all of priceless gold, ornamented with magnificent rubies, pearls. emeralds, and catseyes. In addition to these treasures there are many valuable offerings and gifts of kings, including an image of Buddha carved out of one great emerald, about three inches long by two deep.

When the Tooth was returned to its place many ceremonies had to be performed, and one who was fortunate in seeing this ceremony has given us the details. "First the Tooth was laid in a case resembling a richly jewelled thimble case, but, as no human hand might touch the sacred ivory, it received the honours of the white cloth; in other words, it was tilted off its perch above the golden lotus, on to a fair linen cloth, from which it was dexterously slipped into its case. The tiny jewelled case was next enclosed in a golden dagoba, encrusted with gems which was formally locked by one of the chief priests, who retained possession of the key. Then it was deposited within a third reliquary, and was looked after by the Dewa Nilame, the great lay authority of the temple. Finally, the strong iron cage with open bars was locked and sealed with much ceremony by the three great authorities, each with his own signet. Then the metal doors of the inner sanctuary were locked by one of them, and the down-stairs door by some one else."

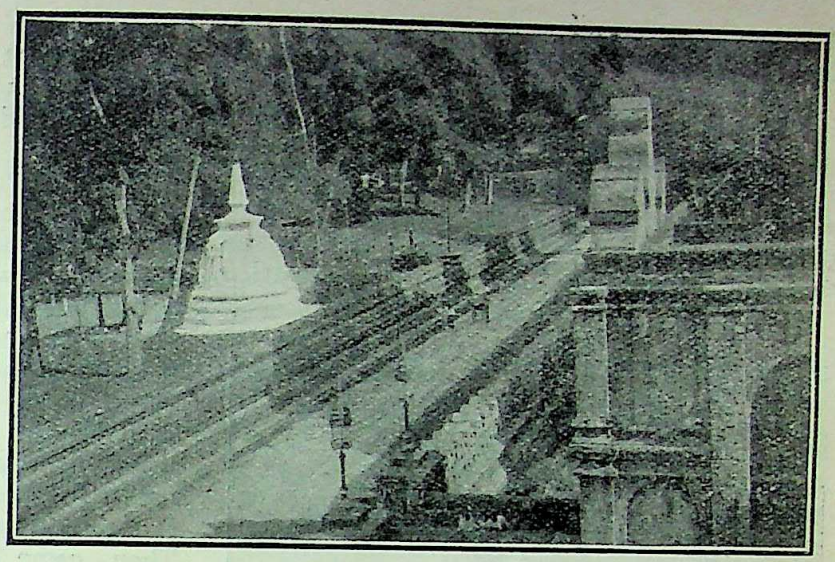
The priests very jealously guard the tooth and on no consideration will they permit it, on the rare occasions on which it is exposed, to be touched by human hands. It is recorded that some fifty years ago the Siamese sent an embassy to Ceylon, offering to pay a sum of £50000 for permission to remove the Tooth to their own capital. The offer was rejected with scorn. It was only after the British Agent had appealed to the priests that they were even permitted to look at the relic. When the treasure was brought out the embassy produced a small piece of rag and rapidly rubbed it over the holy relic and quickly dropped the rag into a small phial of oil. Thus the oil was consecrated and endowed with sufficient virtue to consecrate tons of oil wherewith to sanctify the whole kingdom of Siam. The priests were furious, but the ambassadors returned to Siam full of joy on account of their great possession.

In the temple precincts there is an interesting Oriental Library, in which are gathered together a great number of manu-

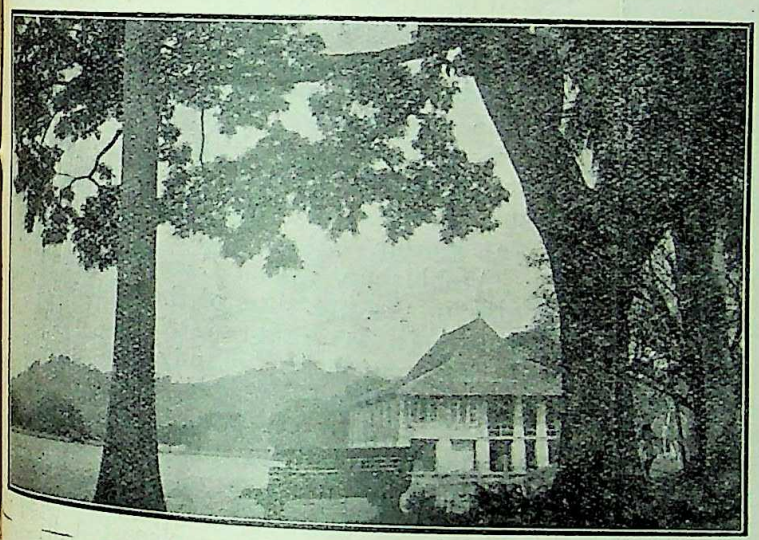
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scripts of considerable antiquity, written in Pali and Sanskrit characters. We have said "written" but the characters are really pricked with a stylus on narrow strips of palm-leaf about three inches wide and sixteen or twenty inches long. These strips form the leaves of the books, and are strung together between two boards which form the covers. Many of the covers are elaborately decorated with embossed metal, and some are even set with jewels. Sacred and historical writings, together with works on mathematics,



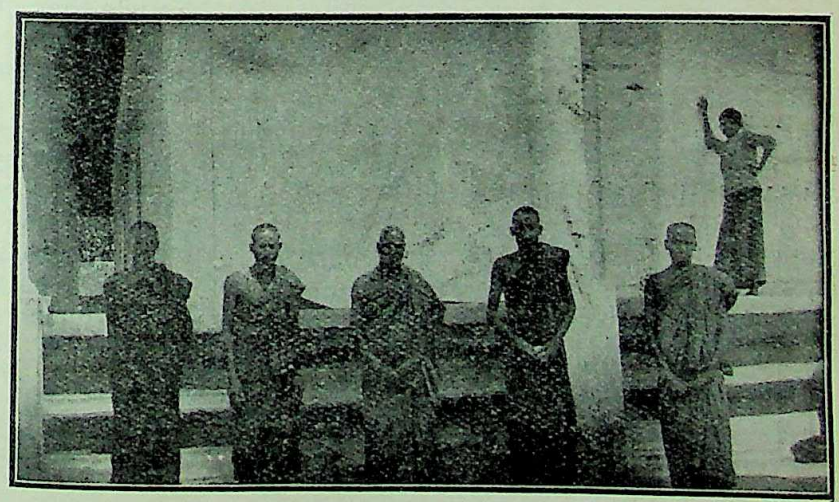
Entrance to the Temple of the Sacred Tooth



The Library Connected with the Temple

astrology, etc. make up the collection. From the gallery of this octagonal tower one is able to get delightful views of the Kandy lake.

We naturally expect that such a relic as the sacred tooth has a history of some importance, and we find from the records that many interesting incidents are recorded if not of this one, at least the one it is presumed to be. The original article is supposed to have been one of Buddha's four eye-teeth, rescued from his funeral pyre when he was cremated in B. C. 543 about a hundred miles north of Benares. The king of Kalinga secured three of the teeth and these were immediately taken to his own country where they were received with great enthusiasm. Thence forward his capital was called Danta-Poora, the City of the Tooth. All went well till one of the Buddhist kings determined to dismiss all the Brahmins from his State. They fled to the Imperial Court whereupon the Emperor sent orders for them to overthrow the king and to bring back the relic. We are told that the invading army was

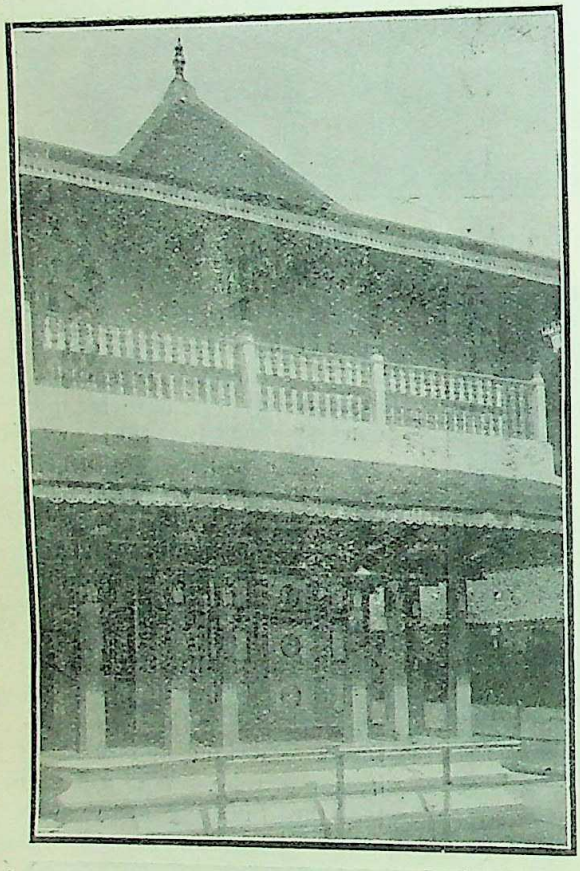


Modern Monks in Ceylon Monastery

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at once converted on beholding the Tooth, but they escorted it with all reverence to the throne of the imperial king. Orders were given for the destruction of the tooth, but all the efforts of the Brahmins were of no avail. "They cast it into the fire" says the old chronicle "but it reappeared from amid the flames safely folded within the leaves of an exquisite lotus-flower; they tried



The Temple of the Sacred Tooth

to grind it to powder on an anvil, but the most crushing blows left it safely embedded in the hard iron. Then they made elephants trample on it, that it might sink into the earth, but once more it rose from its burial, enthroned in the heart of a lotus blossom, the petals of which were of fine gold, and its heart of silver".

The Emperor was so impressed he embraced the Buddhist faith. It was restored to Kalinga, but when he was beset by his foes he bade his daughter, the princess of Kalinga, conceal this treasure in the coils of her thick long hair, and make her way to Ceylon. In 311 A. D. it was received at Anuradhapura, by the King and a fine temple was built for it. It remained in Ceylon till A. D. 1313, being carried from place to place, in each town a large temple was erected for its protection and honour. Then came the Malabar invasion when this Tooth was carried off to Southern India. It was at length recovered through the personal negotiations of the King of Ceylon. It was carried back with great pomp. Then came the Portuguese in 1560 A. D. and among the spoils they captured was the sacred tooth They took it to Goa, their capital, and though large sums were offered by Buddhist rulers, the authorities did not succumb to the temptation. The influence of the clergy was exerted and we are informed that the little piece of ivory in its golden setting was brought forth in solemn state by the clergy and placed in a mortar, where with his own hand the Archbishop, Don Gaspar, bruised it to powder in the presence of the Viceroy. But of course, it was not destroyed, else how could it now be in Kandy safely housed behind all those strong doors? True believers declare that the holy tooth was miraculously reformed in the heart of a lotus blossom—and was ultimately recovered by the Ceylon king. One wonders why they did not attempt to replace the destroyed tooth by a human tooth instead of the article that now forms the object of worship of millions of people. There is not the slightest similitude between the present Tooth and a human tooth, but human credulity is wonderful. There it is housed today, and only those who have witnessed the enthusiasm shown when it is exposed have any idea of the devotion accorded to it. It may truly be said that this relic is worshipped by a larger number of devotees than any other relic in the world.

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HAMBURG AND THE OVERSEAS COUNTRIES

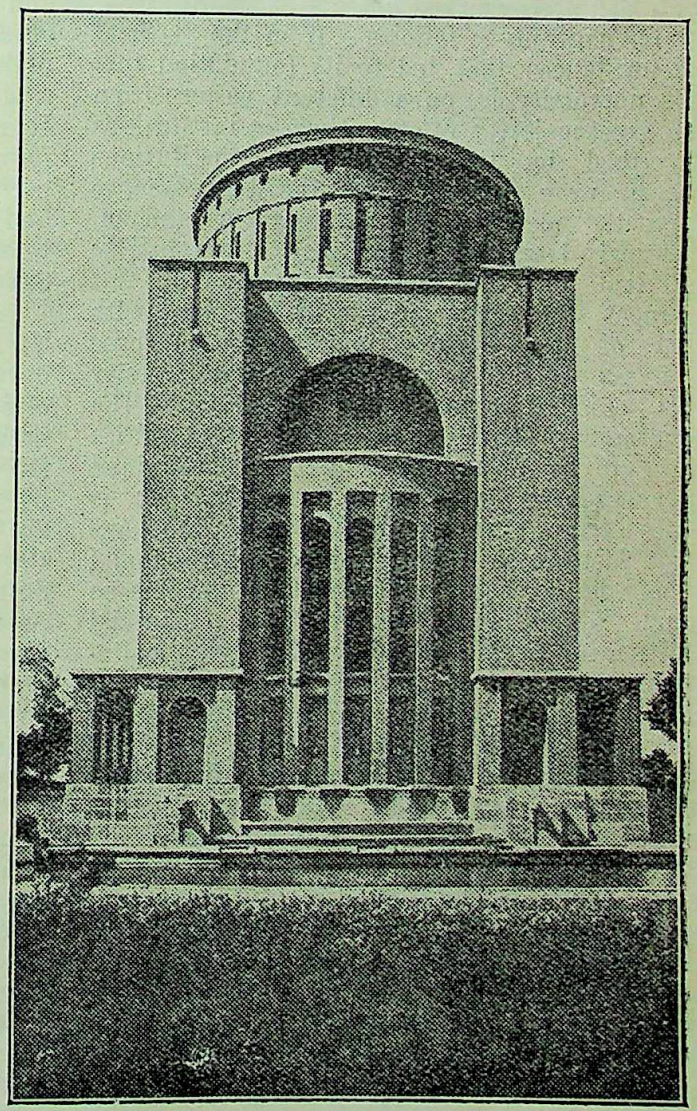
Hamburg's Share in International Cultural Co-operation

By Dr. G. KURT JOHANNSEN

"LIBERTATEM quam peperere maiores digne studeat servare posteritas"—these are the words inscribed above the main portal of the Hamburg City Hall, the magnificent edifice that now takes the place of the former municipal building which had to be blown up during the great conflagration of 1842. And indeed, if we take up a position under the Arcades and allow our eyes to rest on the solid, yet beautiful structure that rises beyond the small basin formed by the Alster, we cannot but feel that the exhortation contained in these words is thoroughly justified. Great though the heritage is which the present generation has had bequeathed to it from its forefathers, the duty to maintain and to enlarge it is greater still.

The term "liberty" must not only be understood in its external application, but must also be taken to include the liberty of decision and of action. Nine years have passed since the most devastating of all wars came to a conclusion and since the country was forced to subscribe to the terrible terms dictated at Versailles, but during this short time Hamburg has rapidly become once more the genuine counterpart of her former self. She still is the second largest city in Germany and one of the biggest seaports on the Continent. Her power of reasserting herself so completely is not entirely due to the immense economic efforts she has made, but also to her endeavours in the cultural domain. The task she has to fulfil is not merely to serve the interests of Germany's commercial and economic activities, but also to act as the intermediary in the great process by which the cultural and intellectual goods are interchanged between the countries of the old Continent and the new countries beyond the sea.

The duties incumbent on the ancient Hanseatic city in this capacity cover a very large ground indeed. Economic necessities had compelled her to build enormous docks



Wasserturm im Hamburger Stadtpark

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and harbour installations intended to render possible the carrying of material commodities from one country to another and to accommodate them temporarily within the buildings provided for such purposes. In like manner she was forced, on account of her cultural duties, to create a public institution capable of serving the needs of the interchange of intellectual goods between the nations of the world. The earliest form in which this duty took practical shape was the establishment, in 1895, of an organisation for systematic courses of lectures open to the public. Subsequently, in 1908, this organisation was merged with the newly founded Colonial Institute, and finally, in 1919, the latter was converted into the University of Hamburg, a novel institution with definitely marked objects and duties.

It naturally follows from the special circumstances that led to its foundation that this university is on a different pattern from the great majority of other German institutions described by the same name—institutions which were intended in the first place, to serve the needs of the humanities and of classical learning. Principal stress had to be laid on the fact that innumerable ties connect the economic life of Hamburg with that of the world at large, and it is these overseas relations that the new university was chiefly required to cultivate. The programmes fixed for several of its faculties were to a considerable extent determined in accordance with this principle. It is quite true that other universities, too have their faculties of jurisprudence and national economics, but there is none that devotes so much attention to lectures on comercial and marine law, on the law of foreign countries, and on comparative jurisprudence as does Hamburg. Other special and permanent features are the institution of a system of lectures given by professors from other universities and that of the so-called Examining Board for a Knowledge of Foreign Countries and Institutions ("Prufungsamt fur Auslandskunde") entitled to issue special diplomas to successful candidates who are examined as to their knowledge of the countries selected by them. The list of such countries includes practically every one carrying on trade intercourse with Germany. The teaching supplied at the School of Art is largely supplemented by the valuable exhibits possessed by the ably managed Ethnological Museum whose European, Asiatic, Indo-Oceanic African and American departments contains no less than 150,000 specimens of the art of the nations concerned. Similar purposes are served by the Arts and Crafts Museum which enables students to obtain a comprehensive view of the development of arts and crafts from the time of the ancient Egyptians and Greeks to that of the Islamitic and South American cultures and civilisations and to the flourishing period of Far Eastern applied art. Other schools affiliated to the University and forming integral parts of it are those devoted to the study of languages. Their number includes, among others, the Schools for the Language and Civilisation of China and Japan, the School for African and Polynesian Languages which is exceedingly well-equipped with material and which specialises in the study (including comparitive study) of the numerous dialects spoken in those parts and civilisations that have grown up there and the Ibero-American Institute which was actually founded when Germany, during the war, was entirely isolated from the rest of the world and which cultivates the intellectual interests that link together Germany and the Spanish and Portuguese speaking countries.

Another university institution, viz., the Hamburg Institute for Foreign Politics, is devoted to research work in connection with topical questions of foreign politics. It is of great importance both to Germany and to foreign countries and is being used more and more by visitors from abroad. Similar institutions are possessed by New York, London and Paris only, and its establishment must be described as an event that is certain to promote the cause of international understanding and collaboration. It works in close co-operation with the Hamburg Archives of International Economics ("Hamburger Welt-Wirtschafts-Archiv") founded for the purpose of collecting and disseminating information relevant to the economic and political conditions of all countries and of every branch of economic activity, and found extremely helpful to numerous economists from overseas countries.

No one is likely to deny that the Hamburg Station for Seismic Research ("Hauptstation fur Erdbebenforschung"), the Nautical Observatory ("Seewarte") and the Astronomical Observatory ("Sternwarte") are all links in the intellectual co-operation of different nations, although it may perhaps be contended with more or less justification that

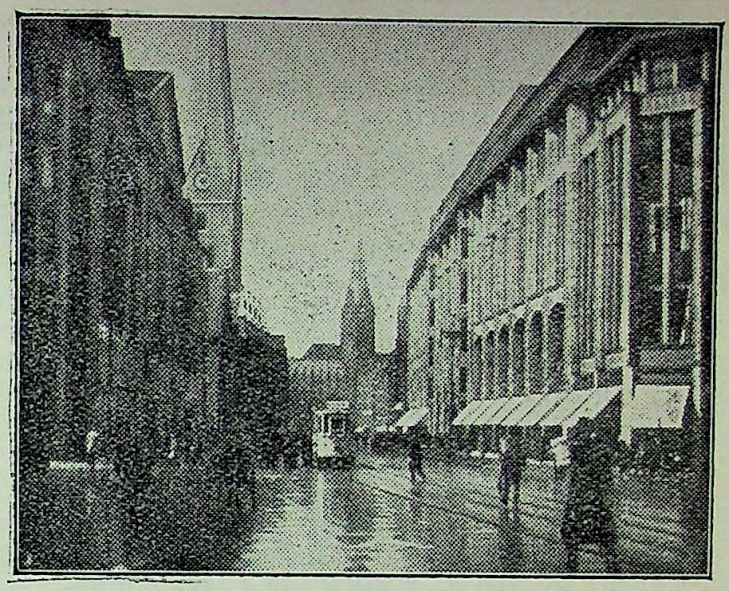
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their immediate contribution to international amity is but slight. Matters, however, assume a different aspect when we turn our attention to the Hamburg Institute for Marine and Tropical Diseases ("Hamburgisches Institut fur Schiffs—und Tropenkrankheiten") whose fame has penetrated to every quarter of the globe and is still constantly spreading.

This institution, under the direction of its founder, Professor Bernhard Nocht, the present Rector of the University of Hamburg, is dedicated to research, teaching, and healing, and it is scarcely possible to overestimate the benefits that result from its activities, more especially to the advantage of all those countries which, like a beautiful belt, encircle the equatorial regions of the globe. It has investigated and successfully combated every kind of tropical disease. Every suggested remedy for malaria, sleeping sickness, dysentery, scurvy, and black-water fever is tested, checked, and improved on its premises. Hundreds of medical practitioners from all over the world have there received their special training in the treatment of tropical diseases.

Hamburg, indeed, has given numerous proofs of her desire to assist in making the cause of international co-operation as workable as possible. If particular evidence is needed, we may refer to her imposing harbour facilities open to the ships of every seafaring nation, to her wonderful system of guiding the immense traffic passing through her port, to the careful scrutiny of the incoming and out-going merchandise, to the watchful activities of her Committee for Trade, Shipping and Industries, to the energetic steps taken to prevent the trade in smuggled opiates (as for instance, in the establishment of a special court dealing with such offences) and by her unique Experimental Station for Shipbuilding Research which is of equal benefit to every shipbuilding country and is not, as might be thought, of special advantage to the particular interest she has in furthering the progress of shipbuilding. The three institutions, however, that may be said to be appreciated by a larger clientele than any of the great number of those established by the city authorities, are undoubtedly the Institute for Marine and Tropical Diseases, the Institute for Foreign Politics and the Archives for International Economics. These various organisations may be relied upon, each in its own sphere, to promote the great cause of effecting the gradual pacification of the world, both in the material and in the ideal sense.



Hamburg, Monckebergstrasse
mit Blick auf das Rathaus

THE PSYCHOLOGY OF TRANSLATION

By HETTY KOHN, B. A. (Lond)

Introductory. The General Importance of good Translations

THOUGH the international and literary value of a good translation can scarcely be sufficiently emphasized, the turning of books from one language into another ranks as one of the mechanical and thankless branches of literary labour. This, as we shall show, is a fallacy, or at most only a half-truth.

Apart from purely scientific books, a large percentage of the great works of literature would remain out of our reach, if

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it were not for their translators. Good books should be considered as a treasure to be shared alike by all nations, and not as the exclusive possession of one particular country. For this reason there is a constant need for good translations, and a really adequate translation can only be produced by a competent person.

As it is but a very small part of the public in any country which has time or inclination to study foreign languages thoroughly, the person who succeeds in reproducing the works of authors or poets in the original spirit (for herein lies the merit of the translator) is rendering a great service to the reading world in general. Hence, a competent and conscientious translator need not account his labour lost, for his work is directly or indirectly a contribution to the good cause of a better international understanding.

In order fully to appreciate how substantial this contribution is, we must, before investigating its ramifications, take cognisance of two underlying principles, firstly the psychological fact that language makes thought (no less than the converse), and secondly, the fact that, even within ones own mother-tongue, there is already a fertile field for confusion of ideas, caused by confusion of terms and a careless use of words. These two facts influence not only the minds of individuals, but the mentality of nations as such.

To take the first of the above-mentioned principles, the assertion that language makes thought, is true in the same way as is the assertion that conduct makes character, or "manners maketh man." The influence of the costume on the actor is a well-known phenomenon. A person may sing and smile not because he feels happy, but to make himself feel happy. If "the lips utter that which is in the heart." it might with equal truth be averred that what is on the lips will find its way into the mind. In other words, form the habit of precision and sincerity in speech, and, so close is the relationship of thought and language, your thoughts cannot long remain unaffected by that discipline.

The second of the above principles is a corollary of the first. When we reflect on the endless loop-holes for misunderstanding which exist among even the tolerably well-educated people of any one nation, who are usually considered to have a fair mastery over, or at least a good working knowledge of, their mother-tongue, it is needless to point out how far greater and more numerous are these occasions for misinterpretation where various languages come into play. It is unnecessary, too, to expatiate on the vagueness of conceptions as to the ideas expressed by such words as "nation" "justice", "charity", "atheism", "religion", "heaven", and many another abstraction. It is a commonplace that much valuable time has to be devoted to an initial settling of definitions prior to debates on matters of importance.

Though cynics may say that "language was given to man to conceal thought", and though poets and proverbs may extol Silence, language does necessarily play an important part in human life. In the mythology of the ancient Hindu "Brahmanas" Vac, the goddess of speech, is fully conscious of her dignity and importance, for when the god Prajapati, asked to settle the dispute between Mind and Speech as to priority, decides in favour of Mind, she is offended, and refuses to assist at the sacrifices to Prajapati! John Henry Newman, in his "Essay on Literature" (1858) has a passage eloquently setting forth the uses of language :—

"If then the power of speech is a gift as great as any, that can be named,—if the origin of language is by many philosophers even considered to be nothing short of divine,—if by means of words the secrets of the heart are brought to light, pain of soul is relieved, hidden grief is carried off, "sympathy conveyed, counsel imparted, experience recorded, and wisdom perpetuated,—if by great authors the many are drawn up into unity, national character is fixed, a people speaks, the past and the future, the east and the west are brought into communication "with each other, if such men are, in a word, the spokesmen and prophets of the human family,—it will not answer to make light of Literature or to neglect "its study ; rather we may be sure that, in proportion "as we master it in whatever language, and imbibe its spirit, we shall ourselves become in our own measure the ministers of like benefits to others, be they many or few, be they in the obscurer or the more distinguished walks of life, who are united to us by social ties, "and are within the sphere of our personal influence."

Obviously, the translator has his part to play in the "ministering of benefits."

It is not too much to assert that a great measure of the ignorance and misunderstanding, and consequently of the deplorable prejudice and hostility between

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nations, is due to no deeper cause than the barrier of language. Most nations have realised how mighty a factor language is, and have taken care to exploit it in their politics. When Germany annexed the provinces of Alsace and Lorraine in 1871, the French speaking children were taught that God would not hear their prayers if they uttered them in any language but German. When the province of Posen became a part of Germany, the speaking of Polish in the streets was prohibited, and the names of all stations were immediately Germanised. It is interesting to observe that now, when Poland, Italy and Jugo-Slavia have come into their own, they have taken their linguistic revenge, for former German names of towns have been changed beyond all recognition, and hotel proprietors in spas in the affected areas were some time ago voicing their grievances bitterly, because foreign tourists do not recognise the resorts in the new railway guides under their unfamiliar-sounding new names. India, too, has her language problems !

Though it might be an ideal state of affairs if all races spoke and wrote in the same language, and though, from the practical point of view, the only losers in that Utopia would be translators, interpreters and teachers of languages, the world has, of course, to reckon with the fact that, while there are different races, there will be different tongues, in spite of the efforts of modern times to create an international language. For purposes of communication at international conferences, Esperanto has indeed proved valuable, but no artificially made universal language can ever supplant the language of each race, which has grown up with that race from primitive times, and which has reflected the development of that race in its literature.

The recognition of the strength derived from linguistic unity finds eloquent expression in the Hebrew legend of the Tower of Babel, and the psychology of this parable is so true that we quote it here in illustration of the above point:

"...The whole earth was of one language, and of one speech....And they said : "Let us build us a city, and a tower whose top may reach unto heaven ; and let us make us a name, lest we be scattered abroad upon the face of the whole earth. And the Lord came down to the city and the tower, which the children of men builded. And the Lord said, "Behold the people is one and they have all one language and this they begin to do; and now nothing will be restrained from them, which they have imagined to do. Let us go down and there confound their language that they may not understand one another's speech. So the Lord scattered them abroad from thence upon the face of all the earth: and they left off to build the city. Therefore, is the name of it called Babel, because the Lord did there confound the language of all the earth."

II

Some Literary translations examined.

Many translations are excellent, but others are execrable. In order to translate adequately, a man must first understand so thoroughly the language from which he translates, as to miss, no shade of meaning in the original matter; secondly, he must possess camplete mastery over the language into which he translates, otherwise the result will resemble a school boy's dictionary-work ; thirdly, he must be something of an author himself, and know how to turn his phrases and make intelligent use of his imaginative faculty, else his production will be stilted and pedantic, and will "read like a translation." Most of the really successful translations have been made from a foreign language *into* the native language of the translator, and not *vice versa.*

Literary translation is, then, not merely the mechnical process of dishing up the ideas of another but it partakes of the nature of an art; like all other arts, it requires attention to minute detail, and the translator cannot dispense with the mechanical element, any more than a musician can afford to neglect technique if he is to do justice to the musical composition which he is rendering.

It is interesting to take up any masterpiece, a novel or a poem, read it in the original and then examine two or more translations of it in our own language. We find that these versions differ widely. In some of them a great part of the beauty of the original work may be reproduced, others may have been less fortunate in reproducing certain passages, others may have deliberately altered the meaning, and still others give a simply ludicrous rendering of the original meaning.

Dryden, who translated from the Latin, emphasized the fact that no one can translate poetry unless he understands not only "the language of the poet, but his particular turn of thoughts, and expressions, which are the

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characters that distinguish and as it were individuate him from all other writers." But poetry, we admit, is more difficult to translate than anything else.

Let us now examine the actual text of some translations. There are, for instance, several successful English translations of Heinrich Heine's "Lorelei", a poem on one of the legends of the Rhine. The legend is that the Lorelei, a beautiful maiden, used to sit on a rock at a dangerous bend of the river, singing, and combing her golden hair. The boatmen, bewitched by her beauty and her song, were lured to destruction in the current of the river. The following English version, by L. W. Garnham, is a very literal rendering:—

"I do not know what it signifies
That I am so sorrowful:
A fable of old times so terrifies,
Leaves my heart so thoughtful.

The air is cool and it darkens,
And calmly flows the Rhine;
The summit of the mountain hearkens
In evening sunshine line.

The most beautiful maiden entrances
Above wonderfully there,
Her beautiful golden attire glances,
She combs her golden hair.

With golden comb so lustrous,
And thereby a song sings.
It has a tone so wondrous,
That powerful melody rings.

The shipper in the little ship
It affects with woe's sad might;
He does not see the rocky clip,
He only regards dreaded height.

I believe the turbulent waves
Swallow at last shipper and boat;
She with her singing craves
All to visit her magic moat."

Now compare with it the rendering by Mark Twain, which is less literal but more flowing.

"I can not divine what it meaneth.
This haunting nameless pain:
A tale of the bygone ages
Keeps brooding through my brain.

The faint air cools in the gloaming,
And peaceful flows the Rhine,
The thirsty summits are drinking
The sunset's flooding wine;

The lovliest maiden is sitting
High-throned in yon blue air,
Her golden jewels are shining,
She combs her golden hair;

She combs with a comb that is golden,
And sings a weird refrain
That steeps in a deadly enchantment
The listener's ravished brain;

The doomed in his drifting shallop
Is tranced with the sad sweet tone,
He sees not the yawning breakers,
He sees but the maid alone.

The pitiless billows engulf him:
So perish sailor and bark;
And this, with her baleful singing,
Is the Lorelei's gruesome work."

Goethe's "Faust" has been rendered in English many times, but by no means all the renderings attain the excellence of that of Anna Swanwick.

The following atrocity committed by a translator of Goethe's ballad "Der Fischer" is classical. The first verse of this poem, as translated by George Henry Lewes, reads thus:—

"The water rushed, the water swelled,
A fisherman sat by
And gazed upon his dancing float
With tranquil-dreaming eye.

And as he sits, and as he looks,
The gurgling waves arise:
A maid, all bright with water-drops,
Stands straight before his eyes."

The perpetrator of the atrocity has written "there rises a *damp woman*." This is indeed the literal meaning of the two German words "feuchtes Weib". These words in their context do not sound so very unpoetical in German, but they certainly do in English!

Compare two renderings of the first line of the Italian song from "Rigoletto" ("La donna e mobile"): one is "woman is fickle", the other is "Faithless is womankind," which is the more pleasing?

At the beginning of the European war, English newspapers took especial exception to a certain German patriotic song; they pointed out that its title "Deutschland uber Alles" (Germany above all) claimed the dominion of Germany over all other nations i. e., "Germany *over* all." As a matter of fact, this song, composed as far back as 1841, before the establishment of the German Empire, is no more aggressive than "Rule Britannia" which claims that the rule of the waves was personally handed to Britain by the heavenly powers. The keynote of the German song, as will be seen in the following translation of it, is not "Germany is to rule over all other countries," but

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rather "Germany is to be foremost" i. e., in the thoughts, that is to say, of Germans themselves.

"Germany our dearest object, dearest in the world shall be. If for hearth and home we Germans hold together brotherly: From Memel east to western Meuse, from southern Alp to northern sea, Germany our dearest object, dearest in the world shall be.

"German women, German faith, German wine and song. In the world shall still in honour and acknowledged worth be strong, while to us they're inspiration all our happy lives along German women, German faith, German wine and German song.

"Unity and law and freedom for our German Fatherland! These to win we'll strive together brother-wise, and heart and hand. Freedom, unity and law as source of social blessing stand: In the glow of all such blessings may'st thou flourish, Fatherland"

III

The Pitfalls Of The Incompetent Translator

Many are the pitfalls, familiar to every student of languages, which lead to more or less serious misunderstandings, or to unconscious humour! Experience teaches how unsafe it is to *joke* in a foreign tongue over which one has not perfect mastery, or in one's own language with a person who is not absolutely familiar with the intricacies of it. False impressions are much easier given than effaced, and insult is often inferred where none is meant. Neither are people always as tolerant as they might be, in forgiving unintentional rudeness!

The cases where a word in a foreign language, which is similar in spelling to a word in our own tongue has not the meaning we should expect it to have, are a source of trouble. Englishmen with but a slight acquaintance with French tackle, French commercial correspondence, and become involved in complications. The French verb "assister" means "to be present" not "to assist" but an English journalist translating a news telegram announced that a certain actor "died this morning, assisted by his wife and family." Fr. "actuellement" means not "actually" but "at present." The verb "noter" means "to make a note of" but in commercial usage, "to book an order,"—a vast difference! During the European war the British War Trade Intelligence Department, on the look-out for "fictitious firms" on the Continent, held up for investigation during six months all communications of a firm in London with a Russian house because the note-paper of the Odessa branch bore the initials "H. S." whereas those of the Petrograd branch were "G. S." A glance at a Russian Grammer solved the mystery, namely that 'h' and 'g' are identical in Russian.

In the translation of correspondence we meet with peculiarities as regards the form of address, and persons are liable to put their own original interpretation on any abbreviations in a foreign language. It is surprising how many good (?) English scholars in India wrongly append "Esq." even to the names of women. Originally, of course, the title was used exclusively for real esquires (squires), but in modern times it has become the ordinary form of written address to any *man*. This leads us to other English abbreviations and forms of speech. The Englishman never abbreviates his compliments, and if he sends "best regards" he sends them in full. On landing in India, he is however mystified at reading B. R. or B. C. (best compliments!) in letters, or even engraven on walking-sticks and gold watches which could not possibly have been made before the Christian era! It is apparently quite a current notion among Indian students that "P. S." stands for "please see," but, after all, this is the message of a post-script.

The French word "lecture" is not the equivalent of the English "lecture," but means reading matter, or literature in the broad sense, whereas the French for "lecture" is "discours" or "conference." Confusion sometimes arises, even in reliable newspapers from the wrong translation of the word "professeur," which may mean either a university professor or a school-teacher.

The German language affords many opportunities for mistranslation. German scholars will appreciate some instances. The pronoun "sie" means either "she" or "they," or, if spelt with a capital letter, "you." If the word stands at the beginning of a sentence, it is of course spelt with a capital letter anyway; thus misunderstandings easily arise unless the context makes the sense perfectly clear. The above "sie" difficulty already affects the Germans themselves in the use of their mother-tongue, quite apart from any question of translation.

A standard anecdote illustrating the *wilful* misinterpretation of this troublesome pronoun is the following: "A professor asked

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a student at an examination : 'How many islands are there in the Atlantic Ocean, and what are their names?' The second part of the question could, in spoken German, be understood to mean : 'What is your name ?' The student therefore replied : 'There are many islands in the Atlantic, and my name is Meier !"

The Direct Method of teaching languages, by encouraging students to speak, read and write in the language they are learning, and not asking them to translate *into* that language in the early stages of instruction, but only later, when they are to some extent familiar with the language, is now-a-days doing much to foster the understanding of the true meaning and use of the foreign words, and the avoidance of wrong and ridiculous translations on the part of learners, such as the following "howler" on the part of a student of German. In order to translate into German the sentence "What is the matter ?" he looked up "matter" in his dictionary, and produced "Was ist der Stoff ?" i.e. What is the material, or substance ?

The next mistranslation is culled, not from a beginner's exercise-book, but from a standard English edition of Grimm's Household Tales. In one of the tales, the sentence occurs "Sie boten einander die Zeit," the correct meaning of which is "They greeted one another," though the actual words mean "They offered one another the time." Now, this has been translated as "They asked one another what time it was," which is meaningless in the context. If the translator had thought of the Irish expression "I wish you the top of the morning," that is, a greeting, he would not have been guilty of such a silly mistake.

A journalist was to translate into German the English expression "the common people," i.e. the mass of the population. He wrote "der gemeine Pobel." However, "gemein" means "common" in the sense of base or ignoble, and "Pobel," though etymologically the equivalent of "people," has come to mean, in modern German, mob or rabble. Scarcely democratic !

The following case of misinterpretation was a joke during the war. A gentleman stayed the night at a cottage in a small English village. He was surprised to see a card hanging on the wall, with the words "Ici on parle francais." "Do you speak French ?" he asked the old landlady. "Oh no" she replied, astonished at the strange question. "Then why do you hang up a notice saying "French spoken here ?" The good lady then explained that a soldier had given her the card, and had told her that the words meant "God bless our Home."

So much for isolated instances of the pitfalls of the would-be linguist—and his victims. The difficulties dealt with in the next section, are of a more serious character.

IV

Inherent Difficulties in Translation Work

Certain words in certain languages are absolutely untranslatable, and defy every effort on the part of the translator. In some instances, of course, a language takes the untranslatable foreign expression, and incorporates it into its own vocabulary. In this way, the Ital. "dolce far niente," and the French "raison d'etre," "un je ne sais quoi" (an indefinable something) and many other words have found their way into English. It is, however, not always possible to leave these ticklish words conveniently in their original form.

We find a goodly number of such words in the German language, a rich language, in which it is possible to express the finest shades of meaning. The exact idea expressed by the word "*Langeweile*" (lit. long while) cannot be rendered in any one English word ; the nearest is "boredom," or "tedium," and the French "ennui" is generally used ; but the German word suggests not only the lack of interest, but all the weariness and oppressiveness of the slow passing of time—for when one is bored, time hangs heavy on one's hands, and the clock seems to make but imperceptible progress. "*Stimmung*" (lit. tuning) is often translated by "mood", but it really means "true of mind." "Humour" would be suitable in some contexts. "*Weltschmerz*" (world-sorrow) is a most distressing poser to the translator. It means the oppressive sense of mingled pity and despair which we experience when we reflect on all the woes to which humanity is subject. There is absolutely no equivalent for this term in English. "*Jenseitigkeit*" (lit. other side-ness) must be rendered by the clumsy "other-worldness" or "other-worldliness" for there seems to be no abstract noun in use corresponding to the adjective "ultramundane": the German word is used in describing, for instance, the character of saints, i. e. the thoughts of the

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saint are in the world beyond, and averted from terrestrial things. "*Sprachgefuhl*" (language-feeling) means the instinct which leads us to use the right expression in a foreign language, as apart from our book-knowledge of that tongue. "*Mitgefuhl*" (feeling with) finds its exact equivalent in the English "sympathy" but whereas the English frequently limit the connotation of "sympathy", to feeling with a person in sorrow only, the Germans differentiate between "Mitfreude" (sympathy in joy) and "Mitleid" (sympathy in sorrow, i.e. pity) and in addition, have "Mitgefuhl' i. e. "fellow-feeling" to embrace both ideas. "*Einmaligkeit*" (einmal = once, einmalig = which happens only once) is an abstract noun which English is incompetent to render. It means the quality of happening once and once only. For instance, in the title of a book, "Die Einmaligkeit der Geschichte" (the uniqueness of history) the author's theme is the opposite of "History repeats itself." "The uniqueness of historical events" is perhaps a slight improvement on "The uniqueness of history", but the word "uniqueness" is ambiguous, and does not catch the meaning. Exact equivalents for some of these terms are to be found in Sanskrit.

It is not only abstracts which present difficulty; many other neat German words require entire phrases in English. An instance from a book on Muslim Art, by E. Kuhnel. Its very title, "Islamische Kleinkunst" (klein, small ; Kunst, art) is a poser. Without seeing the book itself and glancing at the table of contents, one is at a loss even to know the precise meaning of "*Kleinkunst*" (for the dictionary fails to enlighten), much less how to render it in English. Now the word "*Kleinmalerei*" which means "miniature-painting" might give a clue, but "miniature art" would mean nothing at all. "The minor arts," or "the lesser arts" does not seem correct. Is it a question of inferiority, or of restriction of space? The chapters deal with such branches of Ismalic art as calligraphy and the illumination of MSS. the production of beautiful books, art-pottery, ivory-work and inlaid metal-work. The best rendering which suggests itself is, therefore, "Islamic Arts and Crafts".

The uninitiated, who imagine that the involved style, the "fearful and wonderful" periods of the German savants are a thing of the past, should tackle the translation of some of the recent books on Oriental Art, by such authors as Kuhnel, K. With, H. Goetz, E. Diez or Alf. Salmony. "The Awful German Language" is no less awful to-day than when Mark Tiawn poked fun at it in his incomparably amusing essay of that title, in "A Tramp Abroad". Indeed, the third decade of our century seems to be contributing a fresh element of awfulness, in the shape of new and fantastic, though expressive, words.

An obstacle to lucidity in making an English translation is the lack of separate nouns to mark the distinction betwen the action and the state, e.g. the word "generalisation" can mean (i) the progressive action of generalising, (ii) the state, i. e. the accomplishment of the act of generalising. This lack must also prove a hindrance to the translator *from* English. When a person translates from a language with which he is not *perfectly* familiar—and most people engaged in translation work are called upon to try their hand at various languages—the fact that *one* word may have more than a dozen different meanings, is often very perplexing, for sometimes two or three of the meanings are equally likely in the context !

Imagine a Chinaman to whom English is a new language, confronted with the word "translation"; he consults his dictionary, where he finds the following:—

> Translation: The act of translating ; a removal or motion from one place to another ; the removal of a person from one office to another; especially the removal of a bishop from one see to another; the removal of a person to heaven without subjecting him to death; the act of turning into another language; that which is produced by turning into another language; a version.

Then, incidentals like mysterious abbreviations, are sent to try the translator. He may search dictionary and grammar in vain, and finally tumble to their meaning by sheer ingenuity or inspiration !

A Dutch essay which recently passed through the writer's hands, contained the word "thuis" obviously a contraction of "te huis" (at home), but the fact of its being a contraction only became evident from the requirements of the context, after a fruitless search in the dictionary.

Not infrequently there are (uncorrected) misprints, and it is up to the translator to *guess* that the seemingly meaningless Dutch word "eerlingen" requires an initial "L" to make it "leerlingen" (pupils).

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V

Technical Translations

Provided that the translator has a good and comprehensive technical dictionary by his side, he will *some times* find that a purely technical passage presents less difficulty than a prose passage of general content written in an obscure style. The translation of highly technical matter is a more mechanical and arduous task, because constant reference to the dictionary is necessary, and it is less interesting, because the translator cannot possibly be an expert in all the branches of science with which his translations deal.

As far as the translation of commercial correspondence is concerned, once a translator has familiarised himself with the commercial terminology of the languages concerned he can proceed with comparative ease to translate business letters, for the main terms in constant use can be learnt within a few weeks.

The translation of legal matter, for instance, Memoranda and Articles of Association, deeds, affidavits or contracts, is "tricky" and exacting, but even here, the stock of technical terms is not inexhaustible, and can be acquired by pratice. Many commercial men who have no linguistic training, greatly under-estimate the care and precision which the translator has to use in order that his work may be reliable and readable; and they unreasonably expect a secretary who has a general knowledge of, for instance, French, to be able to turn out an eleborate translation of this nature in a couple of hours amid the click of typewriters and the bustle of a busy office. As a matter of fact, even a quick and competent translator may require a week or more, working all day, to translate a long descriptive catalogue, or the Articles of Association of a Company.

Scientific treatises need not necessarily be translated by one who is himself a specialist in the particular science in question; but such treatises, and books and essays on philosophy and kindred subjects, in which the translator does not happen to be an expert himself, are most difficult to translate well. The translator must be as literal as possible, see to it that every sentence at least expresses some complete thought (though one which *he* does not quite understand) and trust to luck that his production will be intelligible to the scientist who is to use it.

When these treatises are in German, there is special difficulty : this is the combination of the strangeness of the ideas with the inherent intricacy of construction of German sentences. Not only is the translator like a traveller wandering in a strange land of new notions, but he finds himself in a dense jungle of verbs, participal phrases and lengthy subordinate clauses forming long sentences, one of which frequently covers more than half of a printed page. Thus there are two distinct difficulties. When they exist separately, they can be overcome. Very literal translation, as we have seen, is a way of avoiding mistakes in matter of a highly technical nature. In German prose, generally speaking, the translator has always to make some intelligent use of his imagination, in order to produce a readable translation. Now when the whole subject of the treatise is beyond the translator's comprehension, it is a risky thing for him to try to read between the lines. His one safe expedient therefore namely that of a word for word rendering, fails him, for a German sentence can practically never be translated thus nor can the clauses composing a German complex sentence be translated in the same order as that in which they originally stand. Moreover, it is not always clear (unless one grasps the whole context) whether a certain subordinate clause refers to a certain word or to some other word. In the event of real ambiguity it is always better for the translator to state frankly in a Translator's Note" :— . . . . . , "may mean . . . ., but it might also mean . . . . . " rather than risk a wrong meaning. The specialist who will understand the context will probably have no difficulty in seeing the meaning. Neverthless, it is suprising what can be achieved by the translator in this truly diabolical field when he really gives his mind to it. The writer was once congratulated by members of the Royal Microscopical Society on her ability in this direction. The German treatises in question were about Violet Rays, phosphorescene, and other matters, about which the translator had not then, and never has since had, even the most elementary notions. Work of this type is a great tax on the brain, and presupposes practice and skill, and it is justified in commanding, as it does, a high scale of remuneration.

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VI

Translations of Famous Books

Many of the English versions of books by notable foreign authors have been made by men and women who are themselves famous writers. George Eliot translated Strauss's "Life of Jesus", and in a letter referred to her "soul-stupefying labour", which, including the correction of the proofsheets, took three years instead of the one year in which it had been hoped to finish the task. Alfred Sutro and Alexander Teixeira de Mattos have translated the works of Maeterlinck. Carlyle translated practically all Goethe's work. As far as European literature is concerned, translations appear remarkably quickly after the publication of the original book. Loti's "Iceland Fisherman" was published in English by Cadiot two years after its first appearance in France. A propos of this novel, the mistranslation which occurred in the advertisement column of a publisher's trade journal is too good to be consigned to oblivion. The title was translated as "Fisherman's Island." "Les Desenchantees," a story of life in a Turkish harem, by the same author, appeared in English, by Clara Bell in 1906, the year of its publication in Paris. The works of Victor Hugo appeared in London very shortly after their publication in Paris.

Mrs. Constance Garnett translated a large number of the monuments of Russian literature into English. Russian poets, such as Poushkin and Lermontoff, are at best only accessible to the English-speaking reader in French or German versions. D. G. Rossetti was responsible for translations from the Italian, and Longfellow has to his credit some very happy renderings of short poems from the most varied languages of Europe.

Works containing much local colour, dialogue and slang, are the most difficult to render in another tongue, yet the complete works of Dickens are read and enjoyed in many countries. "David Copperfield" appeared in French, Italian and Danish many years ago: "Mr. Pickwick" was introduced to Gemany as early as in 1837 by H. Roberts, to France a year later, to Holland, Sweden, Poland and Hungary in the sixties, and to Denmark in 1883! Spain had its version of "A Tale of Two Cities" in 1879 and of "Oliver Twist" (as 'The Parish Boy' in 1883). In Italy Oliver was already popular in 1840.

In connection with the translation of masterpieces, J. H. Newman in his essay previously quoted, has the following to say :—

"If languages are not all equally adapted even to furnish symbols for those universal and eternal truths in which Science consists, how can they reasonably be expected to be all equally rich, equally forcible, equally musical, equally exact, equally happy in expressing the idiosyncratic peculiarities of thought of some original and fertile mind, who has availed himself of one of them? A great author takes his native language, masters it, partly throws himself into it, partly moulds and adapts it, and pours out his multitude of ideas through the variously ramified and delicately minute channels of expression which he has found or framed. Does it follow that his personal presence (as it may be called) can forthwith be transferred to every language under the sun?..... It seems that a really great author must admit of translation, and that we have a test of his excellence when he reads to advantage in a foreign language as well as in his own. Then Shakespeare *is* a genius because he can he translated into German, and *not* a genius because he cannot be translated into French. * Then the multiplication-table is the most gifted of all conceivable compositions, because it loses nothing by translation, and can hardly be said to belong to any one language whatever.....Whereas, I should rather have conceived that, in proportion as ideas are novel and recondite, they would be difficult to put into words, and that the very fact of their having insinuated themselves into one language would diminish the chance of that happy accident being repeated in another."

As regards *Oriental literature*, there is still a wide field for the translation and popularisation of Indian, Persian and Chinese literature in European languages. In this respect, Germany has been ahead of England. The Leipzig firm of Philipp Reclam include no less than thirteen works of ancient Indian literature in their "Universal-Bibliothek" edition. Before the War each volume, pocket-size, cost about 3 annas, and now about 4 annas. The thirteen works are :—

Bhavabhuti's "Malati and Madhava", Buddha's Life, after Asvaghosa's Buddha-Carita Buddha's Speeches, Hitopadesa (in 3 vols.), Kalidasa's "Malavika and Agnimitra", "Sakuntala" "Urvasi", Ksemisvara's "Wrath of Kausika," "Nala and Damayanti", "Savitri", "Indian Aphorisms", Sudraka's "Vasantasena," and Visakhadatta's "Mudraraksasa",

It is to be hoped that Reclams will not

* This is not, of course, to be taken literally There are French versions of Shakespeare, but his plays do not appeal to France.

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stop here, but in the meantime no English publishing house has achieved anything approaching this. Even before the war the "Everyman" edition, was far more expensive than the "Reclam", hence the few Indian works included in the edition remained out of the reach of the ordinary person unable to buy many books at a shilling each.

The wanderings of some Oriental writings are most intricate. Ancient Indian works translated into Persian, were rendered from Persian into Latin, and found their way into German at the beginning of the 19th century. Friedrich Ruckert was eminently successful as a translator of Oriental poetry into German verse.

There is no doubt that those European Sanskrit scholars who, from William Jones H. T. Colebrooke, and the brothers von Schlegel downwards, have produced version of Indian masterpieces, have been greatly instrumental in dispelling the mist of ignorance which enveloped Europe on the subject of India and her literature. Once version's of masterpieces are obtainable in one's own particular language, it is up to the publishers to make them accessible to the general reading public, as the Germans have done, in cheap editions. Prohibitive prices cause the enjoyment of these masterpieces, written for all, to remain the monopoly of the few.

As has been said at the outset, the translator is worthy of his hire. There is many a one amongst us who is no genius, but who may yet have liking and aptitude for literary work. Why sigh for the original ideas which never come our way, or for the talent with which Providence has not endowed us? For, if we undertake the translation of the works of those who have genius or scholarship, we shall never regret the energy we put into such work. All honour, then, to *bona-fide* translators. But the translator must bear in mind the responsibilities of the task he has undertaken, not underrating the far reaching influence for good or evil of that two-edged weapon, the printed word.

EVACUATION OF AFGHANISTAN AFTER THE SECOND AFGHAN WAR

By MAJOR B. D. BASU, I. M. S. (*Retired*)

CAVAGNARI'S murder was now avenged. The people of Afghanistan had to pay very dearly for the misdeeds of a few soldiers. They lost, it seemed, as if for ever, their cherished rights and privileges and the independence of their country. The proclamation of the 28th October, 1879, was hailed with unbounded satisfaction by the British jingoes, because the only nation which had ever successfully resisted the extension of the British power in the East was now fully brought under control, if not subjugation. Lord Lytton's threat to Shere Ali as to wiping out Afghanistan from the map, seemed to be carried into execution. It was no longer

"A repetition," to quote the words of the *Pioneer's* correspondent, "of the old shilly-shally policy which has had such disastrous results. The Government has now committed itself to a distinct policy which can be proclaimed throughout Afghanistan, and our duty now is to wait until the principal Sirdars, tribal chiefs and others representing the interests and wishes of the various provinces and cities have been made aware of what has occured. It is no longer a question of the 'wishes' of the Viceroy of India, but a distinct assertion of our newly acquired power in Afghanistan."

But the English did not know the true character of the people of Afghanistan. The Afghans were not to be so easily cowed into submission. They were not going to lose their independence so soon and so easily. The Proclamation of the 28th October made them desperate. The Afghans saw that the humiliation of their country was now complete. Their capital was now in the hands of "the Christian dogs" their sovereign an exile in foreign lands, and stripped of all his wealth and private property; their countrymen hanged

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in numbers with the farce of a trial and the mockery of justice; their chiefs ill-treated and their women-folk even not free from the insults of 'Kafir' invaders. It is no wonder, then, that they thought death was better than their present lot.

According to Lord Roberts, the above-mentioned occurrences

"touched the national pride to the quick. and "were being used by the enemies of the British Government to excite into vivid fanaticism the religious sentiment, which has ever formed the prominent trait of the Afghan character."

The deportation of Yakub Khan was the last straw which made the Afghans break out into hostilities against the British. The mother of Yakub Khan was still alive and she would have lacked in her love for her son had she remained idle at this critical moment. She saw her son imprisoned and his private property taken over by the 'Kafir' invaders. She appealed to the people against the injustice and the high-handed proceedings of the British authorities and her appeal was responded to by the people.

The priests of Islam also were very busy in exciting the fanaticism of the masses of Afghanistan against the "Kafirs" who had turned their country into a desert. They were reminded of their success in 1841, when they annihilated the British troops and made the 'Christian dogs' leave their country. Under these stimulating influences, the Afghans took the field against the British in December 1879, a few days after the deportation of Yakub Khan. The different tribes of Afghanistan forgot for once their mutual jealousies and united to turn out the invaders from their common fatherland.

Several actions were fought between the Afghans and the British. In these fights the so-called savage Pathans gave a very good account of their military genius. In many a pitched battle they defeated the highly disciplined troops under British officers. In the operations in the Chardeh Valley on the 10th and 11th December, 1879, the British met with a reverse which had the effect of making all those tribes of Afghanistan who had hitherto befriended the British troops leave the standard of the enemy. The English officers were now beaten in their game. They were outmanoeuvred by the Afghans under the able leadership of Mahomed Jan. The result of all these operations was that General Roberts had to retire within the cantonment of Sherpur, allowing himself to be besieged by the Afghans. Cabul once more passed out of the hands of the English. The Afghans were the masters of the situation. Their priests encouraged them by continuing to prophesy a repetition of the victory of 1841-42. Their victorious leader Muhamad Jan opened negotiations with the English general Sir Frederic Roberts. He offered such propositions as that the British troops should at once retire to India, after having entered into an agreement to send Yakub Khan back to Cabul and that the British should leave two of their officers of distinction as hostages for the faithful carrying out of their contract, and that they should agree never again to concern themselves with Afghan matters. Of course, General Roberts could not accept such humiliating terms. He looked for reinforcements from India to relieve the besieged garrison of Sherpur. The reinforcements arrived on the 24th December, 1879, when the Afghans raised the seige. The Military Commission was again ordered to re-assemble, for it was necessary to execute a few of those 'patriots' whom the English General called 'rebels'. But it does not appear that many men were hanged this time. A few days afterwards General Roberts proclaimed "that all who come in without delay will be pardoned."

The British troops had been now over one year in Afghanistan, but they could not say that they had succeeded in crushing the independent spirit of those sturdy Highlanders. The last siege of Sherpur, when known in England and India, made the members of the Tory ministry consider whether it was not advisable to retire altogether from Cabul. They had to give up the idea of annexing Afghanistan.

There were other reasons also which induced them to leave Afghanistan as soon as possible. The chief consideration was the 'financial' one. The war was undertaken with a very light heart. The amount it would cost was never calculated by those who advocated it. India had to contribute every farthing to the prosecution of this unjust and unjustifiable war. This war cost something like twenty-one millions of pounds sterling, and India could ill afford it. At the time when the British Government were carrying fire and sword into the country of the independence-loving Pathans, the meek and mild inhabitants of India were dying by hundreds of thousands, nay millions, for want of the ordinary necessities of life. The famine, which did not leave India as

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long as Lord Lytton was its Viceroy, had considerably reduced the revenues of the country. The Government Treasuries were almost empty. The winter of 1879-80 was a trying one for the Indians in Afghanistan and they were unable to pursue the dispersed forces of Mahomed Jan. This is attributed to, first, want of sufficient number of troops in Afghanistan, secondly, difficulty in marching through the enemy's country with its sunken roads, irrigated tracts, walled fields, and innumerable water-courses which formed such a network of obstruction that pursuing the enemy was laborious and dangerous in the extreme. Referring to the failure of the First Afghan War Sir Henry Durand wrote :—

"Everything in the expedition was a matter of the greatest uncertainty, even to the feeding of troops ; for Afghanistan merited the character given to Spain by Henry IV of France : 'Invade with a large force, and you are destroyed by starvation ; invade with a small one and you are overwhelmed by a hostile people.' "

The same difficulties also were experienced in the present campaign. The occupation of Cabul and Kandhahar did not mean that the English were the masters of the whole of Afghanistan. Their power only extended just as far as the rifles could shoot.

The chiefs and sirdars of Afghanistan and specially those of Ghazni whom General Roberts consulted as to the future government of their country, told him that Afghanistan would not be quiet unless Yakub Khan was recalled and re-installed on the throne. They looked upon his abdication as compulsory, for they argued that, had the abdication been voluntary, a successor would instantly have been placed on the throne, whereas nothing had yet been done to show that the Christians did not mean to occupy their country permanently. The Christian Government had become so unpopular that placards were posted on the walls of the city of Cabul, the tenor of which was to point out how much better off the people were under the old Amirs than under General Roberts.

Important events were now rapidly developing which left no other alternative to the British Government than to raise some puppet Amir and place him in charge of the northern and eastern portions of Afghanistan. While the capture of Cabul and Kandhahar by the British troops caused the *moollahs* to preach *jehad* against the Christian invaders, and the people were rising once more to shake off the hated yoke of the *Kafirs*, rumors were current as to the invasion of Afghanistan by Abdur Rahman.

The name of Abdur Rahman appears now for the first time since the English actors commenced their play on the stage of Afghanistan. It is necessary, therefore, to refer to his antecedents. He was the grandson of the Amir Dost Mohamed. His father Afzul Khan was the eldest son of the Dost. The Dost, who was a very good judge of human character, nominated Shere Ali to succeed him, thus passing over the claims of his eldest son. Afzul Khan was a debauchee and a man of no stamina or character. On the death of the Dost in 1863, Shere Ali did not ascend the throne without a struggle with Afzul Khan. The war between these two claimants to the Afghan throne lasted for nearly five years. As was natural, Abdur Rahman took the side of his father. It is not necessary to enter into the labyrinth of intrigues and fights which these two claimants indulged in. Suffice it to say that on the death of his father and the succession of Shere Ali, Abdur Rahman saw safety in flight from Afghanistan. He took refuge in Russian territory. The Governor of Russian Turkestan received him very hospitably and he was assigned a pension of £ 5,000 a year. The Russian Governor-General, Kaufman, however, did not comply with his request to visit St. Petersburg to represent his case to the Czar, or aid him with troops to subdue Shere Ali. But Abdur Rahman was an astute prince. He saved nine-tenths of his pension, for the purpose of raising and equipping an army and thus succeeding some day in making himself master of Afghanistan. He was a source of danger to the Europeans occupying Cabul. Sir Richard Pollock, the Commissioner of Peshawar, writing before the commencement of hostilities with Shere Ali, said :—

"Abdur Rahman ** without help as to money and arms, could do nothing. If supplied with money by Russia or Bokhara, and promised a backing, he might attempt to recover his position. Probably, such an attempt would be unsuccessful, if made in the Ameer's (Shere Ali's) time. If later, after the Amir's death, * * the issue might be in Abdur Rahman's favor, as far as Turkestan is concerned. On the Amir's death such an attempt may be looked upon as likely * *"

Abdur Rahman was thus biding his time. In Shere Ali's death and the imbroglio in which the Government of India was entangled in Afghan affairs, he saw his

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opportunity for the rise to power. In the beginning of the year 1880, it was given out that he had succeeded in raising an army and crossed the Oxus and was at Balkh. It was conjectured that Russia had secretly helped him with money and arms in preparing to make good his claims to the Amirship.

The news of the activity of Abdur Rahman greatly alarmed the Government of India. Knowing how the people of Afghanistan hated the presence of the English in their country, Lord Lytton and his colleagues thought, and very rightly too, that the appearance of Abdur Rahman would be hailed with great joy by all the different tribes, for they would look upon him as their deliverer from the hated *Kafirs*. Abdur Rahman's success would mean a triumph for the Russians, for that prince was a pensioner of Russia, and then the British ascendency in Afghan affairs, for gaining which so much trouble had been taken, would become a thing of the past.

The situation was a very critical one. All the previous arrangements as to the future Government of Afghanistan were upset. The appearance of Abdur Rahman was a disturbing factor in the Afghan problem. After due consideration, the Tory Ministry came to the conclusion that the only way to maintain the British *prestige*, for the time being at least, would be to conciliate the people of Afghanistan by placing some one as Amir on the throne of Cabul, and thus not to assume the direct Government of that country. It appears to us that at first the British Government never thought of recognising the claims of the exiled prince Abdur Rahman. Indeed, it seems that they tried to checkmate his movements by nominating one of the candidates of their choice as a puppet Amir and thus alienating the sympathies of the people of Afghanistan from Abdur Rahman.

Mr. (afterwards Sir) Lepel Griffin, at that time Secretary to the Government of the Punjab, was sent posthaste to Cabul to settle the Afghan affairs. He was vested with the powers of a king-maker. He arrived at Cabul on the 19th March, 1880. In order to impress the Afghan sirdars, who had turned out in great force, with a sense of Sir Lepel Griffin's dignity, Sir Frederic Roberts paid him the unusual honor of an escort of a guard of honor. Another reason of Sir Lepel Griffin's coming posthaste to Cabul appears to be that the Tory Ministry was anxious to settle the Afghan affairs as soon as possible. That Ministry suffered greatly in the estimation of the British public from the effect of this unjust war. On the 24th March, 1880, Parliament was dissolved. Beaconsfield appealed to the country. He imagined that the country still had confidence in him, for two or three elections, which had occurred, resulted in favor of the Conservatives. Sir Lepel Griffin, according to the instructions he had received from Lord Lytton's Government, made known to the sirdars what was to be the future of Afghanistan. He told them that the hostilities against the British were due to the fact that the people of Afghanistan believed that Yakub Khan had been wronged by the British Government, and that by their demonstrations, the people supposed that they would succeed in getting the Ex-Amir restored to power. They were told that this was impossible, Yakub Khan would never be allowed to resume power, and they were, therefore, asked to nominate some other Amir. He also declared that Kandhahar and Herat would no longer appertain to the future Amirs of Cabul, as it was decided to curtail their power, by removing from their jurisdiction those two provinces. Kandhahar would be made into a British Province and Herat placed under a prince independent of the Amir of Cabul, but under the protection of the British Government. When these views were known, none of the Durrani chieftains cared to accept the Amirship on these terms, for to them the idea of disintegration of Afghanistan was a hateful one. It was, therefore, necessary to turn to Abdur Rahman and ascertain if he would accept the Amirship on these terms. It was not considered politic to leave him in the hands of Russia, for he might then be a source of danger to the British Government. Every attempt was made now to buy him over with this object in view, negotiations were opened with him and two Pathan officers in the employ of the Government of India were despatched with a letter to Abdur Rahman. In the meanwhile, the Ministry over which Disraeli *alias* Beaconsfield had presided for the last six years, came to an end. The Liberals, under the leadership of Mr. Gladstone, came into office. Lord Lytton had to resign the Viceroyalty of India. So

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the authors of those mischiefs which brought dire calamities on India and Afghanistan, sunk into insignificance. But it does not appear that Mr. Gladstone's Government, at first, had any intention of upsetting the arrangement formulated by the Tory Ministry as to the future of Afghanistan. Mr. Gladstone and his followers while out of office criticised the proceedings of the leaders of the opposite party; but no sooner had they come into office than they approved of all the acts of their predecessors. *Politics hath no conscience.* Candhahar was still to be retained and Herat placed under a separate ruler.

The southern portion of Afghanistan, that is, the country round about Candhahar, was not at this time giving any trouble. So it was decided to withdraw the Candhahar field force * under the command of Sir Donald Stewart for the purpose of occupying Ghazni and Cabul. Northern Afghanistan was not quiet, on account of the activity of Abdur Rahman. There was great excitement and commotion throughout Kohistan and Bamian. Abdur Rahman was an astute man and he was playing his cards very well indeed. It was arranged that on the arrival of Sir Donald Stewart's division in Cabul, General Roberts would proceed to the North and operate in the direction of Kohistan. Sir Donald Stewart left Candhahar on the 30th March and reached Cabul on the 2nd May, 1880. † There was a few skirmishes on the way, but these were not of any importance. But on the arrival of the Division under Sir Donald Stewart in Cabul the idea of an expedition in the direction of Kohistan was given up. Negotiations with Abdur Rahman had been then set on foot. Moreover, the beginning of May was not a happy one for the British jingoes locked up in Afghanistan, In his "Forty-one Years in India," Roberts writes :—

"Sir Donald reached Cabul on the 5th May. On the same day we heard that the Beaconsfield Administration had come to an end; that a new Ministry had been formed under Mr. Gladstone; that Lord Lytton had resigned, and was to be succeeded by the Marquis of Ripon; and that the Marquis of Hartington had become Secretary of State for India,

* * That 5th of May was altogether not a happy day for me. Lord Lytton's approaching departure was a source of real sorrow. * * I had hoped that he would have had the gratification of seeing while in office, the campaign in which he was so much interested satisfactorily concluded, and with the prospect of permanent results; and I dreaded that a change of government might mean a reversal of the policy which I believed to be the best for the security of our position in India."

So there was crying and wailing in the camp of the jingoes. On his arrival in Cabul, Sir Donald Stewart took the supreme command of the troops from Roberts, who had now to play the second fiddle, which he did not like.

When the people of Afghanistan came to know that the exiled prince Abdur Rahman was going to be thrust on them as their Amir by the British Government, there was much disaffection and discontent in the country. The adherents of Yakub Khan tried to give much trouble. Those of the sirdars who had helped the British in many ways, were, on the mere suspicion of being in league with Yakub Khan and his family, imprisoned and deported to India, at the instance of Sir Lepel Griffin. Amongst the sirdars thus deported to India, was the Mustaufi, Habib-Ullah-Khan. These proceedings greatly strengthened the hands of Abdur Rahman. Regarding the deportation to India of the Mustaufi Habib-Ullah Khan Lord Roberts observes :—

"I looked upon his removal as a misfortune, for it broke up the only party that could possibly be formed to counterbalance Abdur Rahman, who was astute enough to see that the weaker our position became, the more chance there was of his being able to get his own terms from us."

The two Pathan officers who had been sent to Abdur Rahman, had an interview with him and returned to Cabul with his reply. But his attitude was considered by Sir Lepel Griffin and others as very disappointing. Abdur Rahman had eaten the salt of Russia, and it was not to be expected that he would easily sever his connection with his late benefactors.

The Correspondent of the *Pioneer* writing from Cabul, on the 4th June, 1880, said :—

"He (Abdur Rahman) has given no promises whatever on any specific points connected with the Amirship. He seems to be fully aware of our awkward position in the country, and is not at all anxious to aid us in extricating ourselves. Secure in his retreat beyond the Hindu Kush, he is working rather to make the British, and not himself, the grateful party in the current negotiations. * * * There is no spontaneous outburst of gratitude, no eager acceptance of our offer of

* Candhahar Field Force was replaced by Bombay troops from Quetta.

† In his "Forty-one Years in India" Lord Roberts writes that "Sir Donald reached Cabul on the 5th May". This is a mistake. The *Pioneer* Correspondent wrote on May 2nd 1880, that "Sir Donald Stewart arrived at about 10 O'clock (to-day)".

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the Amirship: but, on the contrary, a cool, self-possessed tone of inquiry as if the writer felt himself master of the situation, and meant to dictate his own terms. This is the more unfortunate, because there is no longer a strong power to back our efforts to settle the question with the hand of conquerors. The change of front in English politics has reacted upon us here with tremendous effect, and we are appearing in the eyes of the people rather as suppliants than dictators to Abdur Rahman."

Abdur Rahman was so obstinate in his demands that at one time "the question was seriously discussed whether it might not be necessary to break up negotiations with him, and re-instate Yakub Khan, or else set up his brother, Ayub Khan, as Amir.* But with threats and promises, Sir Lepel Griffin succeeded in inducing Abdur Rahman to accept the Amirship of Afghanistan.

Abdur Rahman's relations with the Russians may be judged from a letter written in May, 1878, by the then Governor of Afghan-Turkestan, named Shahgasi Sherdil Khan, who says:—

"Mirza Salahuddin, whom I deputed towards Samarcand and Tashkhend to collect news from those directions, has returned and made a state ment, to the effect that the Russians intend to induce Abdur Rahman Khan to submit to them petition, setting forth that he has been putting there a long time under the protection of the Russian Government; that he has often petitioned them to help him in securing the restitution of his ancestral territory from the Amir of Cabul but his prayer has not been acceded to; and that he has now heard that the Russians are preparing to fight against the British Government; that they have sent envoys to wait upon the Amir to request him to allow passage through his country to the Russian troops going to India and returning therefrom, should a necessity arise for such a passage; and that such being the case, he offers his services in case His Highness refuses to grant the request of the Russian Government to capture Kabul with a small assistance from the Czar, and then subdue the whole of Afghanistan, which is not a difficult task."

His reply to Sir Lepeal Griffin clearly shows that he did not care to be under the sole protection of the English.

Translation of the letter from sirdar Abdur Rahman Khan to Lepel Griffin Esq., dated 15th April, 1880:—

"Whereas at this time I have received your kind letter. In a spirit of justice and friendship you wrote to inquire what I wished in Afghanistan. My honoured friend, the servants of the Great British Government know well that throughout these twelve years of exile in the territories of the Emperor of Russia, night and day I have cherished the hope of revisiting my native land. * * * * Now, therefore, that you seek to learn my hopes and wishes, they are these; that as long as your Empire and that of Russia exist, my countrymen, the tribes of Afghanistan, should live quietly in ease and peace; that these two states should find us true and faithful, and that we should rest in peace between them (England and Russia), for my tribesmen are unable to struggle with Empires, and are ruined by want of commerce; and we hope of your friendship that, sympathizing with and assisting the people of Afghanistan, you will place them under the honourable protection of the two Powers. This would redound to the credit of both, would give peace to Afghanistan, and quiet and comfort to God's people.

"This is my wish; for the rest it is yours to decide."

The Government of India was anxious that the Afghan affair should be settled as soon as possible, for it imagined that the objects for which the troops re-entered Afghanistan in September, 1879, had been attained. These objects were two, viz:—

"First to avenge the treacherous massacre of the British mission at Cabul; the second was to maintain the safe guards sought through the Treaty of Gundamak by providing for their maintenance guarantees of a more substantial and less precarious character. These two objects have been attained; the first by the capture of Cabul and the punishment of the crime committed there, the second by the severance of Kandhahar from the Cabul power. * * Our advance frontier positions at Kandhahar * and Kurram have materially diminished the political importance of Cabul in relation to India, and although we shall always appreciate the friendship of its Ruler, our relations with him are now of so little importance to the paramount objects of our policy that we no longer require to maintain British agents in any part of his dominions. * * * * * The Government of India has no longer any motive or desire to enter into any fresh treaty engagements with the Ruler of Cabul.

"The territorial and administrative arrangements already completed by us for the permanent protection of our own interests are not susceptible

* Roberts "Forty-one years in India." Vol. II, p. 327.

* The reasons for retaining Candahar are thus stated by Lieut Yate who served with the Afghan Boundary Commission in 1884-85;—

"It might restore affairs to see a British force occupying Kandhahar by the orders of a British Ministry. This seems a step sadly needed both for the safety of India and the due control and reformation of Afghanistan, From Kandhahar a salutary infuence and judicous control might well be establishsd on the arbitrary exercise of power of the Amirs, on the turbulence of the tribal chiefs, and on the uncivilized condition of the populace. It is quite time that this control, similar to that exercised among the feudatory princes of India, should be established in Afghanistan. An independent is inconsistent with a subsidised Afghanistan."

Travels with the Afghan Boundary Commission, p. 1. 377.

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of negotiation or discussion with Abdur Rahman or any other claimant to the throne of Cabul."

The above extracts from a letter written to Mr. Lepel Griffin by Mr. (afterward Sir) Alfred Lyall, Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, toward the end of April 1880, will show the terms on which the Government desired to place Abdur Rahman on the throne of Cabul. But the course of events made the Government modify these terms, and Abdur Rahman was also, as said before, very obstinate.

In the beginning of July, 1880, Sir Donald Stewart sent a message to Abdur Rahman, requesting him to come to Cabul to discuss the terms of a settlement. He complied with the request. Sir Lepel Griffin was closetted with him when all the terms on which he was to accept the Amirship were discussed. He seemed to have agreed to all the conditions which the British Government imposed on him in recognising him as the ruler of Cabul. On the 22nd July 1880, a Durbar was held at Cabul when Sir Lepel Griffin proclaimed to the sirdars, chiefs and gentlemen of Afghanistan assembled that the Government of India had, formally, acknowledged sirdar Abdur Rahman Khan, grandson of the illustrious Amir Dost Mahomed Khan, as Amir of Cabul. Towards the end of July, Abdur Rahman entered into Cabul and ascended the throne of his grandfather.

Preparations were now being made for the evacuation of Cabul; and General Roberts had actually left Cabul for India.

"But, suddenly, to quote his words" "a presentiment which I have never been able to explain to myself, made me retrace my steps and hurry back towards Cabul—a presentiment of coming trouble which I can only characterize as instinctive.

"The feeling was justified when, about half-way between Butkak and Cabul, I was met by Sir Donald Stewart and my chief of the staff who brought me the astounding news of the total defeat by Ayub Khan of Brigadier-General Burrows' brigade at Maiwand, and of Lieutenant-General Primrose (who had succeeded Sir Donald Stewart in command of the troops at Kandhadar) with the remainder of his force, being besieged at Kandhahar."

Preparations were immediately made to retrieve the disaster and relieve the besieged garrison at Kandhahar.

Ayub Khan was the brother of the ex-Amir Yakub Khan. He succeeded in raising a large army in Herat and Kandhahar. When he saw that Abdur Rahman was made Amir of Cabul, and Kandhahar turned into a British province, he instigated the people of Herat—those very men who were instrumental in murdering Cavagnari—to rise and expel the 'Kafirs' from their country. With his large following, he was advancing on Kandhahar and Ghazni. When his movements became known, General Borrows was ordered to proceed against him. On the 27th July, Barrows engaged Ayub Khan at a village called Maiwand. Here Ayub Khan inflicted a crushing defeat on Burrows' force. The Maiwand disaster had its parallel only in the defeat of the British by the Sikhs at Chillianwalla. The British loss was estimated at about 2000 killed and wounded. General Burrows with the remnant of his force retired to Kandhahar, where Ayub Khan besieged them.

When the news of the disaster reached Simla, the Government of India at once decided to send a large force to Kahdhahar for its relief. At first they thought of sending the force from Quetta, but there were not sufficient troops at that place and moreover transports were wanting. So on the recommendation of General Roberts, an army consisting of 10,000 fighting men with the same number of camp followers and General Roberts in its command, left Cabul for Kandhahar on the 8th August, 1880. The distance between Cabul and Kandhahar is over 300 miles. The march which Roberts performed is a historic one, for he reached that place on the 31st August, doing the whole distance in a little over three weeks. That a large army consisting of 20,000 fighting men and followers with some 8,000 baggage animals accomplished a march of more than 300 miles in three weeks time, was a great credit to the commander who performed it.

On the approach of the British army, Ayub Khan raised the siege, and Roberts marched triumphantly into Kandhahar. The besieged garrison were, to use a slang word, in a "funk". Lord Roberts writes :—

"I confess to being very greatly surprised, not to use a stronger expression, at the demoralised condition of the greater part of the garrison. They seemed to consider themselves hopelessly defeated, and were utterly despondent; they never even hoisted the Union Jack until the relieving force was close at hand. * * The wall which completely surrounded Kandhahar was so high and thick as to render the city absolutely impregnable to any army not equipped with a regular siege-train ; * * * for the British soldiers to have contemplated the possibility of Kandhahar being taken by an Afghan army showed what a miserable state of depression and demoralisation they were in."

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Ayub Khan with his army moved out a few miles from Kandhahar on the arrival of General Roberts. On the 1st September General Roberts fought him a battle, known as the battle of Kandhahar. This was the last battle fought in Afghanistan by the British. Ayub Khan was defeated and Roberts added another feather to his cap. There is reason to believe that Ayub Khan's defeat was, to a large measure, due to the desertion of his men, who had been bribed and bought over by the British. This is hinted at by the *Pioneer* correspondent. He writes in his letter dated Kandhahar, 20th September, 1880.

"*The Kizilbasles and Kohistanis being already in treaty with Colonel St. John to desert him*, i.e., Ayub Khan, *at short notice.*"

Thus it was not all courage and valor and good generalship which gained Roberts the victory of Kandhahar on the 1st September. 1889.

The disaster at Maiwand and the siege of Kandhahar proved to demonstration the impossibility of Kandhahar ever becoming a British province. Hence Mr. Gladstone's government decided that Kandhahar was not to be separated from the Amirship of Cabul. Abdur Rahman's position was thus greatly strengthened. He was a lucky man. He got all that he wanted. The British troops evacuated Cabul and Kandhahar and the beginning of October 1880 did not see a single British soldier on the soil of Afghanistan. Thus terminated the Second Afghan War, the memory of which still rankles in the breast of every native of Afghanistan.

What was the net gain to the British after they had evacuated Kandhahar and Cabul ? If there was no gain, at least the Second Afghan War did not cause England any loss. It was India which greatly suffered from the calamities of the war. The Marquis of Salisbury on a certain occasion said, "India must be bled." India was bled. both literally and figuratively, by the War. It was India's sons who died fighting for England on the bloody fields of Maiwand, Kandhahar, Ali Musjid and in the ill-fated Residency at Bala Hissar. It was they who died by hundreds, if not by thousands, from diseases contracted on field service, for while the British soldiers were sumptuously fed, warmly clothed and comfortably accommodated, the Indian troops and camp followers, as is usual in all campaigns, did not even dream of sharing half the luxuries provided for a handful of British soldiers. While the British soldiers fought in a country, the climate of which was not far different from that of their own, it was quite otherwise with the Indian troops.

The war cost India some twenty-one millions of pounds sterling. This, too, was at a time when India was in the grip of a dire famine. The government which spent so many millions of pounds on the war, never thought of spending one half of that sum in alleviating the miseries of the famine-stricken people. In fact, the fund which was raised by taxing the already famine-stricken inhabitants of India, to insure against future famines, was misappropriated and spent on the war ! Such were the notions of justice and philanthropy of the government of those days.

England benefited from the war. All the honors, distinctions, high offices with princely salaries attached to them, went to those who were natives of England. It enabled many a British officer to earn distinctions which they could not have otherwise dreamt of. It was this war which brought Roberts a peerage. Knighthoods and Baronetcies and other distinctions and promotions fell to the lot of the natives of England. No Indian, for his services in connection with the war, received any high distinction.

The war was undertaken with the object of forcing a British envoy at Cabul. But this object was not secured, on the eleventh hour it was discovered that

"Our relations with him (the Amir) are now of so little importance to the paramount objects of our policy that we no longer require to maintain British agents in any part of his dominions."*

Kandhahar and Herat, which were to provide India with the scientific frontier, could also not be retained but had to be made over to the Amir. Colonel Hanna has truly observed that the war has

"secured none of the objects for which it was waged ; neither British officers either at Cabul or on the Afghan frontier nor British influence paramount in Afghanistan nor even a weaker sovereign on the throne of Kabul."

But this war has left to the inhabitants of Afghanistan a legacy of ill-feeling and hatred against he British, for vengeance sleeps long but never dies.

* Extract from Mr. A. C. Lyall's letter to Mr. Lepel Griffin, dated Simla, April 1880.

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THE GARDEN CREEPER

By SAMYUKTA DEVI

(8)

GOPAL could not remember when he had been taken out of the bullock-cart and deposited in a third class compartment of a railway train. The varied sounds in this compartment failed to disturb his sound sleep. He sat up with a mighty start as night merged into dawn and stared at the strange scene before him. He had never been in a railway train before. What a crowd! Nearly all the peoples of India were represented in it. And what an uproar!

But Gopal had not the opportunity of gazing at them to his heart's content. The carriage stopped very soon, and Krishna pulled him out of it. Gopal found himself in the largest building, he had even seen. The noise and crowd were terrifying to the small country boy. He had never seen so many people together, not even at the village fair. After a time they came out of the huge building and got into a hackney coach. It went on and on. The roads were very big and broad, with large houses on both sides. But nowhere did he see a field or a water tank. All the houses belonged to rich people, Gopal concluded, because they were gaudily furnished, and had many pretty things arranged by the windows. He thought he saw trains going along the roads, only they were smaller than the one he had been in during the night.

At last their carriage stopped before a large house. It had a beautiful garden all around. Krishna got down, and pulled down all his luggage from the roof of the coach, in a great hurry. Then ensued a furious discussion about the fare to be given to the coachman. Krishna would not give more than a rupee, while the man wanted two annas more. Gopal stood and stared at them in dismay, with his small bundle clasped in his arms.

Suddenly, a gentleman in English dress came out of the hall in front, and stood at the head of the stairs. With his appearance, the scene changed as if by magic. Up to this, Krishna had been waving his hand, in close proximity to the coachman's beard and giving him an example of his eloquence. The coachman, though deficient in language, made up by the power of his lungs. But as soon as Shiveswar appeared, both the combatants became mute as stone statues. Krishna went and bowed down at his master's feet, while the coachman stood silent, with a dumbfounded expression.

Gopal understood from Krishna's manners that the gentleman before them was the master of the house. So, he too went and bowed down to him.

Shiveswar pulled up the boy with a jerk, saying angrily, "Bearer, have I not told you a hundred times, not to start a row before my office room? Pay off this man at once."

Krishna's militant attitude had disappeared completely. He meekly took out a rupee and some change and handed these to the cabman. He could not help casting a look of sorrow at the money, before he parted with it.

As the hackney carriage drove out of the gate, Shiveswar turned his attention to the boy. Up to this, he had been holding him by the hand, but his eyes were engaged with Krishna and the cabman.

"Is this the boy?" he asked Krishna.

Krishna folded his hands and began, "Yes, sir, he is an orphan, sir ; so I thought, if you would be kind enough—"

His master cut him short. "All right, all right," he said. "Is he from your native village?"

"Yes, sir, he is well born, of a good caste—" but his master had gone off, before he could finish, and Gopal had gone with him. Krishna felt defrauded somehow, and went off to his own quarters with his bundles

Shiveswar had taken the boy to his office room. He sat down in a chair and pointed at another, saying, "Sit down there. What's your name?"

Gopal hesitated to take the chair. But he sat down, after a moment, and replied, "Gopal Chandra Roy"

Shiveswar frowned and said, "The country

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seems to be overrun with Gopals and Rakhals."

Gopal could not understand his anger and stared at him in amazement. True it was that nearly all the people, he knew, felt angry with him. But this was the first time, he had seen any one getting angry at the mere sound of his name.

Shiveswar was thinking of something. After a while, he asked again, "Do you know how to read and write?"

"Yes. sir," the boy replied, "I used to read in the first class of the village school."

Shiveswar was glad to hear it. Though he loved the idea of training up children, he was relieved to find that he would not have to do any spade work.

"I will have you admitted in a school here very soon," he said to Gopal. "Go now, wash yourself and have something to eat. You look very tired." He drew a huge book towards himself, and became immersed in it.

Though the master of the house had given him permission to go, Gopal did not know where to go. He really wanted to wash and eat, but where? Though the gentleman had spoken very kindly to him, he did not dare to question him.

Suddenly, a carriage drove up and came to a standstill before the stairs. As the syce opened the door, a little girl darted out and up the stairs and stopped before the door of the office room.

The girl was very beautiful. Though Gopal was nothing but a child, yet he could not help noting this. He had never seen such a beautiful and well dressed child in his village.

The girl carried a small bundle in her arms. She was as fair as the master of the house, whom Gopal had at first taken for a European. But the father was white as marble, whereas the daughter looked like a blushing rose. Her eyes shone like stars and her black hair hung on her shoulders in wonderful curls.

Mukti had probably rushed to her father, in this way, in order to give him some important information about Aparna, or Krishnadasi, but she was taken aback, finding a strange boy sitting in her father's room. As she could not impart her secrets in his presence, she shouted for her grandmother and ran for her room.

Shiveswar looked up from his book, at the sound of his daughter's voice. He did not find her there, but found the boy, still sitting in the chair. He was surprised. "Why don't you go?" he asked.

Gopal was frightened and asked in a timid voice, "Which way shall I go?"

"Oh, to be sure, I forgot. Bearer!" called Shiveswar.

Krishna rushed up at once. He took away Gopal, according to his master's orders, and led him upstairs.

A small room by the side of Shiveswar's bedroom, had been got ready for Gopal. He was surprised at its beautiful decorations and furniture. He did not dare to touch or sit upon any of them. "This is your room," said Krishna. "The bath-room is on this side. Will you have a bath now?"

Gopal forgot to answer him, so busy was he looking around. No boy has ever been born who had not imagined himself, sometime or other, to be Haroun Al Rashid or Aladin with his wonderful lamp. And if by chance, the dream came true, even very partially, who could fathom its joy and surprise?

Krishna asked the same question again. Gopal came down from the skies and replied, "Yes, I will wash now."

In the bath-room, too, the poor boy was in a fix. He had only bathed in tanks of green slimy water before this. He did not know the use of taps or shower baths.

Krishna came to his rescue mercifully. As they were half through the ceremony, a boy came up and said, "Breakfast has been served. Master sends for this boy."

Krishna hastily dried Gopal, and sent him down. Gopal was clad only in a small dhoti, the end of which he had wrapped round his shoulders. He still wore an amulet round his neck.

Shiveswar nearly jumped at the sight he presented. He was dead against these indecencies. "Bearer," he ordered, "Go and fetch a coat or, anything from my dressing room, and put him in it. And take off that dirty string from around his neck. He is not an animal."

Krishna obeyed with alacrity. Then he went out of the room and returned in about five minutes with a shirt. Gopal put it on obediently. Its collar nearly rose above his cheeks, and its sleeves hung a foot down his fingers. He felt highly amused, but he was feeling too nervous in the presence of the master to laugh.

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It was a hard job to use knife and fork in this dress, as he was a beginner and nervous too. Anyone else would have noticed his extreme embarrassment. But Shiveswar, as usual with him, was in the clouds already. He was already thinking over all the newest methods of education, trying to select the most suitable for this boy. His hands played with his knife and fork mechanically.

Gopal was very hungry, and the sight and smell of the delicacies before him whetted his appetite still more. So he tucked away the superfluous portion of his shirt sleeves and began to eat with the help of a spoon. Suddenly light and quick steps were heard outside, and next moment, that beautiful child in a wonderous dress rushed into the room, like a small tornado, and flinging herself upon Shiveswar, began to laugh.

Shiveswar forgot all about modern methods of education. He took her upon his lap and asked, "What's it, my little mother? You are very early this time."

"So you have forgotten, have you?" cried the child. "Did not I tell you last Saturday, that we were to have a holiday on next Friday, too, and I should be home for three days? And did not you promise to take me to the Zoo, in your new motor car?"

'All right, all right," said Shiveswar, "we shall go. But look here, what a nice boy! Won't you play with him?"

Mukti looked Gopal up and down with close attention. Then she began to laugh inordinately.

"What's the matter?" asked her father.

Mukti was nearly choking with laughter. "What a big shirt he has put on!" she gasped.

Shiveswar smiled as he looked at Gopal. "It is my shirt, so it is rather big for him," he said. "But to-morrow you will see so many nice things will come for him,"

Poor Gopal blushed to his ears at the amusement of the bright and beautiful little lady. He wanted to tear that big shirt into pieces, in the excess of his mortification.

(9)

Next morning Mukti was found before the doors of Shiveswar and Gopal, eager to make friends with the newcomer. She had escaped from her grandmother's custody early and was seeking a pretext for entering her father's rooms. Suddenly Shiveswar came out dressed for going out.

"What do you want, my little mother?" he asked.

"Father, where is the boy, in that big shirt?" she asked. "Will he live with us? Won't he speak to me and go to read in a school? And won't you buy him good clothes?"

Shiveswar picked her up in his arms, saying, "Yes, yes he will, and I shall. Go and put on a clean frock, then we shall go for a drive. We shall take that boy along, too."

Mukti jumped down from his arms and ran to change her dress. As she entered her grandmother's room, the old lady asked, "Why are you running about like this early in the morning?"

Mukti had got a clean frock on, over the soiled one, which she had not thought of taking off. Now she was struggling with the buttons and replied shortly, "I am going to make friends with the boy in a big shirt."

The old lady was surprised. She frowned and asked, "What on earth do you mean?"

"Father said so", replied Mukti. She did not waste any more time on her grandmother, but ran off, all the while trying to hide her dirty frock, which unfortunately was longer than the clean one. Mokshada wanted more information and she called "Mukti, come here for a moment." But in vain. By that time Mukti was half-way down the stairs.

Mokshada had been looking on at her son's doings ever since yesterday. But she was too angry and hurt even to ask Shiveswar the meaning of these goings on. She went on as if nothing had happened. She knew that it was usual for a man to desire children. So she had been trying these five years to get him to marry again. But he had very little respect for his mother's wishes. Instead of settling down again, he sent off even the only child he had to a Mem Sahib's school. If she insisted upon his remarriage, he would answer, "You, too, became a widow in your youth, with but one child. If you can remain without marrying again, why can not I?" Now, had anyone ever heard the like of it? Was there no difference between a man and a woman? A woman can Surely suffer everything but not so a man.

Besides, Shiveswar had to think of his family. He should not allow it to become extinct. What was the use of his earning so much money, if there was no one, on

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whom he could spend it? The memory of a departed spouse was enough for a woman, but not so for a man. If he had married he would have been the father of a son by this time, and would not have been driven to adopt a low-caste brat. Shiveswar's mother was getting more and more anxious. Perhaps some day, he would bring home some Christian bride. But Mokshada hoped, he would not, as he evinced very little interest in the fair sex. But why did not he give his daughter in marriage to a well-born boy, and bring him up? It would have been a sound business proposition and would have satisfied his desire for a son. But what was the use of talking? Her son was a headstrong fool, and would not listen to anyone.

But she could not help thinking and thinking. What if this boy should turn out to be a Brahmin's son? She wanted to make sure. But how to do it? She could not ask Krishna. She could have got the information from Mukti, had not the little imp escaped. Mokshada almost made up her mind to go away to her countryhouse. When her fury reached its climax, this determination always gave her consolation.

Suddenly the maid-servant Nitya broke through her thoughts, crying, "I say, grandma, you have not put out the stores, nor have you ordered the dinner. The cook is shouting down the roof of the kitchen."

Mokshada got up hurriedly and rushed to the storeroom. For the time she forgot all about her countryhouse.

Shiveswar returned with the children, when the morning was advanced. The car was loaded as on the day when Mukti went marketing for her sojourn to 'the boarding house. But there was no sorrow on this occasion. Mukti had nearly talked herself hoarse, having got such a good listener. She liked this friend, more than her classmates, more than the coachman and the gardener. This boy was of a different type altogether; so Mukti had almost fallen in love with him.

But the poor boy was feeling a bit dazed. This sudden transformation had been too much for him. His home, his dress, his surroundings, even his very name had been changed. He had never seen such wealth, had never had so many things to call his own, and had never been called Jyotirmoy. This handsome gentleman had changed everything like a magician.

As Shiveswar came in, his mother asked sharply, "Have you lost all sense? Where have you been with the child, in this terrible sun? She must be dying of thirst by this time."

"I am rather late," admitted Shiveswar, "I had so many things to buy for Jyoti, that I could not manage to return sooner. But they had had a good feed in the market."

Mokshada could hardly restrain herself. Still she made a brave attempt at appearing indifferent and asked, "Who on earth is Jyoti? Have you changed your daughter's name?"

"Not at all," said Shiveswar rather embarrassed. "Mukti is still Mukti. But have not you seen the new boy? I have taken him in. I want to train him up into a gentleman. I shall bring him to you today."

"Thank you," said his mother icily, "it is not always you show me so much consideration. You have become quite a learned Sahib now, whereas I am nothing but an ignorant country-woman. So I don't presume to advise you in anything."

Shiveswar felt rather at a loss for an answer. "No mother," he said at last, "I had decided to tell you. Only I was hesitating, knowing that you will be angry."

"Oh, much you care for my anger," said the old lady. "Very well, if you want to adopt a son, do it in a proper way. I don't want to hinder you. Call Brahmins and have the proper ceremonies. I hope, he comes of a good Brahmin family?"

Mokshada was nearly certain that the boy was not a Brahmin, else Shiveswar would not have been so eager to take him into his family. Still she wanted to make sure.

Shiveswar was beginning to lose his temper. "I don't know whether he comes of a good Brahmin family or a good Chandal—family. The last is more likely. I don't want any information about his family, because I am not going to adopt it. If he is good and honest, that will be enough for me."

Mokshada put her fingers in her ears. "Gracious God in the heavens!" She cried in dismay. "You are going to adopt the son of a Chandal? You want him to give water to your ancestors? Can a Chandal ever become the son of a Brahmin?"

"I know he cannot," said her son. "How can he become any one else's son, except

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that of his own father? Neither a Chandal nor a Brahmin can do it. He will remain, what he was. I am only taking care of his education. I don't suppose, souls are ever thirsty for water. But if ever I do feel so, I hope the boy will oblige me. My ancestors can please themselves."

His mother stood as if thunderstruck. After a while, she cried out, "If the boy is of a low caste, I will go away from this house this very day. You are my son, but even for you I cannot tolerate such sacrilege."

Shiveswar scented danger and climbed down a bit. "I did not say that I knew him to be a Chandal."

"Then ask what caste he is." Shiveswar became obstinate again. "I won't ask him that," he said. "That he is born a human being should be enough."

"If you won't ask him, I will," said his mother.

"No mother, you won't," said Shiveswar firmly. "I don't want the boy to feel any difference between himself and all of us. I forbid you."

"How dare you say such things?" flared up his mother. "Do you take me for a servant? I shall go away at once. I won't have anything more to do with such a renegade as you." She left the room in fury. Shiveswar followed her, aiming at a reconciliation.

All this while, the two children were busy arranging Jyoti's room and looking over all the new purchases. They did not bother themselves about caste, creed, family or money.

Both of them sat ensconced in a chair, looking over the pictures of the Royal Natural History and talking for all they were worth. But Krishna interrupted and took them away to the dining room for their midday meal. Mukti usually ate in her grand-mother's room, when home for the week-end, but to-day nobody called her there. She found her father absent, too. She asked Krishna, where her father was, but getting no satisfactory reply, she began to instruct Jyoti about the proper way of handling knives and forks.

A few days later Mukti came home for the Easter vacation. But this time she was not taken for long drives, as her father appeared very much pre-occupied and busy. Her grand-mother too had changed. Mukti did not like to go and talk to her now. So she devoted all her leisure to this new friend of hers. They roamed about the garden in the hot sun, swung for hours and stuffed themselves full with green mangoes. Nobody hindered them. So they acted according to their own sweet will and derived no end of joy out of it. Mukti had learned to climb trees with Jyoti, and no one called her a tomboy for that. And Jyoti, too, had learned to skip and play and none called him a girl.

Thus the vacation passed off very well and Mukti went back to school. Jyoti, too, was sent to a boys' day school.

But in Shiveswar's house the clouds still hung heavy. Every moment a storm was threatened. His mother had put up with all the modernism of her son, but she could not reconcile herself to the virtual adoption of this low-caste boy. So she took every opportunity for creating trouble. She was afraid to leave her son's house, lest the boy should get too firm a foothold here, but staying on became more and more irksome. Besides, she had professed so great an orthodoxy, people must expect her to live up to her views and leave her apostate son. At first she had thought that, if she created trouble enough, Shiveswar would send away the boy somewhere. But Shiveswar had too firm a faith in his opinions to send Jyoti away, though he had sent away Mukti quite willingly.

Then came the long summer vacation. Mukti came home with her boxes, baskets, slate, books and clothes. She had many children's magazines and picture books with her. Jyoti, too, had collected numerous treasures by this time. He had learnt many things at school, which Mukti did not know. They expected to have great times together.

But poor Mukti's expectations remained unfulfilled. Her grand-mother had made up her mind at last. She was really going away to the countryhouse, and wanted to take Mukti along with her. Mukti protested; she cried and shouted. But her father said, "You must go, dear. Don't disobey grand-mother."

So Mukti went. But Shiveswar stayed on in Calcutta with Jyoti.

After the vacation Mukti came back, but her grand-mother did not return. Shiveswar could never manage an establishment. So he packed off Mukti to the school and went and took rooms in a hotel for himself and Jyoti. The house was locked up.

So Mukti could not come home for the

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week-ends now. Shiveswar went and saw her every Saturday. He could stay only one hour. After that he had to leave and return to the hotel, where bearded Mahomedan servants greeted his eyes on all sides.

(*To be continued.*)

THE MYSTICISM OF SAINT CATHERINE OF SIENA

By WENDELL M. THOMAS, Jr.

IN the airy city of Siena in Italy, "lightly set on the summit of three hills which it crowns with domes and clustering towers, was born of simple townspeople in 1347 the saintly Catherine. From the day that she could walk, she became very popular among her numerous relatives and her parents' friends, who gave her the pet name Euphrosyne to signify the grief-dispelling effect of her conversation, and who were constantly inviting her to their houses on some pretext or other. Sent one morning to the house of her married sister Bonaventura, she was favoured with a beautiful vision." (The Dialogue of St. Catherine of Siena, tr. by A. Thorold, London, 1907). She beheld Christ. He did not appear in some other-worldly realm or fashion. Neither did he call her away from this present life. He was clad in the papal robes (a symbol of earthly authority), and gave her his benediction. Henceforth Catherine understood that He had called her to serve Him by serving His brothers and sisters.

Now visions are not essential to mysticism. They simply show that the beholder is what the psychologists term a "Visile," one in whom the visual images common to all are unusually intense and lifelike. Though not essential, still their capacity to inspire and encourage throughout a lifetime is just so much gain. The persistent and winsome religious service of Sadhu Sundar Singh and C. F. Andrews, for instance, was originated by a vivid vision of Christ.

Catherine's deep religious purpose thus arose very early. When twelve she cut off her blond hair to escape unwelcome attentions. At fifteen, by entering the neighbouring monastery of St. Dominic, she publicly devoted her life to the service of Christ. In order to make her body a fit and controllable instrument for spiritual service, she adopted a severe routine: her bed was a board, her clothing coarse, her diet completely meatless. It is to be noticed that she practised not asceticism but rigourism. She did not torture her body to free her soul from the drag of the world; she disciplined her body to devote her soul to save the world. At nineteen she appeared in public and gradually gathered about her a small group of disciples both men and women. She was favoured with sublime and intensely intimate visions, in which she married Christ with a ring, and drank the blood which flowed from his wounded side.

"Much might be said of the action of Catherine on her generation. Few individuals perhaps have ever led so active a life or have succeeded in leaving so remarkable an imprint of their personality on the events of their time. Catherine, the Peacemaker, reconciles warring factions in her native city, and heals an international feud between Florence and the Holy See. Catherine, the consoler pours the balm of her gentle spirit into the lacerated souls of the suffering wherever she finds them, in the condemned cell or in the hospital ward. She is one of the most voluminous of letter writers, keeping up a constant correspondence with a band of disciples male and female all over Italy, and last but not least, with the distant Pope at Avignon."

Her greatest achievement was to induce the Pope, who at this time was suffering the "Babylonian Captivity" under the secular influence of the king of France, to return to Rome and restore the dignity of sacred authority to the decadent Church.

This amazingly fruitful work, this sane and winsome character had its source in continual mystic communion with the God of Love revealed by Christ. "She intuitively perceived life under the highest possible forms, the forms of Beauty and Love. Truth and Goodness were, she thought, means for the achievement of those two supreme ends.

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The sheer beauty of the soul in a 'state of Grace' is a point on which she constantly dwells, hanging it as a bait before those whom she would induce to turn from evil. Similarly, the ugliness of sin should warn us of its true nature. 'Truth' was for her the handmaid of the spiritualized imagination not, as too often in these days of the twilight of the soul, its tyrant and its gaoler." Although Catherine as a child of her age necessarily used the formulas of current theology, her emphasis rested upon their ethical demands and their aesthetic glory. Under her cleansing touch, the time-worn and faded paintings of dogma were restored to their pristine colours, and glowed with eternal health.

The burden of Catherine's message is the progress of the soul to God. The first stage is to turn from the paths of the wicked into the path of the righteous. The second stage brings the soul to hatred and renunciation of all desires not inspired by God. In the third stage the soul is lost in God, and finds ineffable joy in that "Sea Pacific." The fourth stage, which is all-inclusive love for neighbour, flows directly from the third. To love God is to love your neighbour: you cannot love your neighbour without loving God. Immersion in the love of God and all his creatures in a life of beauty and service is the goal not only in earth but also in Heaven. Supreme in its eternal achievements, no higher life can be imagined.

The first stage, then, is purification from sin. Catherine's motive for purification is to be carefully noticed. It is not a selfish desire for individual salvation or private enjoyment, but a boundless sympathy for human misery coupled with a realization of her responsibility for its relief. With keen spiritual penetration Mahatma Gandhi realizes that social blunders may be due to his own sin or shortcoming, and accordingly he repents by fasting. Catherine likewise understood that responsibility never rests in another but always in the self, for it is only through the self that any influence whatever can be exerted on another. And until the self can claim the perfection of the supreme morally creative person, namely, the sinless Jesus Christ, its consciousness of responsibility induces the sense of personal sin. Out of her sensitive love she cries—

"For what is it to me if I have life, and Thy people death and the clouds of darkness cover Thy spouse (the true Church) when it is my own sins and not those of Thy other creatures that are the principle cause of this? I desire then and beg of Thee by Thy grace that Thou have mercy on Thy people."

The second stage is renunciation. The purification of the self from injurious desires is not sufficient. Desires must be not only harmless but also positively creative. Above the stage of tolerance, sympathy and peace, is the stage of perfect loving devotion. It is to be noticed that Catherine does not renounce the world, or desire in general, but only selfish desires, the desires that fail to express the heart of God's purpose for the world. She renounces not the humble self in tune with the Absolute Self, but merely the proud, discordant self. This stage may also be called illumination, since the moral renunciation kindles a blaze of light resulting in knowledge of the relation between the personal and divine. While in a trance Catherine dictates this message from God.

"All scandals, hatred, cruelty and every sort of trouble proceed from this perverse root of self-love, which has poisoned the entire world and weakened the mystical body of the Holy Church and the universal body of believers in the Christian religion. The humble self is likened to a good and fruitful tree: "Knowledge of thyself and of Me is found in the earth of true humility, which is as wide as the diameter of the circle, that is, of the knowledge of the self and of Me,...Then the tree of love feeds itself on humility, bringing forth from its side the offshoot of true discretion..."

The proud self on the contrary, is compared to a tree that is rotten and evil.

"Inside the tree is nourished,.....conscience, which while man lives in mortal sin is blinded by self-love and therefore felt but little: the fruits of this tree are mortal, for they have drawn their nourishment.....from the root of pride, and the miserable soul is full of ingratitude whence proceeds every evil."

The third stage is ecstasy, the eternal blissful fulfilment of the ethical devotion of the soul to God in His work of creative and redeeming love. Catherine tries to recall by the use of mere feeble words the glory of her unspeakable experience of union with the divine Reality:

"Then this soul exclaimed with ardent love, 'O Inestimable Charity, sweet above all sweetness! Who would not be inflamed by such great love? What heart can help breaking at such tenderness? It seems, O Abyss of Charity, as if Thou wert mad with love of Thy creature...'"

The fourth stage of glad social service flows from the third. A path leads from struggling variety up to blissful unity in

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three stages. Another path leads down again from the blissful unity to the struggling variety. And both paths are divine. There can be no unity without variety, no bliss without struggle. God is One, and embraces all in loving care. Humanity and the world are not outside Him but within Him. The world is God's creation, humanity is one of God's creative agents. The whole creation is the continuous and necessary finite expression of the infinite God, the worthy fruit of His outgoing love. Catherine hears the divine voice telling her that social service in the midst of the world is the beloved child of ecstatic joy.

"When she has thus conceived by the affection of love, she immediately is delivered of fruit for her neighbour, because in no other way can she act out the truth she has conceived in herself, but loving Me in truth, in the same truth she serves her neighbour...The soul that knows Me immediately expands to the love of her neighbour, because she sees that I love that neighbour ineffably, and so herself loves the object which she sees me to have loved still more. She further knows that she can be of no use to me and can in no way repay me, that pure love with which she feels herself to be loved by Me, and therefore endeavours to repay it through the medium which I have given her, namely, her neighbour, who is the medium through which you can all serve me."

To Catherine, the metaphysical, the mystical and the ethical are all one. She knows no love for God which is not expressed in love for man. Indeed, the soul's love for God becomes transformed in the complete mystical union into God's love for man; for the soul is now no longer its former self, but God: it has climbed through time to the peak of eternity, it has harmonized its variety in the divine unity: hence it can no longer love God as another, but *in* and *of* God must express itself in the loving salvation of man. Again and again in God's message to Catherine occurs the refrain—"For My honour and the salvation of souls." in which the mystical and the ethical are linked in one.

Now genuine service sooner on later involves sacrifice, the willingness to bear pain and hardship for the sake of a better experience; and Catherine soon came to realize God's truth and freedom through the triumph of burden-bearing.

"Very pleasing to me, dearest daughter, is the willing desire to bear every pain and fatigue even unto death for the salvation of souls, for the more the soul endures, the more she shows that she loves Me; loving Me she comes to know more of My truth.....No one born passes this life without pain, bodily or mental. Bodily pain my servants bear, but their minds are free that is, they do not feel the weariness of the pain; for their will is accorded with Mine, and it is the will that gives trouble to man."

With Catherine, the sorrow for the sins of others was increased by the knowledge of God, only to be diminished; for with expanding compassion there surged forth the aggressive saving grace sufficient to meet and overcome all hindrances to eternal beauty—even sin.

According to Catherine, the sacrifice that springs thus from divine love cannot be called suffering if suffering means misery. (It can be called suffering only if suffering—according to its etymological derivation—means carrying from underneath, bearing, supporting). The suffering of misery, or the pain of mind or soul, is solely the punishment of sin; whereas in loving sacrifice only the body suffers—the soul does not suffer but continually rejoices in hardship, for it is working in God who Himself has created the variety so strenuously turned into unity.

The mysticism of St. Catherine has its source in the mystic communion of Jesus Christ with the divine Father. Her mysticism is true to His. It is the Christ way of life the way of cosmic love, the way of union with the Supreme Being. If other mystics do not entirely agree with Catherine, the fault lies not in mysticism, for it is simply a fine method of self-control aiming at union with the Supreme Being. If the method is to achieve its aim, the object to which it adapts itself must of course be truly the Supreme Being, and not an abstract, thought-constituted realm from which the world of life is in one way or another divorced and separated. The being with whom St. Catherine and her saviour before her hold communion is the Absolute One and Only, embracing all worlds in creative bliss or loving care.

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THE ABOLITION OF SATI

BY N. C. GANGULY

[Part of a chapter from the author's forth-coming work on Ram Mohun Roy, to be published in the "Builders of India" series.]

LORD Amherst left India in March 1828, and Lord William Bentinck came as the Governor-General. Amherst's "otiose optimism" in face of the sudden increase of Sati from 577 to 639 cases in 1825 was a point which did not escape the practical vision of Bentinck, whose name is immortalised by the abolition of the wicked custom. It was not in the nature of Amherst to take the prohibitory action recommended individually by Judges Smith and Ross of the Calcutta Nizamat Court in November 1826; but by 1829 all the judges were unanimous, as well as most of the officers in the country, as to the necessity of putting a stop to the barbarous practice. Resident Britishers were no less anxious to see it somehow discontinued, when Indian opinion had undergone considerable modification through Ram Mohun's agitation. The matter was consequently left to Bentinck to deal with in his characteristically practical way.

The new Governor-General first made enquiries regarding the attitude of the military to the question. He wanted the sympathy and support of the Indian Army in an action which might rouse great and extensive opposition in the country. He was satisfied that the Sepoy who fought for the British had no such strong feelings over the continuance of the rite and the Army officers were mostly in favour of its contemplated suppression. But Indian opinion in general could not be easily and properly gauged; it meant the feeling and disposition of the people at large, though it must be remembered that Ram Mohun's efforts had cleared the ground a good deal since 1815 specially among the educated classes. He had a strong and influential following of educated men who acted from their convictions and faced trials. Ram Kamal Sen, the grand-father of Keshab Chandra Sen, and Rashamay Dutt, afterwards a judge of the Small Causes Court, showed that courage which was necessary on the part of real will-wishers of reform. At a farewell meeting arranged purely by Indians for the first time in honour of Lord Hastings, a resolution was stopped by these two young men, for it praised the retiring Governor-General for "allowing widow-burning." The meeting was going to be wrecked in Hastings' presence and hence the last words of the resolution were changed into "non-interference with Hindu rites."* A fact like this speaks a volume about the reformer's powerful influence on his countrymen. Dr. Thompson says that Ram Mohun "awakened a conscience in his own countrymen which presently found expression in protests in native newspapers and the number of suttees never reached this height." †

Bentinck naturally fixed his eyes on the great champion of Indian womanhood, whose name was now widely known and honoured and who combined in himself the best in the Eastern and Western civilisations. The reformer was sent for by the Governor-General under such circumstances; but he was not till then aware of the steel elements in the make-up of this man of so kindly a disposition. What the Sanskrit poet has said was the true Ram Mohun—"his heart was softer than a flower but at the same time harder than the thunderbolt." § The incident is told by Dr. Macdonald of the Calcutta Presbyterian Mission in his Lecture on Raja Ram Mohun Roy—

"Lord William Bentinck, the Governor-General, on hearing that he would likely receive considerable help from the Raja in suppressing the pernicious custom of widow-burning, sent one of his aide-de-camp to him, expressing his desire to see him. To this the Raja replied, 'I have now given up all worldly avocations and am engaged in religious culture and in the investigation of truth. Kindly express my humble respects to the Governor-General and inform him

* Life and Times Carey, Marshman and Word, p. 271. Heber's Journal (Abridged), p. 131.
† Sattee, p. 70.
§ Bhababhuti—Uttara-Rama-Charita.

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that I have no inclination to appear before his august presence and therefore I hope that he will kindly pardon me.' These words the aide-de-camp conveyed to the Viceroy who enquired, 'What did you say to Ram Mohun Roy?' The aide-de-camp replied, 'I told him that Lord William Bentinck, the Governor-General, would be pleased to see him.' The Governor-General answered, 'Go, back and tell him again that Mr. William Bentinck will be highly obliged to him if he will kindly see him once.' This the aide-de-camp did and Ram Mohun Roy could no longer refuse the urgent and polite request of his Lordship." *

It was a happy occasion when both these magnanimous men met on the common ground of their magnanimity. How appropriate to this episode are the lines of Kipling? "There is neither East nor West... when two strong men stand face to face." The unpopularity of the reformer on the low plane of competition among unsympathetic Britishers in India was much counter-balanced by the human attitude of Bentinck. The reformer's refusal to see him had something to do with the typical Anglo-Indian antagonism to his reforming activities and movement for freedom in general in every thing concerning life. His appeals against the Press Act had particularly brought him into conflict with them and their nascent Imperialism and this was increased by his open Letter on Education. A tinge of disappointment was produced in Ram Mohun, who was never daunted by failures but was probably embittered by the usual official procedure of the British. Miss Collet traces the affair to Ram Mohun's aversion to all showy court functions,† which were childish in his spiritual eyes. But the cause was certainly deeper and yet when Bentinck approached him as a man, he gladly accepted him as 'a man for all that,' for 'deep called unto deep' in both. The *India Gazette* of 27th July, 1829, gave an official version of the incident, which is almost beyond recognition—It is as follows—

"An eminent native philanthropist, who has long taken the lead of his countrymen in this great question, has been encouraged to submit his views of it in a written form, and has been subsequently honoured with an audience by the Governor-General, who, we learn, has expressed his anxious desire to put an end to a custom constituting so foul a blot."§

The editors of the *Gazette*, as usual with Government officers, had the capacity, if required, of seeing Helen's beauty in Egypt's brow, but they failed in this case to perceive and realise the mighty heart-beats of these two men whose meeting they tried to describe but really spoiled its epic character with elements of court sycophancy. The *Gazette* went on to advise that the Government could choose between three alternatives in dealing with Sati, viz, (1) strict application of existing regulations, (2) suppression in Bengal and Behar, or (3) total abolition in the provinces.

The result of the meeting between Bentinck and Ram Mohun is recorded in the Governor-General's minute of 8, Nov., 1829. The reformer was always cautious like a consummate statesman in everything he said or did, and the same quality is revealed in his advice to Lord William Bentinck. He pointed out the possibility of popular excitement, if drastic measures were suddenly introduced. This danger was also feared by Mr. Horace Wilson, the Sanskrit Scholar, and Bentinck's minute could not but take into account —

"I must acknowledge that a similar opinion as to the probable excitation of a deep distrust of our future intentions was mentioned to me in conversation by that enlightened native Ram Mohun Roy, a warm advocate for the ablition of Sati and all other superstitions and corruptions engrafted on the Hindu religion, which he considers originally to have been a pure Deism. It was his opinion that the practice might be suppressed quietly and unobservedly by increasing the difficulties and by the indirect agency of the police. He apprehended that any public enactment would give rise to public apprehension and the reasoning would be: 'while the English were contending for power they deemed it politic to allow universal toleration and to respect our religion, but having obtained the supremacy their first act is a violation of their profession and the next will probably be, like the Mahammadan conquerors, to force upon us their own religion.'*

Miss Collet thinks that this cautious advice was due to Ram Mohun's "constitutional aversion to coercion."† This is quite true; but another side of the truth lies in the fact that the reformer's method went deeper, as he tried to remove the cause by enlightening the national mind. He wanted to root out and not simply to stop the evil, a principle not understood by Dr. Thompson in his book on Sati** It was also noticed that the Lower Provinces showed more cases of Sati than the Upper, Calcutta

* Lecture on Raja Ram Mohun Roy, Calcutta 1879.
† Collet, p. 146.
§ Collet, p. 146.

* Ibid. p. 147.
† Collet, p. 147.
§ Sutta, p. 78

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alone accounting for 287 out of 464 cases in the year 1828. Yet the Lower Provinces were more submissive and less sturdy, and "insurrection or hostile opposition," according to the reformer, would be almost unimaginable and impossible in this field, unlike the Upper Provinces where danger would be probable to a certain extent. "But as the faculty of resistance had all but died out of the chief practisers of Sati, their apprehensions and suspicions might be safely disregarded."* This hint was, of course, enough for a strong man of action of Bentinck's type, who on 4th Dec., 1829, did away with Sati altogether by passing the Anti-Sati Regulation, which declared the rite illegal and consequently criminal and punishable as an offence against law. Its preamble showed distinct traces of Ram Mohun's influence and of thought drawn from his writings on Sati. The following lines bear unmistakable resemblance to passages in the two *Conferences on Sati* and were certainly taken out of them.

"The practice of Sati, or of burning and burying alive the widows of Hindus is revolting to the feelings of human nature; it is nowhere enjoined by the religion of the Hindus as an imperative duty; on the contrary, a life of purity and retirement on the part of the widows is more specially and preferably inculcated . . . It is notorious that in many instances acts of atrocity have been perpetrated which have been shocking to the Hindus themselves and in their eyes unlawful and wicked . . . and the Governor-General in Council is deeply impressed with the conviction that the abuses in question cannot be effectively put an end to without abolishing the practice altogether."†

The phrases, ideas, and accepted arguments can leave no doubt that Bentinck was fully convinced by Ram Mohun and read the reformer's works quite carefully. Dr. Thompson's conclusion has gone rather too wide of the mark respecting the reformer's share in this momentous decision.§

Miss Collet has observed that "but for the researches and agitation carried on by Ram Mohun, it is a question whether this preamble could have been written at all".** It is certain that the authority of Hindu sacred Law quoted by Bentinck would have had no influence on the people, had not the ground been thoroughly prepared by the reformer and "the truth driven home" by his writings in books and newspapers and through his speeches and conversations. * After all Lord Hastings did not wait in vain. The fight had to be well fought before any effect could be produced on the Indian mind of the time, so as to make the suppression and abolition possible and safe. Both these stalwart champions deserve the everlasting gratitude of the nation for their bold stand and strong action. And indeed "there ought to have been by now", as said by Akashay Kumar Dutt, "a statue of Ram Mohun beside that of Bentinck in the Calcutta Maidan." † Under their lead a more obnoxious evil than slave trade was removed from India three years before slavery was finally abolished in England through the labours of Wilberforce and Buxton.

What happened in the wake of the abolition of Sati may be easily summarised from the newspapers of the time' for never was the orthodox Hindu community prepared to let it go without remonstrance. The orthodox were very much shocked and their organ, the *Samachara Chandrika* raised a great outcry over it. According to the *India Gazette* of November of that year a petition against it was hatched post haste. Ram Mohun's paper, the *Sambad Kaumudi*, which had already wielded its strong pen against Sati, supported the action of the Government and was followed by another liberal paper the *Banga Dut. The Asiatic Journal* § said that the authorities had taken action after proper consideration and sure conviction, and in fact, when it asserted that the majority of Indian opinion was solidly against the practice, it only attested to the journalistic activities of the reformer during the past years in creating a public sentiment against the inhuman character of the rite based on the best findings of Hindu Law itself. Ram Mohun was highly praised by the *Indian Gazette* just five months before the Anti-Sati enactment** for his efforts in this respect and his services were fully and gratefully acknowledged. Dr. Thompson seems to have partially failed to notice this incident and its significance.

The India Gazette expected that the liberal papers would be able to set right the mis-

* *Ibid.* p, 148.
† *Ibid.* p. 149.
§ Suttee, p. 77
** *Ibid.* 149.

* R. M. R. and Modern India p. 6.
† Chatterjee, R. M. R. p. 523.
§ Collet, p. 150.
** Chatterjee R, M. R. p. 362.

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conceptions among the less educated sections of the community. But this was not to be. On the 14th January, 1830, the orthodox leaders drew up a petition against the Act of abolition signed by eight hundred inhabitants of Calcutta, and they went so far as to say that the Governor-General was misled by renegade Hindus, meaning, of course, Ram Mohun and his followers. Another small petition was appended to it, with the signatures of one hundred and twenty Pandits, to show that Sati was a religious duty and that the Governor-General and his Council were arrogating to themselves "the difficult task of regulating the conscience of a whole people." * A third petition had three hundred and forty-six signatures of "respectable persons" from the interior of the country, with that of twenty-eight Pandits. Counter representations became necessary in the face of such facts and one was forthwith presented to Bentinck by the Christian inhabitants of Calcutta with eight hundred signatures just two days after the last orthodox representation. Ram Mohun himself sent another, which had three hundred signatures, including those of his well-known friends. Ram Chandra Vidyabagish, the preacher of the Brahmo Samaj, could not sign this application for fear of molestation from the Hindus. † Ram Mohun himself was threatened with loss of life for his supposed anti-Hindu action, but he all along retained a calm and persevering patience, like that of Wilberforce under similar conditions. At last Bentinck had to allow the orthodox to appeal to the King in Council, if they thought the decision of the Governor-General and his Council was unsatisfactory. This was done at once and Ram Mohun had to expedite his departure in order to be in England in time to fight the cause of Indian womanhood. The public address presented to Bentinck by the reformer and his friends expressed "the deepest gratitude and utmost reverence." for the service rendered by him to the country through his courageous and determined action.

On the day following (7th January 1830) an orthodox organisation called the *Dharma Sabha* (Religious Society) was formed, as a counter-blast in opposition to the Brahmo Samaj of Ram Mohun, which was the representative of progressive views. Many rich persons joined it, so that a sum of Rs. 11,260 was subscribed quite easily. Its aim was to counteract Brahmo influence, and to outcast from society any who did not adhere to Hindu rites A permanent house for it was in contemplation but did not materialise. They said, "they would crush the Brahmo Samaj as a fisherwoman crushes a small fish under her thumb." * Only six days after the foundation of this Sabha the new building of the Brahmo Samaj was consecrated, its Trust Deed having been executed only a fortnight ago. It is said that Raja Radha Kanta Deb was the leader of the Dharma Sabha.

In 1830 the reformer brought out an *Abstract of the Arguments* against Sati, as a rejoinder to arouse public interest and attention.

The Raja's departure from India had to be expedited for two considerations of a pressing nature. The first was the renewal of the East India Company's Charter, and the second, the petition of the infuriated pro-Sati Hindus, which proved unavailing. He felt he would be able to use his influence to counteract these machinations, and place before the authorities in England reasonable grounds to mould their judgments in favour of the cause of India. On the 8th January he informed the Governor-General of his contemplated voyage and the title given him by the Moghul Emperor, as well as the position of an envoy together with a seal specially made for that purpose at Delhi. He wrote to Bentinck:—

"I beg leave to submit to your Lordship···that His Majesty has appraised your Lordship of my appointment of his Elchee (envoy) to the Court of Great Britain and of his having been pleased to invest me as His Majesty's Servant with the title of Raja in consideration of the respectability attached to that situation···Not being anxious for titular distinction, I have hitherto refrained from availing myself of the honour conferred on me by His Majesty···I therefore take the liberty of laying the subject before your Lordship, hoping that you will be pleased to sanction my adoption of such title accordingly···consisting with former usage as established by a Regulation of Government on the subject in 1827."†

The Government of course did not sanction the title nor recognise the appointment. On 15th June 1830 the reply was sent through Mr. Stirling, Secretary to the Government. The heir-apparent of Delhi brought some false charges against the Raja but this did not

* Ibid p. 151.
† Tattvabodhini Patrika, Asvin 1769, sak.

* Collet, p. 152.
† R. M. R.'s Mission, pp. 14-15.

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produce any effect like the legal proceedings of the Raja of Burdwan. But Ram Mohun became suspicious lest the Indian Government should refuse him a pass-port and hence he decided to proceed to England as a private individual divesting himself of all public character and capacity. * The very day after the receipt of the refusal from the Government the reformer took the lead in presenting a congratulatory address to Bentinck for passing the Sati Act. Miss Collet says "the rebuff did not hinder Ram Mohun from appearing at the Governor-General's with the Anti-Sati address of congratulation." † Indeed, he was too big for such common feelings which might cross the mind of ordinary people.

* Ibid. pp. 19-20.

† Collet, p. 166.

SIGNIFICANCE OF BARDOLI

BY RANGILDAS M. KAPADIA

NOW that the Bardoli Campaign is over, one can take an dispassionate review of the movement at this distance of time without the least fear of prejudicing the import thereof. As one who has taken part, though a very insignificant one, in the campaign, I had the occasion to watch the movement in its different stages, the slow and steady evolution of the struggle from a modest beginning to the important aspect it assumed as the days rolled on. I feel, we are yet far from fully realising the true significance of the movement. Our reading of it to-day cannot be perfect and yet one may attempt, howsoever humbly, to see and find out through the process a true genesis thereof.

To the people of Bardoli the campaign at first was but a constitutional effort to vindicate and get redressed their just and legitimate grievance against questionable enhancement in the assessment of their land. It was nothing more than a mere resistance against the executive fiat of an irresponsible bureaucracy. And so really it was when a handful of leaders from the Taluka in early February approached the indefatigable Suba of Gujarat to come over to Bardoli and give them a lead. The Sardar too, all through, was modest enough not to claim for his movement a greater significance than this. But it must be admitted, as has been both by the adverse critics and sympathetic admirers, that the Bardoli Satyagraha had a much greater and a much wider significance than what its promoters claimed for it. When the All-Party Conference was under session in Bombay, May last, Pandit Matilalji, while speaking on the main resolution of the day (there was much ado about nothing over the so-called constitution-making), spoke at length on the import and significance of framing a constitution as a retort to Birkenhead's bluff. A friend sitting near by remarked that constitutions were not made by pious resolutions at conferences, the real constitution was being framed by Vallabbhai Patel at Bardoli. And this was the real significance of Bardoli. The eventual victory of the popular Will over an ultra obdurate and obstinate officialdom fully justifies to-day the poignant remarks of that friend. The world has given its verdict that in fighting that small yet heroic constitutional battle against the arbitrary executive decree, Sjt. Patel was making history, not for Gujarat only, but for India.

It was not for the first time that the nature of the land revenue system of this Government was brought home to us in Bardoli. The agriculturist of India was groaning under this crushing and soulless system for years, so much so that he had bent down and been impoverished to his utmost capacity. And yet there was no united and organised effort to either thwart the process of ruination or to avert it. Bardoli furnished that one illuminating instance of an organised and concentrated action on the part of the agriculturists, dumb and down-

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trodden, illiterate toilers of land, bent down double under the weight of an unnatural land revenue enforced upon them by an alien rule without their sanction to do so. It was not that they had cultivated a class consciousness so much as that they felt the weight of the burden imposed. The class consciousness, the new spirit and awakening were I believe, all later phases of this momentuous fight. The Kunbi agriculturist of Bardoli hardly had an idea of the potential powers lying dormant in him. Nor had he ever acquired the knowledge, either from book or from heresay, that his brother in the other part of the globe by force of a consolidated action and organised effort had been able to bring down to dust the crown of the mightiest autocrat the world had ever seen, the CZAR of all the Russias. The Government may well to-day under these circumstances thank themselves for this phase—rousing the class consciousness in the agriculturist of Bardoli and as a matter of that of Gujarat and India. The echoes of Bardoli have by now reached the remotest and most isolated parts of the land and Government with all the forces at its command will not be able to stem the tide of this wave. Both the peasantry and workers have fully realised that if they were to unite, educate, organise and agitate, they could bend down even a hard "steel frame".

The second great good that Bardoli did to the country is the full realisation of the efficacy of the weapon of Satyagraha and practicability of mass action. Since Gandhiji abandoned Satyagraha in 1922 at Bardoli, people were gradually losing all confidence in the efficacy of this weapon. If they did not take Gandhiji and his method of non-violent coercion as exotic, they at least treated it as a highly unpractical and impracticable proposition. Even the campaign at Bardoli from the day it was launched right upto the end of April was not taken so seriously by the country at large and was even ridiculed by some of our sagacious politicians. The peasants of the Taluka had exhausted all constitutional means at their disposal—they had petitioned, they had sought redress through the members of the Council, the so-called accredited representatives of the people in the provincial legislature. But to a Government which could ill-brook even a gesture of protest, one demand for a departmental re-inquiry into what they (the people) believed to be an unjust increment in the assessment was unacceptable. The Government left to the people no other alternative but to gather their forces and try the erstwhile neglected weapon of SATYAGRAHA.

Borsad, Kaira, Nagpur, and Petlad were no doubt milestones on the way to Swaraj and yet inspite of them sceptics were not wanting. Besides, the political horizon of the country was eclipsed by clouds of communal strifes. Bardoli under the circumstances came as a harmonising balm to an ailing Indian populace. It turned many a sceptic into a confirmed optimist. Many came there to scoff and parted to bless the movement. A day in the land of those heroic and brave peasants, an hour in the midst of the "amazons" of Bardoli, the undaunted and heroic womanfolk of the Taluka who reminded one of the Kshatriya woman-warriors of yore, a short ramble into the deserted streets of a village there, were enough to drive even a sneaking "loyalist" into a sturdy Non-Co-operationist. Munshi comes there a thorough constitutionalist, many believed, prudently to make amends or atone for his sins of commission and omission in the University Bill bungle; goes to a village with a Bombay Counsel's searching and vigilant eye, says after an hour's minute cross-examination, that he could have visualised all that from his chambers in Bombay, attends a meeting in the evening and witnesses with a bewildering look the scenes of how the ladies in hundreds received their Sardar, how they worshipped him with Kumkum and flowers, how fearlessly they sang what the *Times of India* correspondent described as seditious songs, and lo, Munshi, the erstwhile constitutionalist, is soon disillusioned! "Heroism he could not come across even after a minute search through the pages of the history of medieval Gujarat he found roaming from door to door in Bardoli." Bardoli to him today is a living epic of the age. This purifying atmosphere was all through conspicuous and the unprecedented success was the direct outcome thereof. Their sufferings and hardships the people of Bardoli never minded. Their Sardar had taught them to die and die bravely. They had learnt thoroughly the *Mantra* of their Master.

Another striking significance of the movement that compelled attention even of the critics was the people's readiness for any amount of sacrifice and an admirable sense of service. Thousands that visited Bardoli—it was almost a place of pilgrimage to a few

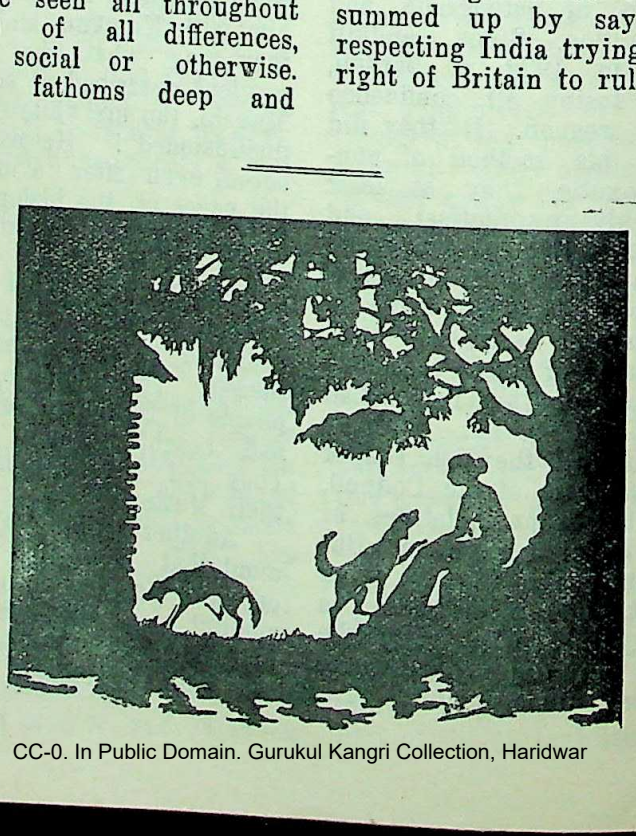
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hundred daily--during the struggle, carried this contagion home to serve them in times of need. Though the volunteers were comparatively few in number, when questioned as to their total strength, I once told a friend they were 80,000 strong. That explained how so rapidly the news used to spread from one place to another, perhaps more rapidly than the telegraphic service could flash them around. Every one felt that he was doing something and that for a noble purpose. An order is issued at the Headquarters and within an hour or two you find that it reaches the farthest corner of the Taluka. This trained and disciplined band of soldiers made it possible for Sj. Patel to terminate the historic episode so splendidly. Of course Sj. Patel's sagacity, wonderful power of organisation, admirable coolness of head, a marvellous clear-headedness and a grit for prompt action could in no way be less credited for the attainment of victory. This trained, disciplined army of volunteers will be another tangible gift of Bardoli to Gujarat. That Bardoli in this sense has paved the way for future struggles in and out of Gujarat cannot be denied. This revolt of the peasants will serve like a beacon light when the country someday in the near future launches upon a much greater campaign for freedom from British domination.

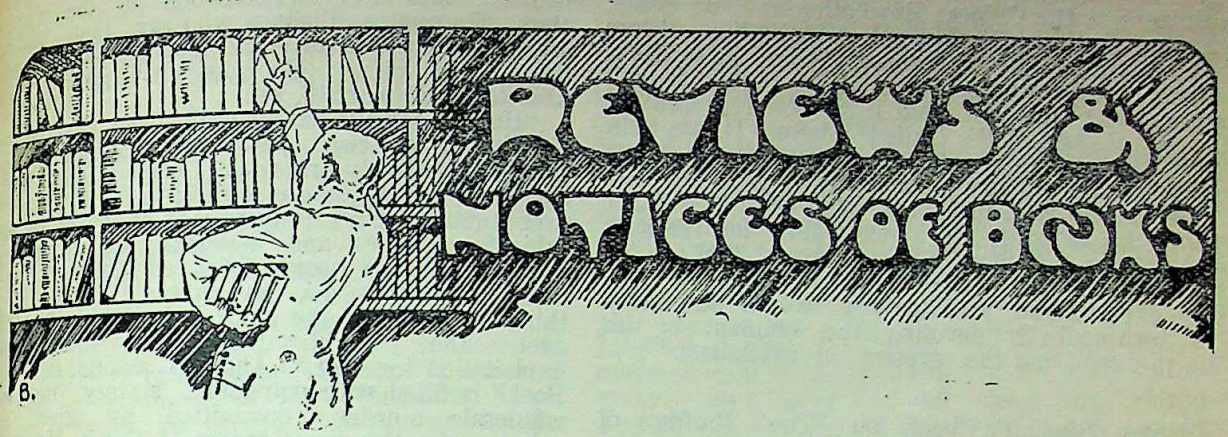
Another very happy feature of the campaign was to be seen all throughout in the disappearance of all differences, communal, political, social or otherwise. They were all sunk fathoms deep and an unseen equality, equality between the Shaukar and the farmer, the rich and the poor, the Brahmin and the Untouchable, the Ujjaliat and the Raniparaj was the rule of the day. In the whole Taluka there was not even a shadow of litigation; not that there were no differences or quarrels but then everybody under the serene, purifying atmosphere thought it to be too criminal to resort to a Court of Law to get the differences settled. Even after the ending of the struggle the people of the Taluka and the District have applied themselves to the more onerous task of social emancipation and reconstruction work. They want to avail themselves of the general awakening born of the struggle. The struggle itself was a passing phase, mere spade work. The real work comes on now. And we find it there in the birth of the Prohibition League, with that restless, indefatigable soul, Mithuben Petit, as the moving spirit. Mammoth meetings are being held in villages; and villages after villages are pledging themselves to the vow of running dry. The hitherto slumbering castes have awakened to work out a scheme of social reforms for the amelioration of their generation. It is by this constructive piece of work that the future generations will value the merits or otherwise of the Bardoli struggle. It has ended and yet it just begins.

The significance of Bardoli thus can be summed up by saying that it was self-respecting India trying to challenge the moral right of Britain to rule her destiny.



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[*Books in the following languages will be noticed: Assamese, Bengali, English, French, German Gujarati, Hindi, Italian, Kanarese, Malayalam, Marathi, Nepali, Oriya, Portuguese, Punjabi, Sindhi Spanish, Tamil, Telugu and Urdu. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books and their annotations, pamphlets and leaflets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., will not be noticed. The receipt of books received for review will not be acknowledged, nor any queries relating thereto answered. The review of any book is not guaranteed. Books should be sent to our office, addressed to the Assamese Reviewer, the Hindi Reviewer, the Bengali Reviewer, etc., according to the language of the books. No criticism of book-reviews and notices will be published.—Editor, M. R.*]

ENGLISH

COMMUNISM AND CHRISTIANISM: *By Bishop Wm. M. Brown, D. D., Bradford-Brown Educational Co., Galion, Ohio, U. S. A. 251 pp. Price 35 cents, paper. Cloth $1.10, postage paid.*

THE PROFITS OF RELIGION:—*By Upton Sinclair. Vanguard Press, 80 Fifth Avenue, New York City, 247 pp. Price 60 cents, postage paid.*

RELIGION AND THE SOVIETS: *By Prof. Julius F. Hecker. Vanguard Press, 80 Fifth Avenue. New York City. 207 pp. Price 60 cents, postage paid.*

Bishop Brown's book is a remarkable document as one may well expect. For it was upon this book that he was tried for heresy by and expelled from the House of Episcopal Bishops in the United States. As he says in one place—"at the age of 66, when I was being tried for heresy, I was half dead. Now look at me! That was 6 years ago. In these 6 years I have lived more than I did in the 66 years before. If I can only induce the United States Government to try me for sedition, for Communism, I think I would live to be as old as Methuselah!"

Bishop Brown is now a famous man, at least in the so-called Christian world. Since he was tried for heresy, he has had calls for lectures from one end of United States to the other, and his books have sold by the hundreds of thousands, while the gentlemen who tried him now sit and stew in their own juice and you cannot pay people to read their books.

To Bishop Brown, Jesus Christ was a social revolutionary who was murdered because of his revolutionary teachings against the system of his time. He was a Jewish criminal, crucified like any other ordinary criminal. The "best people" of the time, the "respectable" people were certain that he was an ordinary agitator and "ought to be hung" just like "respectable", "best families" think of "agitators," "extremists" and Communists of to-day. Were Jesus to walk on earth, he would at least fall under Sections 121 and 124 A of the Indian Penal Code. That is being mild, for he would undoubtedly be hanged to-day like an ordinary criminal as he was 1928 years ago.

Bishop Brown is a Marxist. He was past 60 when he began to study Marxism and learned that he had spent the best part of his life doing what he calls preachihg lies. His book on "Communism and Christianism" is a Marxist document, a passionate outpouring of a man who has passed through hell searching for the truth and trying to read just himself to it.

His faith in the institution of the church that he had given his life to, vanished. He says:

"Happily, where faith went out, courage came in, and it increased with my desparation until (though standing on the shore of death where the deep and unknown stream lies darkly between the present and the future) I could and I did undertake the supreme task of my life—the breaking of the chains by which I was bound as a slave to the degrading superstition that I was, both by an inherited and cultivated disposition, a doomed man, and by an inherent weakness, a helpless one with no power to emancipate myself. Of such enslaving chains I mention three among the strongest, the severed links of which, with those of all the rest, now lie scattered about me; (1) the chain of the fear of God; (2) the chain of the fear of the devil, and (3) the chain of the fear of man ... ... There is only one fear which saves, and that is the fear of ignorance ... The world's saviour-god is knowledge. There is no other Christ on earth or in any heaven above it, and this one lives, moves and has his being in the fear of ignorance."

Apart from the book on which Bishop Brown was tried for heresy, this volume contains some of his latest lectures—one on "Evolution and Revolution" (his defense of revolution); "The Heresy Problem," in which he reviews his own trial, ending with something like this: "In the Middle Ages. when one was tried for heresy people shuddered; to-day—we just laugh." A lecture of deepest interest is on "The Chinese Problem,"—

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a defense of the Chinese Revolution and an attack on the American policy of intervention. "Ours is a representative government," he says; "It is always representing someone. I am certain it isn't representing me, and that it is not representing the vast masses of the United States. If we can solve the problem of whom it is representing, we can solve the problem of murder."

When you read this book, you say: "Well, of course, he is guilty of heresy! May he live long and prosper and commit heresy every day of his life. May he live long—this grand old man who has exposed and attacked the church and saved his own soul by devoting the remnant of his life to destroying the system of capitalism."

. . .

Upton Sinclair's book on "The Profits of Religion" is an admirable answer to those who speak of the "Prophets of Religion." For he gives facts and figures—heaping them up sky-high—to show how "Prophets" have meant "profits." His attack is on the Christian religion and church, but this is only because he knows them better. Were he a Muslim or a Hindu he would have exposed their practices and their intimate connection with the ruling classes and financial interests.

Sinclair's analysis of the various freak religions or cults that have sprung up in America during the past few years is admirable. His analysis of the Church of England—he spent much time in England studying church institutions—is likewise most admirable. He shows among other things the intimate relationship between the Church of England and the British ruling class and government. We learn that "seven men own practically all the land of the city and county of London, and collect tribute from 7 millions of people. . . . The tribute which London pays is more than a $100 million a year." In reply to those Englishmen who welcome his exposure of American corruption, he proves that English corruption is just as widespread and devastating.

"The fact is that the new men in England, the lords of coal and iron and shipping and beer, have bought their way in to the landed aristocracy for cash, just as our American senators have done; they have bought the political parties with campaign gifts, precisely as in America; they have taken over the press, whether by outright purchase like Northcliffe, or by advertising subsidy both of which methods we Americans know ... and not merely is this the same class of men as in America, it frequently consists of the same individuals. These are the big money-lenders, the international financiers who are the fine and final flower of the capitalist system. These gentlemen make the world their home—or, as Shakespeare puts it, their oyster."

Then he proceeds to show how the church, with all its bishops and what-not are a part of this system, willing and loyal agents of it, blood of its blood and bone of its bone. How this class has, through its priestly agents given its "sacred" sanction to one system of spoliation after another, fighting progress overy step of the way, such as free public education, the abolition movement against serfdom and then against Negro slavery; the freedom of subjected countries and peoples; and the emancipation of the working class. He quotes Bishops who say that "famines are caused by God to teach the poor to be grateful to the rich." He quotes a Catholic priest in America who, in 1910, said:

"Human society has its orgin from God and is constituted of two classes, the rich and the poor, which respectively represent capital and labour. Hence it follows that according to the ordinance of God, human society is composed of superiors and subjects, masters and servants, learned and unlettered, rich and poor, nobles and plebeians."

In another place, he says, "It is a curious thing to observe—the natural instinct which, all over the world, draws Superstition and exploitation together." And he asserts, the "Holy Book" is filled with polygamy, slavery, rape, and wholesale murder, committed by priests and rulers under the direct orders of God." He quotes William Lloyd Garrison that great American who gave his life in fighting Negro slavery:

"American Christianity is the main pillar of American slavery", and another abolitionist as saying, "We had almost to abolish the Church before we could reach the dreadful institution at all."

But Upton Sinclair defends Jesus Christ, and holds that the church and its professionals who profit from it today are exploiters who pervert the doctrines of Jesus. "Jesus, as we have pointed out, was a carpenter's son," he says, "a thoroughly class-conscious proletarian. He denounced the exploiters of his own time with ferocious bitterness, he drove the money-changers out of the temple with whips, and he finally died the death of a common criminal.....Beyond all question, the supreme irony of history is the use which has been made of Jesus of Nazareth as the Head God of this blood-thirsty system; it is cruelty beyond all language, a blasphemy beyond the power of art to express. Read the man's words, furious as those of any modern agitator that I have heard in twenty years of revolutionary experience."

In this book, portraying the Christian Church as the servant and henchmen of Big Business, Hindus and Muslims may rejoice. But what about their own religious institutions, resting upon the ignorance of the people? Upton Sinclair is an honest man; there are few such in the east or the west. I personally disagree with his defense of Jesus, because the teachings of Jesus are so wound up with the systems of exploitation and slavery throughout the ages that it is a waste of time to try and separate them. The so-called followers of Jesus have, in his name, taught Indian converts to Christianity to despise their own people and land to support a system of political slavery. What they have done in India they have done in every other land under the sun. There is no need to waste time over Jesus today; men just as good, just as great, live in our midst giving their lives in the struggle against the things that make life on this earth a hell. These men and women today do not teach their followers to "render unto Caesar what is Caesar's", nor do they teach them that, in order to reach a land of happiness they have to lie down and die. Our new morality is not one of submission, but of freedom; not one of suffering but of joy; not of faith, but of reason; not of inaction, but of development; not of self-destruction, but of a joyous life of love and freedom.

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Indians would do well to read this book, if for nothing else but to study the methods used by Sinclair. The book is cheap—one of the Vanguard Press volumes published so cheaply that no profit is made. It is worth a thousand times more than it costs.

The last-listed book is a study of religion in Russia before, during and after the Russian Revolution. It is a scholarly volume, written by a Professor of Social Ethics in the Moscow Theological Academy today.

Most of us have but the faintest, most general idea of the Church in Russia, or of the role played by the Greek Orthodox Church before, during and after the Revolution. This work is thorough, by no means a propaganda volume. It is one of the twelve volumes of the Vanguard Press admirable series on Soviet Russia, no similar study has yet been published. Through it we see how the Orthodox Church in Russia was, not only in its teachings, but in its system of organization, an actual part of the State machinery of Czarist Russia. Above the Holy Synod managing the Church was the High procurator, representing the Czar, whose duty it was to see that the affairs or the Church were carried on in conformity with the imperial decrees. He was responsible to no one but the Czar. Military men were preferred as High Procurators, and many military men—booted and spurred,—held this position.

We learn also that the priests worked in the closest harmony with the Russian Secret Service, and the confessional was used for spying purposes. More than 10,000 school teachers alone were imprisoned or sent into exile due to the espionage work of the priests.

During the Revolution the Church, true to its tradition of black reaction, not only threw all its weight against the Revolution, but it actually worked with the various Czarist armies of invasion. During the terrible famine when the Government decided to take a part of the gold and precious stones in the churches—treasures taken by committees of churchmen and used only for the relief of dying people—the church fought again, ferociously. Their wealth, lying unused, was considered of more value than the thousands of dying men, women and children.

This little volume also gives an account of the laws, promulgated by the Soviet Government, by which the Church and State was separated, the Church deprived of all financial support from the State, deprived of control over schools, and deprived of its vast estates. In other words, the Soviet Government cut the economic foundation from under the Church, but told it to exist if its spiritual appeal was not just based upon its wealth. The Government took action against the heads of the Church only when they openly waged war on the Government and united with the Czarists. A number of leading church authorities, convicted of espionage and counter-revolution, were, of course, shot. Others were given an opportunity to read just their ideas in prison, and to learn to work.

Here is also an account of the development of the "Living Church", under young and progressive priests, during and after the Revolution. These men were not opposed to the Revolution, but regarded it as the beginning of a new life for the Russian people, and the opportunity for the Church to show that it stood, not for reaction and counter-revolution, but for progress and revolution. The struggle within the Church between the young, revolutionary priests, and the old orthodox reactionaries, is brilliantly outlined. In the meantime, the Soviet Government watched and listened. The attitude of the ruling party, the Communists, is also well-developed, together with the intensive educational and propaganda work of the Communists against religion. There are very interesting chapters, the many sects and relegious groupings within the Union, and also, one on the "The Religious Tragedy of the Intellectual Class in Russia" in which a study is made of such religious leaders as Tolstoy, Dostoievsky, Merezukovsky, and Berdyaev. The last chapter on "To be or not to be" is an excellent picture of the forces at work to-day within the Soviet Union. On the one hand, we see absolute religious liberty, and a straight denial of the freakish tales about the attacks of the Soviet Government upon religion. Since the Revolution, many new sects and denominations have begun work although these were formerly suppressed by the Czarist regime because they competed with the Orthodox Greek Church. In fact, after studying the activities of the Church before and during the Revolution, one is constantly amazed at the leniency and tolerence, of the Soviet Government. The activities of the Church were sufficient to entitle it to be levelled to the dust along with other rotten institutions.

We may close by quoting the Communist attitude towards religion, as given in the books—

"The future, he (the Communist) believes, belongs to the materialist philosophy, according to which all things, visible or invisible, tangible or spiritual, including man, are an expression of cosmic energy or matter. Man cannot be separated from the planet upon which he lives; he must determine his own destiny; he cannot expect any help from gods or demons; he is his own God and is master or slave of nature. There are no other lives to come for him and therefore he must make the most of *this life* upon *this earth*. His means are science and co-operative toil and his goal is beauty and the good life, where there is no exploitation of wealth and no privileged class, but where all races live and work in co-operation with each other for the common good. Religion, he believes, is a reactionary phenomenon inherited from the period in the history of man when he was helpless in the struggle against nature and lived in an imaginary world of fear and baseles hopes. Historically, religion has been one of the chief weapons in the exploitation of classes and in the oppression of the poor, of which the Czarist regime is a most glaring example."

Agnes Smedley

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MAHATMA GANDHI: *Romain Rolland, Century Co., New York.*

GANDHI THE APOSTLE; *Haridas Mozumdar. Universal Pub. Co., Chicago.*

INDIA IN FERMENT: *C. H. Van Tyne, Appleton and Co., New York.*

MAHATMA GANDHI AN ESSAY; *Gray and Parekh, Association Press, Calcutta.*

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GANDHI AND NON-VIOLENT RESISTANCE; *Blanche Watson, Ganesh and Co., Madras.*

GANDHI: VOICE OF THE NEW REVOLUTION: *Blanche Watson, Saraswaty Co., Calcutta.*

THE CHRIST OF INDIA; *John Haynes Holmes. Tagore and Co., Madras.*

YOUNG INDIA; *Gandhi, Huebsch. New York.*

Mahatma Gandhi of India, widely called the greatest living figure of our day and age, has already been the subject of many biographies, all of which prove his right to be called "Hero-in-Action" (Karma-Vira), as they prove, too, the validity of the title *Mahatma* (Great Soul). Not the least impressive part of this body of Gandhiana is that made up of magazine articles which have appeared literally in all parts of the world in publications representing every possible shade of religious and political opinion, beginning with the one by Gilbert Murray, which appeared in the Hibbert Journal in 1917, a ray of white light projected into the darkness of that awful period. This biographical record is being written today in many languages, and the volume is surprising in view of the fact that barring that excellent "Life of Gandhi" by Rev. J. E. Doke written during Gandhi's South African period—the greater part of it has appeared during the years between 1921 and 1924.

As a preliminary to the more comprehensive biographies, came in 1921, "*Gandhi: Voice of the New Revolution*," by the review described by an Indian as "a fresh, stirring and authentic account of the first year of non-co-operation and "The Christ of To-day," a reprint by a Madras firm, of Rev. John Haynes Holmes to sermons, 'Who is the Greatest Man in the World Today" and "The Spiritual Significance of the Non-coperation Movement". These sermons, preached at the Community Church, New York, have been considerably read in pamphlet form in this country. In the year 1923 appeared two books of antithetical character, "*Gandhi The Apostle* by Haridas Muzumdar, and "*India in Ferment*" by Claude H. Van Tyne. To anyone who has any sort of an understanding of the situation in India since 1919, when the massacre of Amritsar startled the civilized world, the admixture of truth—all too often carefully distorted to suit the author's obvious bias—near-truth and flagrant untruth gossip, sophistry and irrelevant facts make the latter book as vicious a thing as was ever put between two covers. The hardly concealed contempt for things Indian that pervades the volume; the author's prefatory recognition of obligation for the "guiding hand" of the British governmental officials during the 5,000 miles of travel in that upset and unhappy land, together with his frank admission of sympathy with the "bureaucrats" rather than with the "superstition, religious fanaticism of the people of the country is a hall-mark of prejudice that one can neither ignore nor misunderstand. The comment of *The Bombay Chronicle* that "all doors were open to to Mr. Van Tyne but that he opened the wrong ones" should be borne in mind by all who take this book in their hands.

Muzumdar's Gandhi the Apostle is admittedly pro-Indian, but that does not make it untruthful or even biased. A book that could be described by a excitable Englishman of imperialistic bent, as sane and satisfactory presentation of a difficult situation, and by another, as "sarprisingly fair, don't you know" surely merits the consideration one gives to an accurate and dispassionate study. It is in truth more of a study of the author's great compatriot, than a biography. It is prefaced by a Panorama of Indian history which furnishes an illuminating and informative background for what a prominent Chicago critic called one of the most absorbing life stories ever written. That a well known German house has chosen this work for publication is a tribute not to be overlooked. One cannot read the record here set down without feeling with the writer that "spiritual forces of incalculable strength, generated by the non-cooperation movement and today permeating the national life of India, are bound to secure her a place in the forefront of the nations, and thus help (her) realize pristine glory." As a careful student of Indian affairs the reviewer would testify to Muzumdar's transparent sincerity and extraordinary adherence to fact. His is a book to be trusted.

Then appeared in 1924, the book that the world had been awaiting, *Mahatma Gandhi* a translation from the French of Romain Rolland's three essays which had appeared the previous year. "The combination of these two names, one as subject and the other as author," said Mr. Holmes, "was like the conjunction of two planets." Dr. J. T. Sunderland, one of the first to write of Gandhi in this country, said of the book:

> "One cannot in any degree do justice to the exquisite comprehension of the Gandhi philosophy which M. Rolland manifests, or to the intuitional character and the beauty and clarity of its presentation."

The great French pacifist perceives the fact which many utterly fail to grasp, that non-cooperation—the refusal to assist in the perpetuation of evil—is even more, a positive constructive force creating in the Indian nation a new psychology and a new spirit. He sees that in Gandhi India has found itself, and that this finding of self has its roots in a great spiritul awakening. He understands that Gandhi—by means of the new-old dynamic of non-violence plus a "weapon" that touches the economic mainspring of the usurping government—has set the face of India toward freedom. "India had lost the power of saying 'no', and Gandhi has given it back to her. But this is not all. Romain Rolland tells us too that the Gandhi message is for the whole world.

"India alone could formulate (it) (he says) but this would mean little, if the surging spirit of Asia did not become the vehicle for a new ideal of life and of death, and what is more, of action for all humanity.

This, according to the author, of this heartening and altogether lovely book, is the revelation of Mahatma Gandhi.

Between the extremes of this great Frenchman's book and the American, Van Tyne's utterly untrustworthy volume, lies one—the result of the combined efforts of an Indian and an Englishman—wherein truth and fallacy, wisdom and sophistry are presented in about equal degree. *Mahatma Gandhi: An Essay* by Gray and Parekh is indeed a dual appreciation. In many respects it is scrupulously fair, in others it is undeniably misleading and unjust,—whether unconscious bias or with intent, one may not say. Facts are respected by these

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authors, often, but they are quite as often placed in strange company or set now in a softening, now in a magnifying light that is most confusing, sometimes all but concealing the real truth. The characterization of the truly Christ like Gandhi policy, for instance, as "mischievous," illustrates the latter point. A misleading thing is the naming of the Amritsar massacre, with its casualty list of something like 2,000 (if one accepts a mean between the Indian and the Government figures), as "disorder" and the Chauri Chaura riot—a sporadic affair which resulted in the death of but 21 policemen as "a shocking outbreak which horrified the country." The array of facts concerning this situation given in Appendix one, shows the duality of presentation that marks the entire book. Did the authors realize that some people do not read appendices?

Two conspicuous errors outmar this work. One is the unwillingness to realize that India is in revolution. This is very likely due to the antagonism of the Englishman. The other is the inability or the unwillingness to understand that India's loyalty to the British broke for good and all under the terrific strain of the Punjab horrors of 1919. This may well be the result of Mr. Parekh's astigmatism, in the enjoyment of which he has distinguished company. The charging to Gandhi's account of the violence that Indians have manifested in various parts of the country, instead of putting the blame of it where it belongs (as a hint in Appendix I might lead a careful reader to surmise what was true) on the Government with its repressive activity toward men whose only crime was working for the freedom of the land of their fathers,—this reversing of the truth, one may safely maintain, is rightly to be characterised as misleading and unjust. But, after all this has been said, there remains a need of sincere appreciation rendered to a great man whom the authors of this essay declare, wanted his people "to be morally supreme in the world." The reader will find in this volume a corroboration of a great deal that Haridas Muzumdar has said in Gandhi the Apostle, and a denial of much of the content and spirit of Mr. Van Tyne's 'India in Ferment.'

No review of biographical material about Gandhi would be complete without mention of the compilation "Gandhi and Non-violent Resistance (reviewed elsewhere in this issue), and "Young India," compiled to the extent of 1200 pages from the writings of Gandhi as set down in his little paper during the fateful years, with a Foreword by Rajendra Prasad. The latter is not a book about Mahatma Gandhi—it is the man himself; the former is contemporary Indian, English and American opinion concerning him. Both are excellent source books,—more perhaps for the future than for to-day—giving, as they do the ideals and aims of non-co-operation, and the genesis and progress of the movement that the spiritual genius of India's supreme figure is shaping, interpreting to us the urge which is finding outlet in that country to-day,—as Romain Rolland has so beautifully said in the active force of love, faith, and self-sacrifice. In this path some of us feel lies the only hope of world peace.

BLANCHE WATSON

NRITANJALI:—*An introduction to Hindu Dancing by Sri Ragini. New York, Hari G. Govil Inc.*

"Ever since the dawn of time, human beings have danced as an outlet for their emotions when they have been too great for expression in words So the poetry of motion is an international language—only the dialects vary in their different countries."

"Why is it then that the different races have prevailing types of dancing by which each may be distinguished from the other? I think it is because the best characteristics of each race find outlet through its particular dances."

"Although there is no posing in the modern dance—it is far too rapid for that—yet posing plays a great part in the historical interests of the world's measures."

"It is obvious that dances of various kinds are the translation into movement of certain emotions out of which they are concieved."

So writes Mme. Anna Pavlova, the world's greatest dancer of to-day (*The Strand Magazine*, Dec., 1926), and in the light of those opinions, the beautiful little brochure before us is conceived and written in the right spirit.

We are glad to see that Ragini Devi is trying to interpret the Art of Indian Dancing in the terms of the Ancients. A revival of this beautiful but dying art is desirable indeed, but that revival must be achieved along the lines of Classical Purity in order that it may be a true Renaissance.

Ragini Devi's attempt carries great promise, for in her concise delineation of the Hindu art of Dancing she has succeeded in bringing out its high cultural basis in strong relief. The technical portion is well-writtten, and supported by authority. There are a few inaccuracies in the Mythology given, but nothing very serious.

The book is well-written and got up and beautifully illustrated. Mrs. Mary K. Das's introduction shows that the authoress is a true artist, and, as such, we consider her attempt extremely laudable.

THE YAKSAS:—*By Ananda K. Coomaraswamy. Published by the Smithsonian Institution. Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections. Vol. 80. No. 6. Pp. 43 and 23 plates.*

The author has given a very concise survey of the Yaksas and Yaksis cult in the literature and Archaeology of India. The survey does not extend to the present day legends and beliefs, such as the Bengali legend that misers entomb little boys alive together with their hoards. The boy (or rather his spirit), after a slow death, is presumed to take the form of a Yaksa—known as Yaksa in Bengal—and stand guard over the treasure.

As a result of this survey, the author has come to the conclusion that "Kuvera and other Yaksas are indigenous non-Aryan deities or genii, usually beneficent powers of wealth and fertility. Before Buddhism and Jainism they had been accepted as orthodox in Brahminical theology."

He further indicates Yaksa worship as being "the natural source of the Bhakti elements common to the whole sectrian development which was taking place before the beginning of the Kusana period," and further the Yaksa iconography as having formed the foundation of later Hindu and Buddhist iconography. The History of Yaksas, he considers, "is of significance not only in itself and for its own sake but as throwing light upon the orgins of cult and iconography, as well as dogma, in fully evolved sectarian Hinduism and Buddhism."

The discussion and arguments in the work

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under consideration are rather too concise, probably due to considerations of space, but all the same as a survey it is fairly successful and therefore can be regarded as the beginning of a new chapter in the researches into Indian mythology and folklore started by Fergusson with his "Tree and Serpent Worship." The book is well-illustrated—as is usual with Mr. Coomaraswamy—by means of twenty-three excellent plates.

K. N. C.

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THE MADRAS STATES DIRECTORY, 1928. *Formerly the Pearl Press Annual. The Pearl Press, Cochin. Price Rs. 2-8*

It is a pictorial reference book of statistical, historical and commercial information regarding the five Madras States of Cochin, Travancore, Pudukottai, Sandur and Banganapalle. In these days when the future of the Indian States is engaging considerable attention in the press and on the platform, both in India and England, the usefulness of a publication of the kind giving fairly exhaustive information regarding the Madras States which are among those in the forefront of the Indian States in point of their high level of culture and progressive administration, can hardly be exaggerated. The Directory reflects credit on the publishers. Over a dozen views from Cochin and Travancore are published, besides photographic reproductions of the Sovereigns and Ruling Princes of the States. There is a separate "Who's Who" section for the Cochin State wherein about 200 biographical sketches of prominent men and women in Cochin are given, interspersed with fine half-tone reproductions which form perhaps the most attractive feature of the publication. The information contained under the various sections is exhaustive. There is an interesting article on the Cochin Harbour which contains a succinct account of the progress of the scheme from its very inception. Much valuable information is given relating to trade and commerce. The get-up and the illustrations are fine, the publication deserves the patronage of the enlightened public in the States and outside.

THE BUDDHIST ANNUAL OF CEYLON. *Vol. III. No. 2. Printed and Published by W. E. Bastian and Co., Colombo, Ceylon. Price Rs. 1-5-0.*

It is a well got-up miscellany, containing numerous illustrations, several poems, many articles and stories, notes and news, and reviews and notices. The contents are both interesting and valuable.

THE ANNIVERSARY NUMBER OF THE "SEARCH-LIGHT", 1928. *Search-light Machine Press, Patna Price twelve annas*

This annual contains articles by many well-known writers on political, economic, social, religious, historical, medical, scientific and other topics. There are many illustrations. Considering the variety and value of the contents the price is remarkably moderate.

BRAHMO SAMAJ: ITS MESSAGE AND ITS FUTURE. *Based on the Centennial Proceedings, Calcutta: August, 1928. Published by Brahmo Yubak Samiti, 210-6, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta. Price Four Annas.*

This booklet of about 50 pages gives much information about the Brahmo Samaj in a compact form. Besides the principles of Brahmoism and an introduction, it contains Rabindranath Tagore's centenary pronouncement on Ram Mohun Roy; Messages of the Brahmo Samaj as expressed in the speeches of Brahmos from different parts of India; proceedings of a religious convention in which followers of most historic faiths took active part; proceedings of the Youngmen's Conference; Romain Rolland on Ram Mohun Roy and the Indian Renaissance, proceedings of denominational conferences, dealing with individual and congregational life and its problems, social problems of the Samaj and expansion work (i, church organisation, ii, mission work), Report of the Ladies' Conference, and a list of Brahmo Institutions (educational and social). The last item—the list of Brahmo institutions—gives, unintentionably, a wrong idea of Brahmo activities, which are much greater than it indicates. It should be made complete.

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE COMMISSIONER OF LABOUR STATISTICS *for the Fiscal year ended June 30, 1927. United States Department of Labor. Pp. 41, 10 cents.*

This important report deals with the following topics: Industrial accident prevention conference; fireworks containing phosphorus; Wages and Hours of Labour by Industries; Union scales of Wages and Hours of Labour; Strikes and Lockouts and Collective Agreements; Employment in Selected Manufacturing Industries; Wholesale Prices; Retail Prices; Cost of Living; Productivity of Labour; Industrial Accidents; Industrial Safety Codes; Labour Legislation in the Various States and Decisions of courts affecting Labour; Building operations in Principal Cities of the United States; Co-operation (other than Agricultural); Industrial Hygiene; Workmen's Compensation; Special surveys; Future Investigations; Editorial Division; Financial.

We have given only the main headings. The report concludes with Recommendations.

Does the Government of India issue any such report?

HANDBOOK OF LABOR STATISTICS, *1924-1926. June, 1927. U. S. Department of Labor. Price one dollar. pp, xi+828.*

Our publicists, labour leaders, employers of labour and other persons interested in all that relates to labour should all furnish themselves with a copy of this Handbook. It contains statistics and descriptive matter relating to—

Apprenticeship; Arbitration and Conciliation; Child Labour; Convict Labour; Cooperation: Cost of living; Employment statistics: Family allowances and child endowment; Hawaii—Labor conditions, Housing; Immigration and emigration; Industrial accidents; Industrial diseases and poisons; Insurance and benefit plans; Invention by employees; Labour organisations; Legal aid; Minimum wage; Negro in industry; Occupational distribution of population; old age pensions and relief; Philippine Islands—Labour conditions; Physical examination of workers; Porto Rico—Labour Conditions; Prices—wholesale and retail; Productivity of Labour; Sickness statistics; Strikes and lockouts; Turnover of labour; Unemployment insurance and stabilization of employment; Vocations; Vocational education: Women in industry; Workers' educa-

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tion ; Workmen's compensation ; Wages and hours of labour.

Only the main headings have been given, as it would take several pages to mention the sub-headings.

R. C.

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SANSKRIT—ENGLISH

BRAHMO DHARMA (of Maharshi Debendra Nath Tagore). *Translated into English By Hem Chandra Sarkar, M. A. Brahmo Classics Centenary Edition. Calcutta. 1928. Price Rs. 3. Pp. XIII+224. Cloth. Gilt letters.*

This edition contains the Sanskrit text and the Maharshi's Sanskrit commentary thereupon in Devanagari script, English translation of the text according to the Maharshi's interpretation, English translation of the Maharshi's exposition of the text, and notes in English indicating the sources of the Sanskrit verses forming the text.

Mr. Hem Chanda Sarkar says in the Introduction, which is valuable :—

"Though the Brahmo Samaj has declared Truth to be the eternal and imperishable scripture and does not recognise any book as the scripture, the Brahmo Dharma of Maharshi Devendranath, has come to be regarded as an authoritative exposition of the principles of Brahmoism. Maharshi composed the book in that hope. Afterwards, Keshub Chunder Sen, compiled anothor book of a similar nature with a broader basis under the name *Sloksangraha*, having taken its contents from the scriptures of all important religions. Though this latter is more in consonance with the universal spirit of Brahmoism it is remarkable that it has not been as widely adopted in the Brahmo Samaj as the Brahmo Dharma of Maharshi. Within a few decades, it has been translated into several vernaculars of India, and has passed through many editions in Bengali. The story of its composition is well-known, and has been recorded by Maharshi himself in his Autobiography, chapter 23. It was written in the year 1848 (1770 Sak). Devendranath was then 21 years of age.....Maharshi looked upon it as a work of inspiration. He has deliberately written in the autobiography: 'It is not the product of my feeble intellect. * * * It is the truth of God which welled up in my heart. These living truths came down to my heart from Him who is the life and light of truth.' The actual process has thus been described in the autobiography: "Now I began to think a book is required for the Brahmos. Then I said to Akshay Kumar Dutta please sit down with paper and pen, and take down what I dictate.' Now I turned my heart towards God, with single-mindedness, I began to dictate with authority in the language of the Upanishads, like the current of a river, the spiritual truths which flashed in my mind by His Grace; and Akshoykumar took them down. In three hours the first part was completed. Maharshi has said, did not involve any labour on my part, but though it took three hours to write out the book, my whole life would be spent and yet I shall not fully understand and assimilate its deep significance." Thus was the first part written. The second part was compiled sometime afterwards, and the expository notes in Bengalee were added later on after the first and second parts had been published. The Brahmo Dharma is a work of unique significance. Though the language is that of the Upanishads it is an original work..... Maharshi Devendranath, while using the language of the Upanishads, has produced an original work, which has not always followed the ideas of the Upanishads. The various Upanishads and even the different parts of the individual Upanishads are not always consistent. Maharshi Devendranath had in his mind a consistent conception of the Religion of the Brahmo Samaj, and he gave an expression to it in the language of the Upanishads. In order to do that Devendranath took considerable liberty with the ideas as well as with the texts."

The English translation is clear and elegant, Mr. Sarkar's edition has met a felt need.

The printing is clear and legible and the binding handsome.

R. C.

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MALAYALAM

KALANTE-KOLAYARA ;—(with illustrations) : *By Rao Sahib O. M. Cheriyan B.A., L.T. Published by K. G. Parameswaran Pillai. Sriramavilasam Press. Quilon. Pp. 143. Price not given.*

This book is full of fictitious narrations which read like the wonderful adventures of Sindbad the sailor. The numerous illustrations that it contains add further impulse to go through its contents.

CHINTA-SANTANAM :—(Part 3.) : *By R. Iswara Pilllai B.A. Published by C. G. Brothers, Vatakkekara, N. Parur. (Travancore) Pp. 197. Price as. 10.*

Composed in his usual inimitable style Sjt. R. Iswara Pillai now lays before the public the 3rd part of his *Chinta-Sanatanam*. The book contains twenty short essays on different subjects, such as, Nature, Atmosphere, Liberty, Moon, etc.,—subjects which are too abstruce, yet at the same time dealt in a most simple way. We commend the book particulariy to the student population.

DHIRODATTA-KATHAKAL ;—(Tales of Chivalry, Part 1) : *By E.M. Joseph, Puthen Petta. Trichur. Pp. 166. Price as. 10.*

The book contains a great deal of historical information relating to Mughal History, and there is sufficient verity also in the stories and sketches that are culled from different sources. We are sure the book will receive kind reception at the hands of the educated public. We congratulate the young author on his chivalrous endeavour.

P. ANUJAN ACHAN

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MARHATHI

'1857':—*By Prof. N. K. Behere. Publisher M. N. Kulkarni, Karnatak Press, Bombay. Pages 540. Price Rs. 3-8.*

A brightly written, exhaustive, very readable and spirited account of the so-called Indian Sepoy Mutiny (termed by some writers as the Indian War of Independence) of 1857. A remarkable production

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REGENERATION OF THE HINDU SAMAJ :—*By Mahadeo Shastri Divekar. Published by the author himself at Pradna Pathashala, Wai. Pages 176, Price annas twelve.*

It is remarkable that the author, though educated in an old-fashioned Sanskrit *tol*, has a catholic mind and advocates certain much needed reforms, such as removal of untouchability, shuddhi, disbelief in fatalism and in ghosts, as also in divine Avatars working for your regeneration, when you yourself are sitting fold-handed. He has adduced very plausible reasons and quoted Sanskrit texts in support of his statements.

FUSION OF BRAHMIN SECTS, PARTS I AND II:—*By the same author. Price Re. one and annas eight respectively.*

In these two books is given a very valuable and interesting account of the Panchdravid and Panch Gaud Brahmins with their sub-sects in Maharashtra, and has powerfully advocated the advisibility of their fusion into one general class of Brahmins. The author seems to have taken great pains in collecting information and the care and judgment he has exercised in putting it on paper is evident in every page.

RAI RASOLLAS:—*By Balkrishna Bhan Joshi, Manager Dvyan Vilas Press, Poona. Pages 215. Price Rs 1-8.*

A skilful adaptation of the classical English novel, *Rasselas* of Dr. Johnson. The adaptation is cleverly done and forms an interesting reading.

NAVAYUGADHARMA OR HISTORY OF MODERN RELIGIOUS ACTIVITIES IN INDIA VOL. I:—*By Sadashiv Krishna Phadke of Panvel. Pages 876. Price Rs. Four.*

In this bulky volume which is to be followed by three others, the author has given an exhaustive account of the Brahma Samaj (including the Prarthana Samaj) and the Devsamaj and freely criticised their doctrines as well as certain acts of their leaders, which, in the opinion of the author called for criticism. Such a book would have surely been warmly welcomed, had the author been fair in representing facts and kept his balance in criticism. But he has instead wilfully or unwittingly made baseless statements and inuendoes, which hardly do credit to his intelligence and judgment. The author has evidently gone through a vast mass of literature on the subject and utilised it in a manner likely to prejudice the minds of his readers against the new religious movement. A number of learned men in Maharastra, not acquainted with facts about the Brahmo Samaj, have fallen an easy prey to the author's fascinating style and deceptive arguments and have showerd praise on the author's achievement. But one who has an insight into the subject and possesses a fair and incredulous mind can easily see through the game and will utter the cry, "Beware, dear readers, beware!"

V. G. APTE

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GUJARATI

BEAUTIFUL NIGHT (RADHJALI RAT) PART III : *By Jhaverchand Meghani, printed at the Saurastra Press, Rampur. Paper cover. Pp. 84. Price Re. 0-8-0 (1927).*

This third collection of popular songs, sung by females in Kathiawad is in keeping with the two former ones in excellence and in serving to perpetuate what otherwise would have perished in this branch of literature, as these songs have never been collected and printed before. The most useful part, however, of the book is its well-written Introduction, whether the ballad literature of our province has been examined in the light of European ballad literature with the eye and intelligence of an experienced critic. It is the first contribution of its kind and as such very valuable.

SHRI VISHESH AVASHYAK BHASHANTAR, PART II : *By Shah Chunilal Hakamchand, Printed at the Virashasan Printing Press, Ahamedabad. Cloth bound. Pp. 527. Price Rs. 3-0-0 (1927).*

This is a most important book of Jain religious literature, and is a *vivaran* of the *Samayik Sutra*. Those who cannot follow the original text will be gratified at its Gujarati version which is well-done.

KOKIL NIKUNJE : *By Mahavir Prasad Dadhich, B. A. Printed at the Jagadishwar Printing Press, Bombay. Paper cover. Pp. 82. Price Re. 0-8-0 (1927).*

Though a Marwadi by birth Mr. Dadhich has acquired a very good hold over Gujarati. He is saturated with the spirit of English and Sanskrit poetry and hence has been apt to compose short poems breathing the joyousness of the cuckoo in spring time. His work is certainly admirable.

MARRIED OR UNMARRIED : *By Dayashanker M. Bhatt. Printed at the Bharat Vijoya Printing Press, Ahmedabad. Paper cover. Pp. 32. Price Re. 0-8-0 (1927).*

The question is propounded to ridicule the present state of Hindu Society where a girl of six is married to a man of thirty-five and who on growing up wants to marry a young man of her choice, under the impression that her first marriage being without her consent, was no marriage at all. The presentation though crude is sure to attract readers.

GUJARAT NO RAJRANG : *By Balubhai P. Bhatt, L. C. C. and Monishankar D. Joshi B. A. (Hons.) Printed at the Kalamaya Printing Works, Surat. Cloth bound. Pp. 194. Price Rs. 2-0-0 (1927).*

A book giving all-round information about Gujarat, geographical, historical and artistic. It is written with the best of ambitions and is packed with information about Old and Modern Gujarat.

ANU BHASHYA PART I. (*Adh. 1, 2*): *By Jethalal G. Shah. M. A. Printed at different Presses in Ahamedabad, published by the Seventh Vaishanava Parishad, Cloth bound. Pp. 171. Price Rs. 3-8-0 (1927). Illustrated.*

Shrimad Vallabhacharya is one of the *Bhashyakars* of the Brahmasutra, and his Bhashya is known as the Anu Bhashya, and is a treatise on the 'Shuddha adwait' cult. It is a very important treatise bearing on Vallabh's Sampradaya, and its translation into Gujarati was overdue. This book is however more than a translation. It is full of notes and dissertations and comparisons with other similar compositions. The translator has exhausted all available materials in writing his Introduction and has produced a very informative contribution on this subject. It is a valuable addition to our religious literature.

K. M. J.

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AN EARLY CHAPTER OF THE PRESS IN BENGAL

By BRAJENDRANATH BANERJI

THE first English newspaper printed in India was Hickey's *Bengal Gazette*, which commenced publication on 29th January, 1780. It had a short life and was suppressed by Warren Hastings for the offence of publishing libels on his wife and other persons. Then followed the *India Gazette*, the *Calcutta Gazette*, the *Bengal Harkaru* and some other journals. Most of these papers were considered by the Government to be violent in manner and scurrilous in tone, and Lord Wellesley found it necessary to restrict the libertinism of the Press by introducing certain regulations and creating a censorship (13 May, 1799). His successors made the rules imposed on the editors still more stringent. Then came Lord Hastings, a man of very liberal views, who abolished the censorship (19 August, 1818) and only laid down some general rules for the guidance of the editors.

The honour of being the first published Bengali newspaper belong to the *Samachar Darpan*, a weekly, which was ushered into existence by the Serampur Mission on 23rd May, 1818. Lord Hastings' liberal orders, however, tempted several newspapers, both English and vernacular, to appear in Calcutta. The *Sambad Kaumudi*, a Bengali weekly, conducted entirely by Indians, appeared on 4th December, 1821. Ram Mohun Roy was one of its promoters. The *Mirat-ul-Akhbar*, a Persian weekly, made its appearance early in 1822 under his editorship. In 1822 there were four vernacular newspapers (all weeklies), published in Calcutta, two in Bengali and two in Persian, *viz.* :—

The *Sambad Kaumudi*,
Samachar Chandrika,
Jam-i-Jahan Numa,
and *Mirat-ul-Akhbar*

But the Press in Bengal enjoyed this spell of freedom for a very short time. Mr. James Silk Buckingham, the editor of the *Calcutta Journal*, published articles, which the Government thought to be of an offensive and mischievous character. He was repeatedly warned and at last deported ; and the Government finally contemplated the reimposition of rules for shackling the Press. On 10th October, 1822 Mr. W. B. Bayley delivered in the Calcutta Council a lengthy Minute regarding the tendency of the Native Press. This Minute, which is reproduced below, is an important and hitherto unpublished document and discloses many interesting facts. It will be seen from it that even the Vernacular Press did not enjoy a higher reputation than the English. It also gives full details about Ram Mohun Roy's *Mirat-ul-Akhbar* and tells us about the "objectionable" nature of some of its articles.

"The subject which has been brought under the notice of the Board in Mr. Adam's Minute of the 14th August demands in my opinion the most serious consideration.

"Mr. Adam has very fully discussed the important question of the freedom of the Press in its application to the present state of society in this country ; he has stated his conviction that the licence recently claimed and exercised in this respect has tended to weaken the proper influence of the Government and to excite much discontent and insubordination without any compensating benefit, and he has suggested that the attention of the authorities at home be drawn to the subject, in order that they may determine whether any steps should be taken to procure an Act of the Legislature vesting the Governments in India with sufficient power to restrain the abuses of the Press, and to correct the evils which are to be anticipated from its continued and increasing licentiousness.

"In the view which Mr. Adam has taken of this important subject I entirely concur, and I regret that he has abstained from discussing that branch of the question which relates to the Native Press.

"Feeling, however, as I do that the latter may be converted into an engine of the most serious mischief, I shall submit to the Board some brief remarks on the recent establishment in Calcutta of newspapers in the Native languages, and shall state the grounds on which I consider it essential that the Government should be vested with legal power to control the excesses of the Native as well as of the European Press.

"Previously, however, to entering upon that topic, I propose, with reference to the publication which more immediately led to Mr. Adam's Minute, to advert to the circumstances under which Mr. Jameson's appointment to the office of Superintendent of the School for Native Doctors took place, and also to notice some other points connected with the general question.

"The outline of the plan of the School for Native Doctors was originally drawn up by Mr. A.

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Russell, an officiating member of the Medical Board, whose zeal for the interests of the Medical Department, whose long and very able services under this Government and whose honorable character, both in his private and professional life, are well known to every Member of the Board.

"Warmly interested as Mr. Russell was in the adoption and success of his plan, he felt persuaded that it would end in disappointment unless the officer who might be selected to superintend the institution in the first instance should possess qualifications for the task of no ordinary description.

"I can personally speak to the anxious consideration with which Mr. Russell weighed the character and qualifications of the Members of the Medical branch of the Service, and of the conscientious motives by which he was actuated in ultimately suggesting Mr. Jameson as the individual who in his judgment was best fitted for the task. I am persuaded that the Government, concurring in opinion with the Medical Board as to the qualifications of Mr. Jameson, selected that officer with an exclusive view to the public interests. With these impressions I naturally regard the publication in the *Calcutta Journal* more immediately under consideration as in the highest degree objectionable and improper.

"It not only contains a gross attack on the professional and official character of a very honorable and distinguished servant of this Government but as it appears to me substantially charges the Supreme Government with a violation of its duty, and reflects upon its proceedings in a manner neither consistent with decency nor with truth.

"I shall not, however, dwell on the conduct of the editor of the Journal on this or on other occasions as I earnestly trust that the measure adopted by the Governor-General in Council on the 5th ultimo will be effectual in restraining further licentiousness on Mr. Buckingham's part. If it should not, the consequent infliction of the threatened penalty will be deemed by every sober minded man acquainted with this country as a proceeding fully justified by all that has past and indispensable to the maintenance of the dignity and authority of the Government.

"The motive which influenced Government in removing the Censorship is justly stated by the Governor-General in his Minute, but as the actual circumstances which immediately led to the resolution are not upon record, I shall, I trust, be excused for briefly noticing them in this place.

"The control exercised by the Chief Secretary to Government in revising the newspapers previously to their publication had existed ever since the year 1799. It was established during the administration of Lord Wellesley and the rules which were prescribed for the conduct of the editors of newspapers and for the guidance of the Chief Secretary are inserted in the margin.*

"Some of those rules were applicable only to a state of War; the operation of others had not been uniformly or rigidly enforced, and of late years the duty of the Censor had been exercised in a manner which, while it prevented the publication of articles calculated to weaken the authority of Government, to shock the religious feelings or prejudices of the Natives or to violate the peace and comfort of society, allowed to the editors sufficient scope for the useful discussion of questions of general or local interest.

"The circumstance which in the year 1818 led to the change in the system of control exercised by the Censor occurred during the time when the duty of examining the newspapers previously to their publication devolved upon me in my capacity of Acting Chief Secretary to Government.

"A person of the name of Heatly born in Bengal whose father was a European British subject and his mother a native of India became the sole proprietor and editor of the *Morning Post*, one of the Calcutta newspapers.

"In the month of April 1818, I had judged it expedient to expunge some paragraphs from his paper which I thought open to serious objection.

"He waited upon me in person and after some unavailing attempts on my part to convince him of the inexpediency of his inserting the passages in question in his paper, he intimated to me that he should nevertheless persist in publishing them, and that as a Native of India he was liable to no legal penalty for refusing to comply with the injunctions of the Censor.

"The paragraphs in question having been actually published, I lost no time in reporting the circumstance to the Vice-President in Council.

"The obvious inutility of maintaining the Office of Censor, unless legal power could be vested in the Government to support his authority, as well

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**Rules for the Editors*

1st. Every printer of a newspaper to print his name at the bottom of the paper.

2nd. Every editor and proprietor of a paper to deliver in his name and place of abode to the Secretary to Government.

3rd. No paper to be published on a Sunday.

4th. No paper to be published at all until it shall have been previously inspected by the Secretary to the Government or by a person authorized by him for that purpose.

5th. The penalty for offending against any of the above regulations to be immediate embarkation for Europe.

Rules for the Secretary

1st. To prevent the publication of all observations on the state of public credit, or the revenues, or the finances of the Company.

2nd. All observations respecting the embarkation of Troops Stores, or Specie, or respecting any Naval or Military preparations whatever.

3rd. All intelligence respecting the destination of any Ships, or the expectation of any, whether belonging to the Company or to individuals.

4th. All observations with respect to the conduct of Government or any of its officers, Civil or Military Marine, Commercial or Judicial.

5th. All private scandal or libels on individuals.

6th. All statements with regard to the probability of War or peace between the Company and any of the Native Powers.

7th. All observations tending to convey information to an enemy, or to excite alarm or commotion within the Company's territories.

8th. The republication of such passages from the European newspapers, as may tend to affect the influence and credit of the British Power with the Native States.

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as the importance of obtaining such legal powers, was immediately felt and acknowledged by the Local Government, but it was resolved to suspend the adoption of any resolution on the subject until the return of the Governor-General who was then in the Western Provinces.

"On His Lordship's arrival at the Presidency, the consideration of the subject was resumed, and it was finally resolved on the 19th of August 1818 to abolish the Censorship, and to substitute in its place some general rules for the guidance of the editors, calculated to prevent the discussion of topics likely to affect the authority of this Government or to be injurious to the public interests.

"The establishment of rules of that nature was of such obvious expediency with reference both to the structure of our Government, and to the limited extent and component parts of the British Society in India, that no apprehension was entertained of the probability of their being grossly and systematically violated by any British editor.

"The discretionary power however known to be vested in the Supreme authority of removing any British subject whose conduct might be such as to render him underserving of the confidence and protection of the Government, was considered to be abundantly sufficient either to discourage any wanton or dangerous abuse of the Press by a British subject, or to vindicate the authority of the Government, if recourse to extreme measures should in any instance be found necessary.

It was however fully felt and acknowledged at the time, and the fact is adverted to in the Governor-General's Minute, that the Government did not possess legal power to enforce any rules for the regulation or control of the Press, so far as related to publications issued within the limits of the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court when conducted by persons coming under the denomination of Natives.

"It was in consequence intended by Government to point out to the Court of Directors this defect, with a view to obtain sufficient legal authority to control the Press, when in the hands of individuals not being British European subjects. I do not find however that any Official representation has yet been made to the Court of Directors on this subject, and until the recent establishment of newspapers in the Native languages, the question has not been again brought under the consideration of Government, by any specific act of impropriety on the part of persons not being British European subjects.

"I concur in the opinion expressed by the Governor-General, that the removal of Mr. Buckingham from the country would very probably be followed by the substitution in his room of one or more individuals, who not being British European subjects, could not be visited by a similar penalty.

"The establishment of such a system of counteraction, aided and superintended as it probably would be by those who now support the *Calcutta Journal*, might certainly be attended with consequences even more injurious to the public interests, than those already experienced.

"Such individuals (as in the instances of Mr. Reed) might undoubtedly Really of Mr. Charles become the real or nominal editors and proprietors of the newspapers and might circulate the most licentious publications without incurring any danger or responsibility, unless they should be so unguarded as to subject themselves to the penalties of the English law of Libel, and even then the excited state of feeling which prevails amongst the class of individuals from whom Petty Juries in Calcutta are formed, would render the success of legal prosecutions for libel exceedingly doubtful.

"The same remarks are applicable to Natives being the editors and publishers of newspapers in the languages of the country.

"So long therefore as the Press is under no other legal restraint than that imposed by the vague apprehension of conviction and punishment for libel, it will be in the power of factions or mischievous individuals, acting either under the influence of British European subjects, or independently of such influence, to disseminate the most injurious reports and in various ways to embarrass the proceedings and weaken the authority of the Government, and it may reasonably be asked whether with reference to the present state of this society, and to the constitution of the Local Governments in India, such evils are likely to be compensated by any advantages derivable from a Free Press, either as it affects the Native population, or British born subjects residing in India.:

"With regard to the latter class, it is well-known that under the system of policy hitherto pursued by Great Britain, their access to India is repressed and discouraged; and that beyond the precincts of the towns of Calcutta, Madras and Bombay the acquisition and possession by them of real property is prohibited.

"Of the number of British subjects actually resident, a considerable proportion have no legal authority for residing here, and those who possess such legal authority are liable to be removed from the country, whenever their conduct may, in the judgement of the Governor-General, appear to be such as to render them undeserving of countenance and protection.

"Independently of British subjects in the immediate service of His Majesty or of the Honorable Company or paid and supported by the Government in subordinate situations, the total number of British subjects residing in India is exceedingly small.

"I have not the means of immediately ascertaining the actual number of such individuals residing within the territories subordinate to the Presidencies of Fort St. George and Bombay.

"As far as relates to this Presidency however, I can venture to assert, that the total number of such British subjects does not exceed the proportion of one to 50,000 Natives, and that beyond the immediate precincts of Calcutta and its suburbs, the proportion is less than one to one hundred thousand.* It is however a portion of this small class of persons which arrogates to itself an influence similar to that really possessed by the public of Great Britain, and

*The number of British European subjects not in the Service or pay of His Majesty or of the Hon'ble, Company residing beyond the suburbs of Calcutta, in the territories subordinate to this Presidency, amounts to about 300, the Native population being estimated at from 45 to 50 millions.

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claims to exercise a beneficial control over the acts and policy of the Government through the medium of a Free Press.

"Supposing for a moment that the interests of that class might be partially promoted by the operation of a Free Press, would it be wise for the sake of such an advantage to overlook the consequences which might ensue from any diminution of the influence and authority of the Government over its own servants and Native subjects?

"The stability of the British dominion in India mainly depends upon the cheerful obedience and subordination of the Officers of the Army, on the fidelity of the Native Troops, on the supposed character and power of the Government, and upon the opinion which may be entertained by a superstitious and unenlightened Native population of the motives and tendency of our actions as affecting their interests.

"The liberty of the Press, however essential to the Nature of a free state, is not in my judgment, consistent with the character of our institutions in this Country, or with the extraordinary nature of our dominion in India.

The Native subject to the British Government in India do not amount to less than 80 millions. No portion of this number are represented in any form. They have no voice or participation in framing or administering the Laws (which are enacted or rescinded at the mere discretion of the Government), in apportioning the revenue or taxes levied from them, in revising the public expenditure, or in controlling the administration. The Government in its relation to them is in fact substantially and necessarily despotic.

"In such a state of things, is it desirable that any factious or discontented individual should have it in his power to publish and circulate strictures calculated to excite dissatisfaction amongst his brother Officers with regard to their prospects and situation in life, to canvass the propriety of orders issued by his Superior Officers, or by other direct or indirect methods to encourage and disseminate opinions adverse to subordination and discipline? It is desirable that any one should have it in his power to weaken the fidelity of the Native Troops by dwelling on the fatigues, privations and hardships to which they are subjected and the restrictions by which the most deserving are precluded from rising beyond the humbler ranks of their profession; that on occasions when partial or temporary feelings of discontent or suspicion (such as have occurred and may again occur) prevail, they should be made acquainted with their own powers of resistance, that the Native population should be encouraged to appeal from the acts and proceedings of the Local Authorities, or of Government itself, to the tribunal of public opinion, and to seek that participation in framing the Laws or in controlling the measures of the Executive Government which is exercised by the representatives of the people in a free state? It may be said that these and other similar dangers and inconveniences are altogether chimerical, or at all events of improbable and remote occurrence. Judging however from what we have aleady seen, I think that some of these and other injurious consequences would ere long be experienced, and thinking so, I apprehend, that the unfettered liberty of the Press, as it exists in our Native country, is totally unsuited to the present state of our dominion in the East.

"But even admitting the sophistry to pass current which asserts the advantages of a Free Press and Independent Journals conducted by Englishmen, in subjecting the acts of the Indian Authorities to the scrutiny of the British public, the wildest reformer will scarcely argue seriously if at least our Empire in Hindustan is to be maintained) that it is wise or politic to allow our Native subjects unrestrained liberty of discussing and publishing in the native languages, speculations on points of the nature above noticed or strictures on the proceedings of States in alliance with the Company, on the conduct, characters, and public acts of their English rulers, or on the comparative merits of the several religious systems professed by the various Nations which compose the curiously asserted population of this Presidency, and of India generally. My views extend however only to the necessity of a controlling power being lodged in the hands of the Local Governments, and by no means to the abolition of the practice of printing and circulating newspapers or journals in the Native languages.

"It is a primary and, I will add, a most humane part of our policy in this country to adapt our laws to the state of society, and not prematurely to introduce the institutions of a highly civilized, among a less enlightened people. The principle appears to me to be at least as applicable to the question regarding the Native Press as to any other. In England the laws regarding the press have kept pace with the progress of public opinion and with the other institutions of a free people. The minds of men have been gradually prepared for the exaggeration and misrepresentation which must ever attend freedom of publication. But I know no language which can convey in adequate terms how foreign to the ideas of the subjects of an Asiatic State, is a Free Press employed as a means of controlling the Government. Suddenly to attempt to overturn all previous habits of thinking and acting on such subjects, would, I conceive, be a blind and hazardous neglect of all the sound and cautious lessons which experience has taught us.

"I am fully sensible of the benefits which may be expected to attend eventually the operations of a Native Press, duly regulated and conducted by intelligent and well-intentioned individuals, as strikingly illustrated in the case of the periodical paper issued from the Serampur Institution under the direction of the Baptist Missionaries. No engine indeed can be conceived more powerful and effectual for diffusing useful knowledge amongst the population of this country, than a Press circulating cheaply and periodically articles of intelligence calculated to instruct and improve the public mind, under the guidance of judicious and properly qualified conductors, and in exact proportion must be the evils of an ill-regulated and licentious Press.

"The measure suggested in Mr. Adam's Minute of vesting the local Governments with the power of licensing printing offices seems to me highly desirable, and quite effectual for the accomplishment of the end in view. The general supervision of newspapers published in the Native languages might under such an arrangement be vested in the Persian Secretary to Government.

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who should exercise a constant vigilance over the periodical news-writers, and bring to the notice of his superiors any instances of deviation from the rules and principles, which might be laid down for the guidance of persons employed in such labours. It would be superfluous however to discuss the details of the measure proposed for restraining the Native Press, until the principle of its adoption has been admitted.

"That principle might, I am satisfied, be assumed as just and incontrovertible on the most general survey of the structure of our Government, the circumstances of our situation in India, and the state of Native manner and society. Some arguments in its support may be deduced perhaps from a review of the actual proceedings thus far, of the conductors of the Native Press, and of the topics they have chosen to bring into discussion. At the same time I consider the subject of the Native Press as a question of real importance, more with the view to eventual and probable results than from any actual offence hitherto committed in the infancy of the attempt to claim for the Natives of India, a right to canvass and scrutinize through the medium of public newspapers, the acts and motives of their rulers. Up to the present date a certain degree of caution has naturally been observed, and the apathy and want of curiosity of the Natives have prevented any very extensive circulation of the newspapers. Still the attention of Natives of rank and education in many and distant parts of India has been roused to the contemplation of this portentous novelty, and a family so remote from the Presidency as that of the King of Delhi have officially expressed a desire to be furnished with the Persian newspapers. But it is evident that whilst the Government is destitute of all controlling power, as at present, over Calcutta editors, and has no remedy for the most insidious attacks, save the uncertain one of an appeal to the Supreme Court, the papers of next week may contain some statement or discussion highly improper and offensive, and there is nothing in the tone of what has already appeared to indicate any such timidity or delicacy on the part of the editors, as should restrain them from advancing step by step, to the end which they or their patrons obviously contemplate.

"I proceed now to offer some remarks in detail on the contents of such papers in the Native languages as have fallen under my own immediate observation.

"There are at present four Native newspapers published weekly in Calcutta, two in the Bengallee and two in the Persian language. Proposals have also been recently circulated for the establishment in Calcutta of another Persian newspaper and it is stated in the proposals, that this paper is set on foot in conformity with the wish and intimation of certain English gentlemen. A Native paper has also just appeared at Bombay. I shall confine my remarks to the Persian ones already published in Calcutta. They are called the *Jam-i-Jahan Numa* and *Mirat-ul-Akhbar*, epithets both implying 'the Mirror of News'. The first is understood to be the property of, and to be principally conducted by an English Mercantile House in Calcutta. The second is the paper of the well-known Rammohun Raee.

"The *Jam-i-Jahan Numa* made its first appearance on the 28th March last, with a notice, that it would be published weekly at a charge of two Rupees per mensem. The second number explains the scope and objects of the publication, which are declared to be the promulgation of articles of news from the English papers etc, the procuring and making known intelligence of all that passes at the principal cities of Hindustan, whether foreign, or within the Company's territories, and it invites, in obscure and affected language, all persons who may have any wish or plan to communicate, or any statement of facts to publish, to send the same to the editor, who will insert it in his paper and carefully conceal the name of the writer. Conformably with the intentions thus avowed, the editor has acted upon the principle of copying from the English papers, and publishing in Persian any article which may suit his purpose, of inserting all sorts of correspondence, and more especially of discussing openly and unreservedly the system of Government pursued in Oude, and in other States allied to the British Government.

"Hitherto the notice of Hyderabad affairs has been confined to praises of Raja Chundu Lal's character and administration, who in the paper of the 24th April is declared to enjoy so entirely the confidence of the Nizam, that not a single individual of the great nobles of the country can approach near his Highness. The articles respecting Oude have been from the beginning filled with complaints and abuse of the existing system of Government, virulent attacks upon the Minister, who is called a low, unworthy, menial, and gross charges of folly and oppression directed against the King himself. Very soon indeed after this channel was opened for the discontented parties at Lucknow, Futtighur and Cawnpur to vent their spleen against the existing administration, all kinds of violent anonymous representations seem to have poured in, in such number, that the editor was obliged to declare in his number of the 22nd May that many communications from Oude remained unnoticed because they had no name affixed, and that in future he must decline accepting any which were not signed or attested in some way, so that the writers might be eventually answerable, as he considered himself liable to be called to account in Court for publishing any statement 'that is either false or disparaging and tending to bring the character of another into contempt.' How little this professed sense of such a liability in reality operated is evinced by subsequent numbers, more especially that of the 24th July, in which the editor after expressly declaring that he has been unable to judge of the truth of what is tasted, brings forward a whole series of abusive and disparaging statements against the Oude Government, including a charge against the King of ordering the shops of the shawl-weavers in a certain quarter of the town to be razed to the ground without any cause, and their goods and imple-

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ments of trade, valued at 10,000 Rupees, to be tossed into the river. A prior number had accused His Majesty of the inconceivable folly of taking out of his wardrobe an immense quantity of valuable articles, and setting them on fire merely to enjoy the pleasure of seeing them burn.

At an early stage of the Oude discussions, a passage appears in one of the numbers, as the sentiment of a correspondent, that there is no remedy for the evils which afflict the country, but the direct interference of the English Government. The *Calcutta Journal* goes still further, and plainly states the entire assumption of the Government of Oude as the only cure. The *Jam-i-Jahan Numa* of the 12th June charges the British authorities directly with injustice and disregard of the obligations of good faith, in allowing a British force to be employed against Kasim Ali, the zamindar of Akbarpur, adding however, that the British Government is bound by treaties and cannot help itself, though in reality it groans at the conduct of Agha Mir (the Minister) who is the cause of all the mischief.

"In a recent number of the *Jam-i-Jahan Numa*, is a detailed statement of the domestic disputes which prevail in the family of the King of Oude and of the distressing events at Lucknow recently reported by the Resident in his dispatches of the 16th and 20th August last. I cannot conceive anything more calculated to excite disgust and indignation in the mind of the King than this printed exposure of the intrigues carrying on in the interior of his palace, and of the dissensions between himself and his nearest connections.

"A subsequent number of the same paper contains an article on Lahore news, coming from a source obviously quite diffirent from the ordinary Native akhbars, which ascribes to Raja Ranjit Singh acts, measures and language indicating the most decidedly hostile views towards the British Government, and which may very naturally prove a ground of offence to that Chief.

"The official remonstrances received from the King of Oude, and the dispatches from the Resident at Lucknow shew that the attacks above alluded to have excited very deep feelings of disgust and dissatisfaction in the mind of our ally, who sees too certainly in such unceasing clamours against his Government, and such pointed allusions to the only remedy for his alleged mismanagement, the prospect of extended disorders and opposition, threatening the ultimate annihilation of his power; and who cannot separate from the authority of a Government supreme and despotic throughout India the lucubrations of a Press, operating under its immediate eye at the very seat of its splendour and power. To tell his Majesty that he has a remedy in the Supreme Court in the event of any libellous and unfounded statement being published, is to apprize him distinctly that there are no available means of redress open to him, as with the known inveterate prejudices of Natives of Sovereign rank in India, he would, of course deem any reproach or indignity more tolerable than an appeal for justice like a common complainant to such a tribunal.

"In fact, the Government has already found it necessary to prohibit the editors of the several English newspapers from publishing attacks of this nature. One of those editors has publicly announced to his readers, that he considers the prohibitory order in question merely as a request on the part of Government, to be attended to or not, as suits his judgment and convenience.

"The same attacks are still however, continued in a form immeasurably more offensive and distressing to the existing Government of Oude, that is to say, in the very language which is read and understood by every well educated Native throughout India.

"The account given in the *Jam-i-Jahan Numa* of the late duel between Mr. Jameson and Mr. Buckingham and the causes of it is not unworthy of notice in this review. It not ambiguously announces to the Natives of India, the editor of the *Calcutta Journal*, as a sort of Censor of the Government, who will not as far as his powers extend, permit them to do any wrong.

"I believe it is pretty well known that as far as Native feeling is concerned regarding the Press, the impression on the part of the few who have as yet considered the subject attentively is, that Mr. Buckingham is an akhbar-navis or news-writer stationed by the King of England in Calcutta to report and deliver his opinions freely respecting the conduct of the Local Government. This is ridiculous enough at present, and it is true that the Persian papers have as yet contained little which merits particularly serious notice or consideration, but to judge from the tone and avowed objects of their patrons and supporters, the result will probably be that the Native editors will advance step by step and grow bold by the experience of impunity, that they will hereafter engage in the discussion of all measures, and gradually assume a right of censuring public acts and public officers, and as the law now stands, how is the Government (in a more advanced stage of public feeling) to guard effectually against their circulating statements tending to influence and mislead in questions likely to awaken the passions and religious prejudices of the mass of our Indian subjects, such as the abolition of *Satis* or measures connected with the discipline or organization of our Indian Army.

"The contents of the other Persian paper, the *Mirat-ul-Akhbar* have been much in the same style as the above, but the editor's known disposition for theological controversy had led him to seize an occasion for publishing remarks on the Trinity, which, although covertly and insidiously conveyed, strike me as being exceedingly offensive. The circumstance which the discussion originated was a notice in the above paper on the subject of the death of Dr. Middleton, the late Bishop of Calcutta. After some laudatory remarks on his learning and dignity the article concludes by stating that the Bishop having been relieved from the cares and anxieties of this world had 'rambled on the shoulders of the

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mercy of God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost.'

"The expression coming from a known impugner of the doctrine of the Trinity, could only be considered as ironical, and was noticed in one of the other papers as objectionable and offensive. It might have been sufficient for the editor of the *Mirat-ul-Akhbar* on finding that he had given offence to have expressed his regret, to have disclaimed all such intention and thus to let the subject drop. But this course was not suited to the polemic disposition of the editor. In the paper of the 19th July he enters into a long justification of his obituary notice and affectedly misunderstanding the real purport of the objection taken to his introduction of the mention of [the] Trinity, he makes use of observations which in my mind constitute an aggravation of the offence. He says 'with respect to what was said of God the Father, Son and Holy Ghost, since the Preachers of the Christian religion constantly in every Church throughout the year read their articles of faith with a loud voice, not regarding the presence of either Hindu or Musalman, and declare their conviction that salvation is to be found only in the belief of the Three in One, what doubt can there be then, but they believe in the Three whom I have mentioned.' And again 'But since it seems that the mere mention in the Persian language of the essential principles of the Christian religion is an aspersion of the faith professed by the *Governor-General* and all its followers, I shall therefore avoid this fault in future.'

"In the paper of the 9th August, the discussion is revived and the objections are treated in the same style.

"It is asked 'if any one in inviting an obituary notice of a Hindu should mention the Ganges or other object of worship of that nation would the Hindus take offence,' and afterwards the editor quotes a verse which he ascribes to some Persian poet, meaning as follows 'whose-ever religion is such that the mere mention of the God of it, is a cause of shame, we may readily guess what kind of a religion that is, and what sort of a people are its professors.'

"A striking instance of the idle and groundless nature of the stories put forth in these intelligencers is afforded in the account recently given in the *Mirat-ul-Akhbar* of an occurrence of importance at the Presidency itself—viz., the visit of the Persian Prince to the Governor-General. It is said that the Marquis of Hastings sent out a *Battalion of European troops* to meet him and conduct him to the Government House, and himself received the Prince at the head of the staircase.

"This exaggerated statement has been probably published with the design (and will doubtless have the effect) of spreading both in India and Persia, extremely false notions of the nature of the attentions shewn to the Prince, and of the importance attached by the Indian Government to his visit.

"The following objectionable passage contained in the *Mirat-ul-Akhbar* of the 4th instant has been brought under the notice of Government by the Acting Persian Secretary.

"'One day the Minister, who is the Governor* of Oude, sent for Mir Fazl Ali to give in an account of the stipend of Muhasan-ud-daula. The Prince prohibited his compliance with this requisition, and the Padshah Begam observed that she alone had the control of the said stipend and would only render an account of it when all the other accounts of the country became due.

"'After this the Padshah Begam and the Prince in consequence of the enmity and malevolence of the Minister determined to move away altogether, and summoning their dependants told them that whoever would engage to follow and defend them might come, the others should receive their pay and dismissal. Every man of them solemnly engaged to adhere to their cause. The Prince accordingly gave to each, presents and shawls accordingly to their several ranks. When the Minister saw such numbers collected together, he represented to the King that the Prince had certainly conceived some evil design, and that with such disturbances threatening it was necessary to take steps for His Majesty's safety and protection. The King being taken in by the cajoling of that false Minister (literally *like Damnah* in allusion to a Jackal in one of the well-known fables of Pilpay) concurred in his suggestions. Upon which that despicable minded personage with the royal permission began to collect troops and to call for the aid of the English forces.

*The terms used are "Wazir Farman-rawa-i-Oude," and may be construed simply the Minister of the King of Oude. The king, however is in no other place designated by the term Farman-rawa.

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"The rest we shall give in the next number of our paper."

"I refrain from noticing other objectionable passages which occur both in the Persian newspapers above quoted, and in those in the Bengallee language. In the latter much bitter and acrimonious controversy has been introduced regarding the *Sati* question; were this dispute voluntarily and really conducted by the Natives without the intervention of Europeans, the discussion might lead to beneficial results.

"It is obvious however that the editors of the papers in the Native languages have already been and will continue to be liable to the influence of their European friends and patrons, and that in the progress of the free Native Press of India, the pages of the Native newspapers may become the channel of spreading throughout the country such reports and strictures and doctrines as the bigotry, self-interest, disappointment or malignity of European British subjects may choose to circulate. On the contrary, if superintended with prudence and under the restraint of legal authority, the Native newspapers may be made the instrument of extraordinary and extensive benefit, in disseminating useful knowledge in correcting prejudices, and in facilitating the accomplishment of those measures which may be directed by Government, with a view to the improvement of our institutions, and to the promotion of happiness, prosperity and civilization amongst the numerous and rapidly increasing population of British India.

"I earnestly hope that the authorities in England (with whom the determination of this important question must now rest) will carefully consider the subject with reference to the nature of the society and Government of this country, and that the result of their deliberations may be such as by upholding the authority of the British Government in India, may promote the security of our dominion, and the real interest of those subject to our rule."*

There were other Minutes, besides the above, in the same strain, by John Adam and John Fendall on the Press in India. On the departure of Lord Hastings from India (Jany. 1823) the Acting Governor-General, John Adam, passed on 14th March 1823, a rigorous Press Ordinance, which was duly registered by the Supreme Court on 4th April. One effect of the new regulations was the closing of Ram Mohun's *Mirat*, immediately after these regulations had been registered by the Supreme Court.

* *Bengal Public Consultations*, Vol. 55, 17 Octr., 1822, No. 8 Minute. (India Office Records).

SIR JAGADIS CHANDRA BOSE A LEADING FIGURE OF ASIATIC RENIASSANCE

By DR. TARAKNATH DAS, Ph. D.

THE twentieth century is the era of Asiatic renaissance and various political and military leaders of the New Orient have captured the imagination and admiration of the world. It is a fact that the present-day political civilization places greater value upon the achievements of military and political leaders than those of men and women who silently, facing all odds, work in the cultural field. However, in our estimation a Noguchi is no less a hero than a Togo. In the history of the cultural revival of Asia, Sir Jagadis Chandra Bose will, among others, have a most prominent place.

The Revelations of Life

The triumph that attended Sir J. C. Bose's recent visit to Europe is undoubtedly a very important event in the history of Science. His numerous discoveries have made the strongest appeal, not only to specialists in Science, but to all intellectuals, including philosophers and men of letters. This Indian pioneer of science has three times astonished the world with the results of his discoveries, first, on the property of invisible electric waves, then in revealing the inner and invisible activities of plant life, thirdly, in establishing the unique generalisation of the unity of all life.

When he commenced his investigations more than a third of a century ago, there were for him no facilities of research, no laboratory worth the name, and no instrument-makers to construct the necessary apparatus. But difficulties, apparently insur-

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mountable, did not deter him from the pursuit of his quest; it was not for him to follow the beaten track. The lure that draws heroic souls is not success, but defeat and tribulations in the pursuit of the unattainable. He declared that it is not for man to complain of circumstances but bravely to accept, to confront and dominate them. The history of his struggles for more than twenty-five years will give courage to those who want to dedicate themselves to the establishment of truth.

His First Discoveries

The present generation is not aware of the difficulties which confronted this Indian pioneer of science, arising from the widely accepted view that no great advance could be made in Oriental countries in the domain of positive knowledge. Yet his first discoveries on the optical properties of electric waves filled Lord Kelvin, the greatest physicist of the age "with wonder and admiration". Year after year his discoveries in the realm of the invisible light were published by the Royal Society. He had the unique honor, in 1896, of being asked to deliver a Friday Evening Discourse at the Royal Institution, from the same place where Davy and Faraday announced their epoch-making discoveries. His success at various scientific centres of Europe was equally striking. An account of his discoveries is given in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, and in all important text-books. Sir J. J. Thomson, the eminent physicist has recently written :

"The study of the properties of electric waves was facilitated by the method introduced by Bose of generating extremely short electric waves. By this method he obtained important results on coherence, polarisation, double refraction and rotation of plane of polarisation. Another aspect of his work is that they mark the dawn of the revival of interest in India, of researches in Physical Science; this which has been so marked a feature of the last thirty years, is very largely due to the work and influence of Sir Jagadis Bose."

The most recent German Encyclopaedia "*Memschund Menschenwerke*" writes :

"Professor Bose's first researches were on the production of shortest electric waves. At this time (1894) he was occupied on the technical problem of firing weapons and explosives at a distance by means of wireless waves. This was one of the first experiments at using electric waves as transmitters of energy. In this great *Indian Savant*, the pure passion for truth is allied to the most rare cosmic vision."

And here we come to the second and the most important period of his life when he relinquished his brilliant and assured career in Physical Science for his great adventure into the mystery of life and its numerous manifestations. In pursuing his investigations on the properties of inorganic matter, he was amazed to find boundary lines vanishing and points of contact emerging between the realms of *the Living and Non-living.* Metals he found responding to stimulus; they are subject to fatigue, stimulated by certain drugs and 'killed' by poisons. Matter had thus the promise and potency of life. This most astonishing discovery, announced before the International Science Congress in Paris in 1900, created a great sensation among the assembled scientists of the world. Between the inorganic life at one end and highly sentient animal life at the other, there was spread the vast inarticulate life of the world of plants seemingly inert and impassive. Was there a continuity amidst such bewildering diversities ? In other words, was the world a Chaos or a Cosmos in which the human mind is to discover an uniform sequence of law and order ? His Indian mind could not be satisfied with arbitrary barriers that separated different branches of knowledge. But what of the glaring difference which divide the two living kingdoms of plant and animal ? We cannot see the plants move, whilst the restless animal is in a state of constant motion. But have we the acuteness of vision to see imperceptible tremors of excitement in a plant ?

"Out of the imperfections of his senses", says Bose, "man has built himself a raft of thought to adventure into the seas of the unknown. Where visible light ends, he still follows the invisible ; where the note of the audible reaches the unheard, even there he gathers the tremulous message." When our microscopic vision failed, he invented instruments of surpassing delicacy which could visualise movements which no human eye beheld before. He succeeded by the invention of his famous *Electric Probe* to exhibit how the plant gave an electric twitch to every shock. He demonstrated this in his second Friday Evening Discourse before the Royal Institution in 1901, and at the meeting of the Royal Society. It was then that he roused the intense hostility of some specialists who like Burdon Sanderson resented the intrusion of a physicist into the preserve of the physiologist. Because Burdon Sanderson failed to discover any response of the ordinary plant like the

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response of the animal, so the gap between the two could never be bridged. Bose that day took up the challenge, he was to devote all his life for the establishment of a new science which unified all life. It was to be years of conflict of a single mind against a solid phalanx of opposition.

Opposition to New Advance in Science

Advance in Science can only be made by demolition of old and unfounded speculations of men who occupy leading positions. They cannot welcome new knowledge which make theirs antiquated and out of date. The authors of "Text Books" and Professors of the old school find their position untenable. Then there are human gramophones who without understanding love to repeat their master's voice. The difficulty of novel doctrines can be realised from the opposition to Darwin, who would have been crushed but for the able championship of his devoted friends. But Bose was a stranger from the East, the land of dreamers, who alone challenged the conceptions accepted by the West. His opponents point out that India was a land of magic, and that Bose is possessed of a speculative type of mind and that in all likelihood he is swayed by the intangible mysticism common to his country. Even his recent admirers regard him as the Plant Wizard, Edison being the Wizard of Menlo Park. Bose succeeded in the impossible task of compelling the inarticulate plants to write down the history of their inner experiences. Nothing short of a magic could have done it.

Not merely a vague charge of Eastern mysticism but open hostility stood in Bose's way. In the West, inquirers flock to the laboratory of the inventor to appraise his discoveries and inventions. But who would ever travel to the distant East to test the miracles? And so Bose faced the problem in his characteristic way; he decided to carry his laboratory and his plants to all scientific centres and meet his opponents. He had to face exceptional hardships in his scientific mission round the world, and also in his visits, more than a dozen times, to the scientific centres of Europe, where he gave demonstrations of his discoveries. His delicate instruments he had to carry personally. It was his dominant personality, his lucid exposition of the most difficult problems, the incredible perfection of his apparatus, that gradually broke down the opposition. His marvellous technique, and unfailing success in the most difficult scientific demonstrations won for him recognition as the prince of experimentalists.

Recognition of His Revolutionary Work

In this way his work won the enthusiastic appreciation of the most eminent plant physiologists of the present age, including Timiriazeff of Moscow, Pfeffer of Leipzig, Haberlandt of Berlin, Chodat of Geneva, Vines of Oxford, and Molisch of Vienna. Space only permits a few quotations. Chodat who followed Bose's works for many years wrote:—

"About a quarter of a century ago, having been invited by Vines, the great Oxford plant physiologist, to attend the meeting of the Linnean Society, I was privileged that evening to hear a young Hindu speak on a fascinating subject, the analogy which he had discovered between the response of plants and animals. What made the memorable conference particularly sensational was the marvellous methods of experimentation, and the automatic records which the plants were made to give of their reactions. Thus our inferior dumb brothers showed that they registered a number of impressions from their surroundings, retaining within themselves memories, like their superior brothers the animals. It is to this mysterious problem of plant-reflexes that Bose with a perseverance rare in Scientific History has consecrated an entire life-time of patient research, inventing every time a new apparatus capable of manifesting the secret reactions of the sensitive protoplasm. No one has been able to elucidate the interior excitation of plant-life more than he; for this the ingenuity and precision of the physicist had to find embodiment in the physiologist. The penetrating mind of the Indian Savant, ridding itself of non-essentials, is able to see beneath desceptive appearance the unity of life and brotherhood of all living beings."

Vines, whose work on plant Physiology is still the standard work in the English language, wrote for *Nature* its leading article on Bose Institute in which, after describing his most striking researches and discoveries he concludes that the Bose Institute "from the beginning expanded both materially and intellectually in a career of ever increasing brilliance, more than fulfilling the most sanguine expectations of its founder, and reviving the ancient reputation of India as a home of learning."

One of the greatest of plant physiologists is the eminent Russian Timiriazeff whose work is regarded as classical. He realised from the very beginning that at last, the study of life was pursued in a truly

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scientific way, and not evade the real issue by vague assumption of Vitalism which explained nothing. In realising the significance of Bose's doctrine, he wrote :—

"A very remarkable example of the application of physical methods to the physiology of plant is afforded by the labours of the Indian physicist whose very name indicates a new era in the development of science in general. His work will at once be acknowledged as a classic in the field of physiological research. Bose declares that it is by studying the simple phenomena in the non-organism can we hope to disentangle the more intricate responses of animal tissues. He thus demonstrates the bankruptcy of present physiological theorists : his has been a true triumph for scientific physiology and a fresh defeat of Vitalism."

Discourse at the Oxford Meeting of the British Association

Perhaps one of the greatest scientific triumphs of Bose was at the British Association, of which the *New York Times* wrote :—

"Rarely in all its history of nearly a hundred years of scientific achievement has the British Association for the Advancement of Science witnessed a more remarkable scene than when Sir Jagadis Bose, the Hindu Savant, demonstrated to an audience listening with absorbed interest the experiments by which he proved that plants live lives akin to human beings. Savants watching with a feel like pinching themselves to see if they were dreaming as Sir Jagadis in a matter of fact way revealed the wonders of life."

Ovation at the University of Vienna

Vienna is the great centre of biological science, and its Medical Faculty holds unique position. It was here that Bose's years of unremitting toil received the highest recognition. Here he met the greatest and most critical specialists of the day. Long before the hour the auditorium was crammed to the last of suffocation, and the audience stood breathless in watching the marvels. Now and then was the deep silence broken by the feelings applause. The Rector of the University declared that Bose by his discoveries had opened new gates of knowledge, had rendered possible explorations into regions which had hitherto been regarded as sacred. These discoveries would be of the greatest benefit to humanity in advancing agriculture and Medicine. Prof. Molisch, one of the greatest living physiologists, said he would undertake the journey to Calcutta to work in the Temple of Science (the Bose Institute), and be inspired by the new methods which had created so great a revolution in our concepts of the functions of life.

Here as elsewhere his opponents became his warmest admirers and adherents, and they crowned the innovator by conferring the rare honor of electing him, by an overwhelming majority, as a Member of the Academy of Sciences of Vienna.

Meeting of Specialists

For removing the misgiving that none but its inventor could work the extra-ordinarily sensitive instruments, Bose held a special meeting of the leading scientific men and of the foremost specialists of medicine so that they could take the instrument to pieces, reassemble them and repeat the experiments themselves. The head of the department for construction of high-class precision instruments for research of the Vienna University was also present to take notes and sketches of the different parts of the apparatus. It was realised how direct and simple was the principle involved ; but the head of the instrument-makers soon confessed that the perfection of the apparatus, due to the extra-ordinary skill of men trained in the Bose Institute, could not be approached elsewhere, and the world must be dependent upon the Indian source of supply. An eye-witness thus describes the marvellous scene witnessed at that memorable occasion :

"Sir Jagadis passed a feeble current of electricity through the plant, and simultaneously through one of the world-famous scientists who was in the same circuit. The human being felt nothing, but we all saw the responsive indicator of light flicker and dance as the plant twitched at the shock. Then he electrocuted the plant and we saw it writhe in death-agony. After this repeated applications of the shock failed to produce the slightest response of the electrocuted body. Now this was a miracle—not merely to the eyes of the laymen, but to those of the foremost specialists of this great scientific city, who pressed round the Indian savant to shake his hand in their unbounded enthusiasm.

"The Plant-Man now took on the more human role of the rescuer of the dying. A dying and a drooping plant was given a dose of stimulant ; it at once raised its head in token of revived life. Hardly was the act of mercy complete, then for our benefit, the plant was given a dose of poison. The leaves drooped as we watched them during the death-struggle. Sir Jagadis was watching his "patient" as a physician employing a deadly drug in an emergency, watches his. Quick now the antidote ! Twenty drops of life-saving fluid was given and the march of death became arrested. For a minute there was stillness. Then slowly, stiffly at first, the heart-beat of the plant became revived.

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"He then showed us a frog apparently dead, whose heart had ceased to beat. A few drops of the newly discovered Indian drug was now applied, and the greatest feat of the evening was in progress. The heart of the apparently dead animal became revived ; it rose and fell rhythmically before our eyes, lifting and lowering a lever quarter of an inch at each beat, recording in a smoked glass plate the precise graph of the heart's action."

Reception at the University of Munich

An equally enthusiastic reception was accorded to Bose when he gave his discourses before the University of Munich. At a special dinner in his honour given by the Rector and the Faculty, Geheimrat Goebel, the Director of the famous Botanical Gardens, and the author of the classical work on Organography said—

"We all know how much India has given to the world in religion, philosophy and art ; now we are privileged to see a new epoch of Indian influence when the light of Asia is shining brightly to illuminate the darkness which surrounded the science of life."

The Web of Life

What is the true significance of the new discoveries ? *The Manchester Guardian* lays special emphasis on the new discoveries about the similarities of animal and vegetable life of which the Bose Institute has been so important a centre and says :

"Sir Jagadis has been called the "*Darwin of Botany*" but the phrase is not a happy one. The Darwinian theory laid its special emphasis on the conflict underlying existence, while the researches for which Sir Jagadis has been most renowned have thrown new light on the Unity of Nature. The Nineteenth Centuries.' Science studies Nature's red tooth and claw, while the new investigation has revealed many harmonies in the web of life. Sir Jagadis has viewed the life of the forest as a kind of unity in which the flora are closely related to the fauna, and his investigations on the nervous system of plants have led to a new knowledge which overthrows our conception of the lilies of the field as remote and unfeeling adjuncts of life."

Dawn of a New Era

In the remarkable philosophic work on *Life's Unity and Rhythm* published in the series of To-day and To-morrow, the author says :

"A portent has appeared which is of the greatest significance ; shadows that we look for substantial barriers are being dissipated by the painstaking method of scientific experiment, and a whole collection of categories that we had come to accept as facts have been revealed as being but mere fictions born partly of our ignorance, partly of the characteristically 'Western' inability to see anything whole and undivided. An Eastern mind, seeing Nature whole and working with the critical experimental science of the West was needed, and in the fulness of time was forthcoming the Indian genius Jagadis Bose, the Bengali physicist. Centuries hence men may point to Bose as a conveniently identifiable point from which to date the dawn of the new thought, just as we today put our finger on Socrates when we wish to focus our view of the beginning of that new thought which inspired the West for centuries and to say "'Here is our landmark, here the new can be said to have been first recognisable as something that was characteristically different.'"

Influence on Modern Thought

Bernard Shaw after seeing one of Bose's demonstrations presented him with a special edition of his collected works bearing the inscription "From the least to the greatest biologist". Roman Rolland sent his *Jean Christophe* with the note "To the Revealer of a New World". The editor of the *Spectator* of London organised a lunch in his honor where the greatest literary people like Galsworthy, Noyes, Rebecca West, Norman Angel, Yeats Brown and others came to offer congratulations to one who had in so eminent a degree enriched human thought. They asked him to tell them the significance of his discoveries, and the aspirations of India and the influences which contributed to the new renaissance.

Bose's address in reply produced the most profound impression among his distinguished audience who had no difficulty in realising the baselessness of the slander aginst the people of India that had been circulated for propaganda dist purposes. The Spectator published several articles from the pen of its literary editor, who also contributed a striking article in the *Fortnightly Review*; the following extracts are taken from these articles:

"In Bose is seen an invincible, perhaps immortal quality which has given a permanence to the Indian civilization such as no other nation has approached. In Sir Jagadish the culture of thirty centuries has blossomed into a scientific brain of an order which we cannot duplicate in the West. We find in him a spiritual sense difficult to define, intangible yet evident, preeminently of the East, the quality out of which all great faiths have grown.

"His life is entirely given to the institute that bears his name. It is a threshold whence we may see visions of a future emancipated for science, as a worshipper in an Indian temple may see from the glare and din without, the obscure shadow of an inner shrine. Beyond that lie, other shrines, other mysteries. To the fanes of India the devoted bring offerings of white jasmine, sym-

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tols of pure in heart. It is such a wreath that Sir Jagadish had laid upon the altars of Science."

But is not the woman of India taking her proper share in the great national revival? The writer answers:—

"Bose had three gifts of the gods—a heart for any fate; a democratic education amongst his own people, who number among them some of the subtlest thinkers in the world; and a helper in Lady Bose who is a type of all that is bravest and most beautiful in Indian womahood. She has been his mainstay throughout the difficult years of struggle, and she is beside him now that he is famous. Together they have achieved a great work for scientific progress, and they have set a sign and seal on the character of India's right to be a leader in civilisation."

Baden-Baden
Germany. September 3, 1928.

RAJA RAM MOHAN ROY

By C. F. ANDREWS

THE centenary of he founding of the Brahmo Samaj makes evident to us the fact, that Raja Ram Mohan Roy's greatness increases as the centuries pass and his light does not grow dim. It may be regarded as certain that, in another century's time, his name will stand out even more prominently in human history, and his pioneer work will be recognised by East and West alike as of paramount importance.

For it is not sufficient to regard him as merely one among the many great men of the Nineteenth Century. He stands in the very front rank of all, as the originator in the East of the vast movement of human thought that bound the two hemispheres of humanity closely together. He held a unique position, at the head of one of the supreme moral revolutions in the history of Man. It was through his genius, that Asia awoke and realised her true self in contact with the West.

Again, it is not enough to call him the founder of the Bengal Renaissance, or even of the Indian Renaissance merely,—though he was that in a superlative degree. But he was much more than that. For the Bengal Movement of last century, which he created, led the way to almost every subsequent awakening in Asia. Consider, for instance, the origin of the Meiji, or Era of Enlightenment, in Japan. Its beginning came nearly half a century later than that of Bengal, and it undoubtedly owed much at the start to the fact that another part of Asia was already remarkably awake. It would be possible to trace the effect of the Bengal Renaissance on different parts of India and through them on Western Asia.

Raja Ram Mohan, by his amazing genius, not only led the way; he also gave the principles which should direct the whole of this Movement in Asia forward on its right course. He realised that East and West had at last finally met. He grasped the true inner meaning of their meeting at a time when everything depended on the turn the movement would take in its first stage.

Ram Mohan Roy's further 'magnanimity' was this,—I am using the word in its literal sense of 'greatness of soul',—he aimed at a new era in Asia not merely in intellectual and social reform but also in religious thinking. He based everything he tried to accomplish upon the higher moral conception of God; and he kept that conception of God pure and spiritual.

The Brahmo Samaj, since his time, may possibly be regarded by those who have never thought much about the subject as small in numbers. But the spread of its seed-thoughts continues, and these are of far greater importance to mankind than the popularity of the mass mind. It is true, in all the highest spiritual things, that 'many are called, but few are chosen'. Thus Raja Ram Mohan Roy sowed in his own life-time seed-thoughts, which are beginning to bear fruit in our times,—a century later. They will continue to do so for many centuries hence, when other Movements much more popular today, and numerically much more powerful, are completely forgotten.

It is difficult, even in our own age, either to think or to speak too highly of such a genius as Raja Ram Rohan Roy. Indeed, it is practically certain, that we have

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not yet been able rightly to envisage his true greatness in the vast perspective of the ages ; for he will come gradually to his own, as one who was literally centuries before his time. What can be truly said is this, that the century that has now passed, since he founded the Brahmo Samaj, has been full of new discovery. Yet it has in no way superseded or made antiquated the central religious thoughts of Ram Mohan Roy himself. Much rather is it literally true to say, that his ideas about universal religion were so premature that they are only now at last coming to be fully understood and appreciated. Men are thinking their own thoughts after him, hardly realising that he had thought them out long ago.

A very interesting illustration,—which happened to me personally quite recently,—will serve to illustrate what I mean. I was staying with Dr. Barnes, the Bishop of Birmingham, whose reputation at Trinity College, Cambridge, as a mathematician and a man of science, is very high indeed. He is one of the few 'modernists' among the bishops in the Church of England to-day, and as such has been bitterly attacked by those who hold what are called fundamentalist doctrines about the Christian religion. He has also been attacked by the High Church Anglicans at the same time.

While coming over to France in the S. S. Athos II from Colombo, I had read carefully his book on Christianity. What immediately struck me was the likeness of his book on certain important subjects,—such as the magical theory of worship which he unreservedly condemned,—with that of Raja Ram Mohan Roy. The very argument against any use of idolatry, or magic, that the Bishop uses, as savouring of magic, is virtually the same as that used a hundred years ago by the Raja.

Another test may be applied, which is a very severe one on books of religious controversy. Usually, in such controversies, the writing about them dies a natural death along with the controversy itself. I have gone through one room after another, in the Cambridge University library, where books of this kind are piled high and never disturbed from their shelves. The dispute itself has been long forgotten and the books are forgotten with it. But whenever I have studied Raja Ram Mohan Roy's English works, it has always been borne in upon me, that what he has written is living still and can be profitably read over and over again. For he always went down to principles and carried out his thinking work so thoroughly, that his words are fresh and living even to-day. It is good news that a collected edition of his works is being published, as a Centenary Memorial. Such a programme of revival of his writings ought to have heartiest sympathy and support.

Here again, I am not speaking merely from hearsay, but from my own practical experience. In the year 1917, when I was going out to Fiji alone, it happened that I had kept with me an old edition of his English works. These so absorbed my interest,—in spite of the usual sea-sickness that I have on every voyage,—that not only did I read through the whole from beginning to end, but when I had finished, I actually went through most of his writings a second time on the same voyage,—a thing I rarely am able to do, even with a modern book, however interesting and important.

This article is in no sense intended to be comprehensive. It is written under great difficulty owing to lack of leisure. But it is not possible to conclude it without a reference to his character and personality. These in many ways were as unique and outstanding as his thoughts and writings. He was a moral hero among men.

The boy who, at the age of fifteen or sixteen, could dare to make alone on his own initiative a perilous journey across inaccessible mountain passes into Tibet, simply in order to obtain first-hand knowledge about another religion, while he was making a comparative study of the different religions of mankind,—such a boy is certainly a unique figure in human history. He ranks, even on that account alone, with the greatest names as a scientific explorer. He may truly be called the founder, in our Modern Age, of the science of Comparative Religion. It must also be remembered, that the idea of religious harmony, came to him, not in the midst of an intellectual ferment surrounding him on every side, but rather in the midst of a Brahmin Orthodoxy so confined that there seemed hardly any escape from its bondage. Not only did this young boy leave his home on this adventure, but he was able afterwards to reconcile his orthodox father to what he had done, bringing him in the end to recognise his moral purpose and high endeavour. It has also to be remembered,

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that his personal courage was so great that he went about for many years in almost daily danger of death at the hands of those who bitterly resisted his reforming spirit and misinterpreted his motives. His courage never failed him, nor did his immediate forgiveness of personal injuries ever grow dim. He was ever large-hearted, charitable and generous in his thoughts and actions.

There is one pilgrimage I always wish to pay in England, whenever I return there from India. It is to the last earthly resting place of the mortal remains of Raja Ram Mohan Roy,—the one human being of modern times, who has done more than anyone else to reconcile East with West and West with East.

COMMENT AND CRITICISM

[This section is intended for the correction of inaccuracies, errors of fact, clearly erroneous views, misrepresentations, etc., in the original contributions, and editorials published in this Review or in other papers criticizing it. As various opinions may reasonably be held on the same subject, this section is not meant for the airing of such differences of opinion. As, owing to the kindness of our numerous contributors, we are always hard pressed for space, critics are requested to be good enough always to be brief and to see that whatever they write is strictly to the point. Generally, no criticism of reviews and notices of books is published. Writers are requested not to exceed the limit of five hundred words.—Editor, The Modern Review.]

Mr. Dilip Kumar Roy on Musical Education in Bengal

May I humbly suggest that *your* paper at least should be superior to countenancing bitter personal attacks which contain venom in lieu of argument? If I differ from Grasshopper on musical grounds by all means let us controvert each other by reasoning. But why such virulent *personal* attack and that too not openly? Why does not Grasshopper disclose his name? Very soon a letter will be published in the press in which Pundit Bhatkhande has expressed his poor opinion of the Bishnupur style. It is against this *style* that we wage war—not against any personalities. So why bring in personalities in such a respected journal as yours and that under a mask? I have never attacked Gopeswar Babu personally. I have only depreciated his style.

I will not reply to the challenge of the Grasshopper of my musical ability because I cannot accept a challenge unless I know the identity as well as bonafides of the man who throws down the gauntlet. Otherwise. I would easily show to him that I can sing *Multan* or *Lalit* (though *Sri* I cannot sing well) to the *talas*, *madhyaman* or *aretheka*. If however "Grasshopper" is sincerely open to conviction I am agreeable to inviting him to a musical demonstration as well as discussion which will be presided over by a man like Bhatkhande or Rai Bahadur Surendra Nath Majumdar (whom Rabindranath considers to-day as the greatest living classical Bengali singer). But as I am not quite sure whether Grasshopper wants simply to discredit me with insinuations and imprecation, I will try to prove that these are not true.

(1) First, as for my silence touching Doctorate of Music. It is quite a few years when I first publicly proclaimed that I was not a doctor of Music. See our well-known controversy in the *Forward* entitled "Comments and Reflection on classical Indian Music" between me and Sj. Pramathanath Banerji—the musician against whom Sarat Chandra took up his sarcastic pen in the *Bharatbarsha*. (I refer to this to show that the controversy is well-known.) In this letter I wrote: "First of all, I must let Mr. Bannerji know that I am not a Doctor of Music. I do not know why he has taken me for one." If "Grasshopper" wants I can show him the whole letter. I have its cutting still. Then again in the Lucknow University where I was given a reception by the students and professors—a gathering of over 1500 people—I had interrupted the President G. M. Chakravarti, the late Vice-Chancellor when he had referred to me as a Bachelor of Music. I can say with absolute honesty that I have never let such statements pass unchallanged or wanted to profit dishonourably therefrom. But surely one could not go on contradicting till doomsday if people would persist in calling me Doctor—my public declaration notwithstanding?

(2) Secondly, as for my conversation with Tagore entitled "The Function of Woman's Shakti", I beg to claim that it was published in the *Vishva-Bharati* without my knowledge. Thus I am not responsible for the omission of the preface which Tagore had written at the head of the original Bengali version. If anybody is responsible for this omission it is either Rabindranath or Surendranath, editor of the *Vishva Bharati Quarterly* I vouch for it that both will testify to this truth In the preface of my book which will soon be published in the West under the name "Among the Great" containing my *authorised* interviews with Rolland, Russell, Tagore and Aurobindo you will see this acknowledgment made in the preface. This is now with Sri Aurobindo at

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Pondicherry who is revising my report. The "Grasshopper" can verify this if he writes to Aurobindo for the paragraph wherein I have admitted that this article was not written by me at all except for my questions therein. Surely, this should be convincing as showing that this preface I wrote in August last before the accusation of Grasshopper.

(3) Thirdly, I want to maintain that it was no snubbing that I had from Rolland. He simply took it amiss that I should have published his letters without authorisation and that with comments. I had apologised to him and he has been corresponding with me as affectionately as ever as will be shown when I will shortly publish his last long letter (dated 22. 8. 28) in which he has corrected all my interviews. I can show this letter to Grasshopper if he really wants to be convinced. He will then probably agree that my interview with Rolland on Vivekananda was simply misreported at places. That is all. There are three other reports which have needed very little revision as I can show Grasshopper if he comes to inspect Rolland's marginal corrections with his own hand. It will take too long to expound where I differed from Rolland in music. Suffice it therefore to say that it was not anent European music but apropos appreciation of Indian music in the West. Thus I have never indulged in wise dissertations on *European music*; I had only expressed my doubts whether European musicians could be quickly emotionally moved by our high-class *Raga* improvisations. Surely on this point I may well have my doubts!

One last point. I have never attacked Gopeswar Babu personally. It is his Bishnupur style I am up against. I know even this cannot but pain the admirers of that style now, but as I believe that if people heard really good styles in music they would lose their admiration of this indifferent style, I am for introducing the best style. That is all. I do not see why this should anger Grasshopper so much.

Let me end with a citation from a letter of Pundit Bhatkhande (dated 3. 10. 28 from Bombay) which is extremely relevant particularly at this juncture :—

"You were present at the last three sessions of the All-India Music Conference, and must have seen for yourself how the performance of the experts that came from Bengal failed to appeal to Hindustani audiences. Not that the *Ragas* the experts sang were incorrect from the point of view of grammar and techinque but the fault was in the wrong pronunciation of the Swaras and Bols, in fact, in the general style of singing."

I quote this because in our country people too often confuse between grammar and style and therefore fail signally to appreciate what (on earth) is meant by style!

This unenlightenment has indeed surprised me. Fancy the same inexpertism in literary criticisms! But let that pass.

But Rabindranath, being a supreme stylist in literature, appreciates this; that is why he sent a Professor to see the D. P. I., urging the latter to call in Pundit Bhatkhande instead of the Bishnupur stylists and that is why he sent me a telegram : "I strongly recommend Bhatkhande for directing musical studies in Bengal."

This telegram I have handed over to the D. P. I. and was read out the 14th September at the Rotunda meeting.

But surely such attempts on the part of the poet or of Pundit Bhatkhande do not mean that they bear a personal grudge against Gopeswar Babu?

DILIP KUMAR ROY

—

"Grasshopper's" Rejoinder

I have gone through Mr. D. K. Roy's answer to my letter a copy of which you so kindly sent me. D. K. R. seems to be more concerned over vindicating his own honour, which he believes has been besmirched by my "personal attack" than with music and its teaching in Bengal. I shall therefore first of all take up this question of "personal attack" and then proceed to other things.

The point at issue was the musical knowledge and skill of Sj. Gopeswar Banerjee, and Sj. Dilip K. Roy was the principal critic of G. B. The practice of music is a part of culture and, it was for this reason, that I attempted to put to test the musical and cultural pretentions of the critic D. K.R. If in the course of my examination of D. K. R.'s credentials, I have presumed to suggest that he is not above narrow bias and intensive dislike or love of persons as against principles, it was not with a view to lower D. K. R. the man in the public eye : but to arrive at a proper valuation of the critic D. K. R. This was no "personal attack" just as D. K. R.'s attempt at discrediting G. B. in every conceivable way before the public was no personal attack.

D. K. R. is very frank regarding his lack of of a Doctorate. If he openly declares in a paper like *the Modern Review* that he has never received any degree or diploma in music anywhere I have nothing more to say on the point.

I am also glad to learn that he was not responsible for the mistake in the *Star*, which credited him with the authorship of things written by Rabindranath Tagore. I hope that the recent article on "Simplicity and Elaboration in Music" in the *Sravan* number of the *Visva-Bharati Quarterly* is really by himself and not *again* a mistake : for frequent mistakes react injuriously on public credulity.

D. K. R. says that M. Rolland did not "snub" him and that he still has great affection for D. K. R. In my opinion one can snub a person as well as have affection for him, and that even such *enfants terribles* as D. K. R. himself are sometimes extremely lovable persons. Rolland wrote about D. K. R. as follows in the *Prabuddha Bharat* of June 1928.

"I have read in the February *Prabuddha Bharata* an interview which Dilip Kumar Roy has published about me...I am much dissatisfied with it...He attributes to me remarks entirely different from those which I made.

Then Rolland points out four glaring misrepresentation by D. K. R. connected with his views about Europe's interest in Asia, the Schopenhaner Society, Gandhi and Social Service and other things. If D. K. R. refuses to feel snubbed after this, I only admire his grit and apologise for having attributed him with such sensibilites.

We now come to music, style, Bhatkhande, etc.

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I find that D. K. R.'s main grievance against Gopeswar Bannerjee is that his songs and style are not liked by Hindustani singers and by Bhatkhande. This does not convince us. Bengalees often like things what men of other parts of India do not like and vice versa. This does not prove anything about the excellence things Bengalee or Hindustani. Secondly teaching of music has more to do with grammar than with "style." Gopeswar Banerjee's pupils do not (unfortunately for them) always attain to his style. Some of them sing quite like D. K. R. when they choose the path of cheap decorative variations and leave that of the grander syntheses found in the great *Ragas* and their expression in the difficult *Talas*. By D. K. R's own confession we learn that he cannot sing *Sriraga* nor in the more difficult talas like *Choutal*, *Dhamar*, *Surfacta*, etc. I am of opinion that *Dhrupad*, is the soul of Indian music. A system in which there is no place for *Dhrupad*, as evidently will be any system which D. K. R. instals. is as effective in keeping the spirit of our music alive as any system of art instruction, which scratches out drawing life study, nature study etc., and fills up the whole curriculum with decorative designing only. Like literature which contains only lyrics, skits and sketches it will turn its students into cultural Surf-riders who after all do not rule the waves, as do the battle-ships, merchant men and submarines. I believe D. K. R's choice of musical style is merely the outcome of that superb eclecticism of his, which is ever outward-bound for finding his own nation's soul, collecting knick knacks from the surface of all cultures and expecting to put life into his own national culture by polishing and adorning its surface only, leaving the vitals to take care of themselves. Style is found in men's clothing, character in their soul. We want our musical instruction to mould our musical character and this Gopeswar Bannerjee can achieve much better than anybody else including Surendranath Mazumdar the greatest musical genius of Bengal.

yours etc.

Grasshopper

P. S. D. K. R. bemoans G. B.'s inability to pronounce Hindi words correctly. Assuming this to be true, we are not ashamed of G. B. for this failing. Bhatkhande in his letter published in the *Forward* says that if he were to arrange musical instruction in Bengal, he would allow the pupils to be taught one or two Bengali songs. I hope I shall die before I hear the wonderful songs of Rabindranath or some other composer mispronounced by *Hindustani Ostads* who will be teaching music in Bengal.

—

A Letter from Rabindranath

To

The Editor,

Dear Sir,

Mr. Dilip Kumar Roy on reading the comments in *Modern Review* with reference to himself has written a letter to Rabindranath. The poet had asked me to let you know his views on the matter which are as follows :—

"My discussions with Sriman Dilip Kumar Roy were published in *Probasi* in Bengali and in *The Viswasbharati Quarterly* in English. I had to say in the prefatory remarks of the said article in *Probasi* that the language of the article was entirely mine. I left out that portion of my article in the English translation as irrelevant. For this reason the public might have thought that as the article contained the name of Mr. Dilip Kumar Roy, both the English and Bengali versions of it were written by himself. But, Mr. Dilip Kumar is not responsible for that idea of the readers. When he would be publishing these articles in some periodical or in the book form, he would undoubtedly disclose their true authorship.

"Srijut Gopeswar Bandyopadhyaya unquestionably deserves to be regarded as the greatest musician of Bengal. There is no reason to deny that he has acquired high proficiency by cultivating the Hindusthani music for generations. I believe that Srijut Bhatakhande is second to none in his knowledge of the science and technique of of Music. I do not, however, approve of it that any other master should be cried down simply to show off Sj. Bhatkhande."

Yours etc.

Amiya K. Chakravarty*

—

Pt. Jawaharlal's Address at the Students' Conference

In your issue for October you have been good enough to comment on my address at the Bengal Students' Conference. In one of your quotations a slight but vital error has crept in and you will permit me, I hope, to correct it. Speaking of communism I said :—

"I do not propose to discuss it here but I wish to tell you that though personally I do not agree with many of the methods of the communists and I am by no means sure to what extent communism can suit present conditions in India, I do believe in communism as an ideal of society. For essentially it is Socialism, and socialism I think is the only way if the world is to escape disaster.

By an unfortunate error I have been reported in some papers as having said that "I do *not* believe in communism as an ideal of society."

JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

EDITOR'S NOTE. We took the extract from a daily paper.—Ed. *M. R.*

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* This is a free translation of Mr. Chakravarty's original letter, which was in *Bengali*.

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The Hindusthan Association of America, New York, and the Indian community of the city gave a farewell picnic in honour of Miss Pranjam Thakor, B.Sc., M.A. (about whose academic distinctions we referred to in *The Modern Review* for August) and Miss Sybil Pramila Peters, B.A., on the eve of their departure for India. They have decided to take up educational works, particularly rural education, in India. Both the ladies were among the active members of the Hindusthan Association, Miss Thakor being one of the Vice-Presidents. In the course of her special work in connection with training in rural education, Miss Thakor had to travel extensively in America. She was awarded by the Teachers' College, Columbia University, New York, one of the Macy Scholarships of the International Institute. Prof. William H. Kilpatrick of the Columbia University, and Prof. Mabel Carney the Head of the Department of Rural Education, spoke highly of her attainments and character.

Miss Peters who comes from the Isabella Thoburn College of Lucknow, studied at



Miss Pranjam Thakor



Srimati T. Kanaka Lakshamma

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Miss A. C. Kuriyan



Miss B. Indiramma

the Lincoln University, Nebraska, receiving her B.A., degree in June 1928. In her college work Miss Peters majored in education. In India she expects to devote herself to the village school organization

Miss A. C. Kuriyan, B.A., has recently been appointed a *Barbour Scholar* in the University of Machigan, U. S. A. She has done teaching work in Travancore for two years and on her return from America she will be attached to the Post-graduate Department of the Faculty of Education.

Miss B. Indiramma, B.A., has proceeded to England to qualify herself for the M. ED., degree of the Leeds University.

Srimati T. Kanaka Lakshamma M A, (Mysore), B A. (Lond.) of the Mysore Education Service has recently been appointed as an honorary professor in Jaya Tilak's Ananda College, Ceylon. She is also highly proficient in music.

GLEANINGS

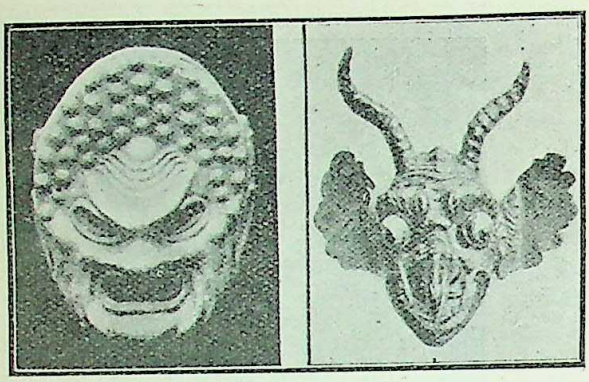
The Tradition of False Face

The mask is returning to our theater Eugene O'Neill seems to be obsessed with the fact that in life we are all hidden behind our masks and in two of his latest plays the mask is an important feature. The *Illustrierte Zeitung* (Leipzig) recalls. in an interesting article by Dr. Georg Jacob Wolf, the historic use and abuse of the mask. For their high birth and connections we must, he insists, go back to the most ancient times and to the farthest "zones" where we find these little objects given "something precious, something in the nature of a religious cult, which endows them with reason and a deeper meaning." For "When the carefree Greeks celebrated the feast of Dionysius, the great or rustic Dionysian feasts, at which life and lust were more deeply penetrated, they painted themselves with wine dregs—a sort of war-paint of joy. Later they preferred the use of red lead ; then they covered their faces with vine leaves ; still later they chose, in place of these, a covering of linen which was painted and had slits for the eyes and mouth. The linen, in turn, made way for leather which was occasionally gilded. Finally, masks, the genesis of which we have before us, were carved of wood, or they were formed of clay and baked. During the course of centuries actors indeed were the real mummers of the Dionysians, and their masks had developed along two lines tragedy and comedy. For example, the double mask with the serious, and the humorous, faunlike laughing face.

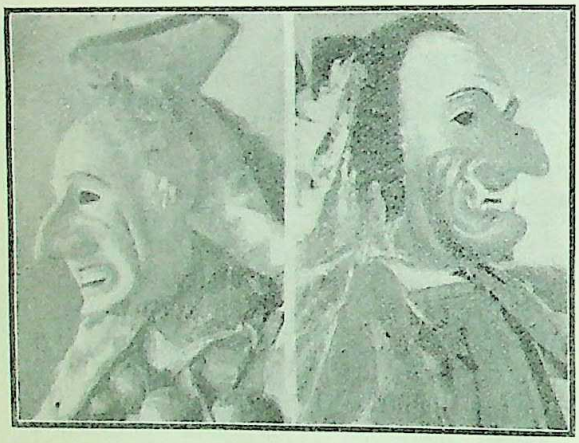
The Romans placed the greatest emphasis on

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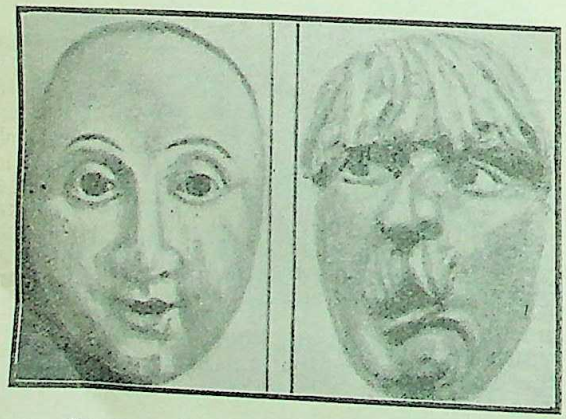
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CLASSIC AND MEDIEVAL MASKS
(Left) Roman comedy mask, molded from a model found in excavations of a Roman pottery near Augsburg. (Right) Devil mask used in the Perchten Dance, now in Salzburg Museum.

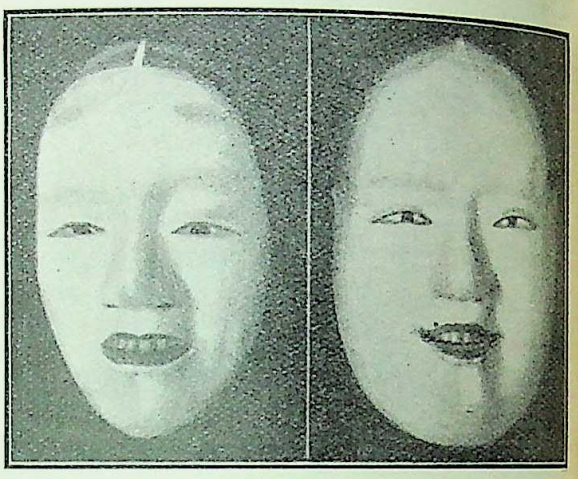


CARNIVAL MASKS USED IN ROTTWEIL
(Left) Fool with bells, (right) Feather John. The "Ride of the Fools" is still given during the carnival season in Rottweil, Germany.



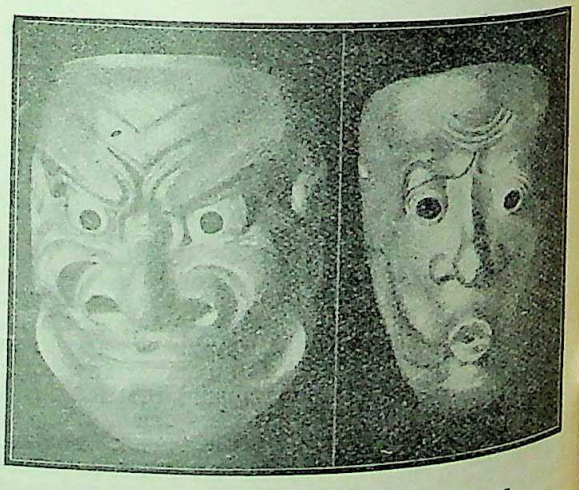
CARNIVAL MASKS USED IN WERDENFELS
Still worn in Garmisch and Partenkirchen during the Carnival

the mouthpiece as being the characteristic of the mask. "The mask, which had now become particularly hideous, was no stranger to the mystery theaters of the Middle Ages which, like the antique drama, had grown out of the cult which originally dealt only with themes religious and solely served the Church...



FASHIONABLE LADY AND SERVANT
Masks for the Japanese No Dance.

Through Gozzi and Goldoni, Venice became the center of the *Commedia dell arte* and the mask descended from the stage to the people. One cannot imagine Venice in the throes of carnival without masks. At the same time the memory of paintings by Tiepolo, Longhi, and Guardi arise, with their rococo Venetians who appeared so often with masks that one was forced to realize that the Venetians and masks were inseparable. This was not only true of the merry carnival period, but it was also true in Venice of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, at all times of the year."



JAPANESE TEMPLE AND DEMON MASKS

The writer now turns to others: those of the Orientals, the court masks, the

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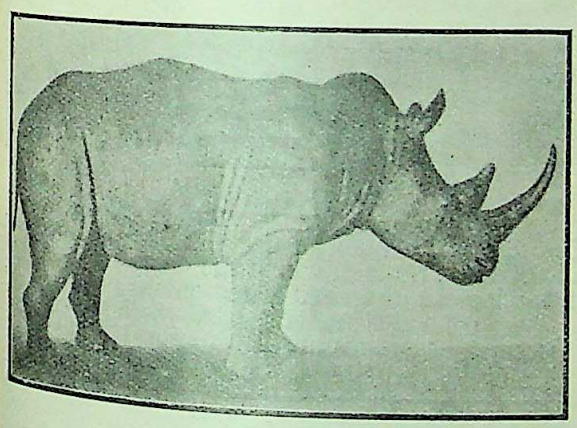
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temple masks, and the demon masks · "In Africa, in the Far East, occasionally in Japan, in China, in Siam, in the South Seas and in Central America the mask has been known and used from ancient times as it was known and used in Egypt.···And this proves a basic reason for the wearing of all masks. Man wishes to be other than he is usually mightier or more powerful. ···The fundamental idea is this : escape from one-self to an imaginary individuality a sort of reincarnation here on earth all brought about by the small object which we place in front of our real face at carnival without giving so much as a single thought to the cultural meaning of the mask and the thousand years of its development."

—

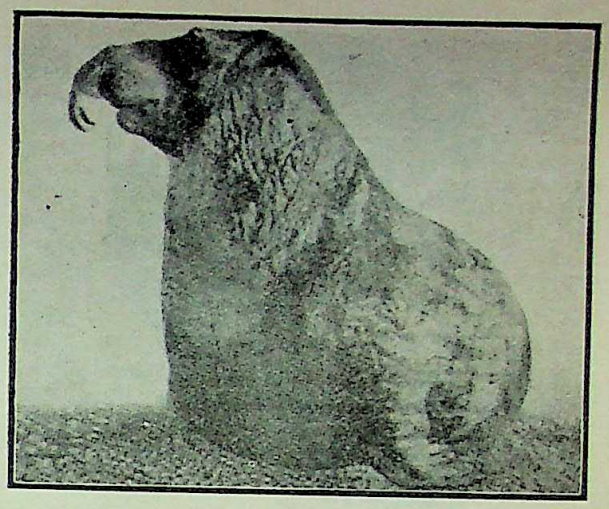
The End of the Mammals

In *Discovery* (London), H. J. Massingham gives some startling facts to show how rapidly man is exterminating other forms of mammalian life, largely for commercial reasons. "We have first of all to record the total disappearance of such animals and birds as the Blue Buck, the Quagga, Burchell's Zebra, the Passenger Pigeon, the Great Auk, Steller's Sea-cow, some of the great Land Tortoises, and other species of bird, mammal and reptile within the last hundred years.···Deer was declared extinct all over the 'dry zone' of Burma, and the once-common Swamp Deer was very scarce. The Indian Gazelle was reduced to a like poverty of numbers by the method of driving the terrified animals into ravines with nets stretched across them. In the once teeming country of Nepal Terai, it is now 'extremely unusual to see any



A Disappearing Giant
The white rhinoceros, the third largest land mammal living, seems doomed to speedy extinction. Last year it was estimated that only one hundred and fifty specimens of this species remained.

deer at all. The Pink-headed Duck is now extinct, while the Great Indian One-horned Rhinoceros only survives in a small district of British Assam. ···Lieutenant-Colonel Faunthorpe concluded that 'within a measurable space of time there will be practically no game (outside the Government Forest Reserves) left in India.' The 'spread of civilization' is often quoted as the inevitable cause for this improverishment, whereas a consultation of data reveals that commerce is the real angel of Death.



The Northern Sea-Elephant
This huge sea mammal, that once frequented in great numbers the Californian coast is yearly becoming rarer

—

Brains—How Come?

His better brain makes man supreme over the other animals. The gap is wide between him and his nearest rival, there is a real problem here, the problem of how man got that way. The modern scientific answer is that man's hands made his brains. It must be confessed that the earliest grandfather of them all, old Pithecanthropus Erectus of Java, was an un-lovely low-brow. He was not an ape, oh no, but he certainly had the marks. In the scale of brains, he stood right between the ape below and ourselves above. With hands he handles things, examines them, does things to them. He always learns best by doing. He learned reality by doing, for it really works. Apply an idea and you test



Chimpanzee

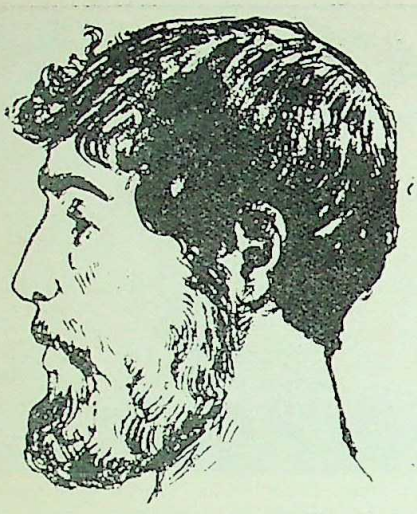


Java Ape-man
Courtesy J. H. Mc Gregor

it. If it is true, it works ; if false, it fails. Man got his truths that way. As he does his doing with his hands, he got his truths through his

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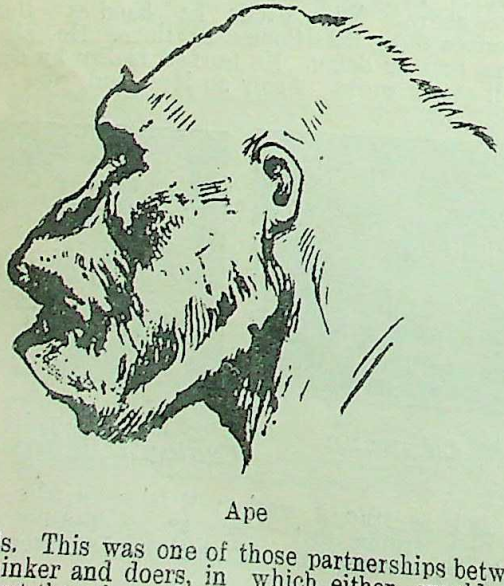
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Man



Ape-man



Ape

hands. This was one of those partnerships between a thinker and doers, in which either would fail without the other. Brains are usually assets, but never more than minor assets if they have no hands to do their stuff. Brains without hands never amounted to much, so they did not evolve. Brains with hands meant a lot, so they evolved rapidly.

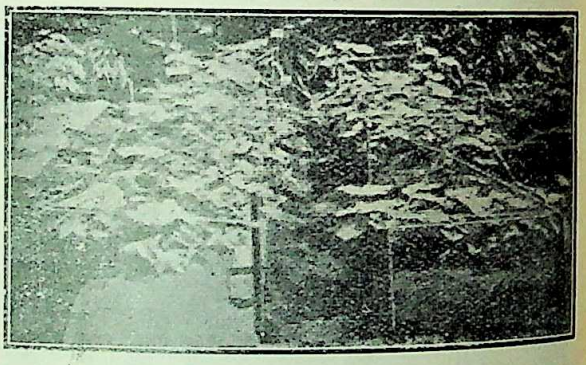
As long as we travelled on four feet, the hands were kept busy as feet and could not develop into real hands. This held the brain, the partner, down too. Luckily for us, one of our ancestors made just the right move. He climbed into the trees. That is how he got his hands. The brain followed.

Some of the descendants grew big, much too heavy for tree life and so they took to the ground. In the trees they had acquired the semi-erect attitude which partially freed the hands and as the free hands were too handy to lose, they became more and more erect. The tools of the hand relieved the heavy work of the jaws and the jaw grew smaller. The lower face receded, while the growing brain-case bulged up-ward. Man became a high-brow.

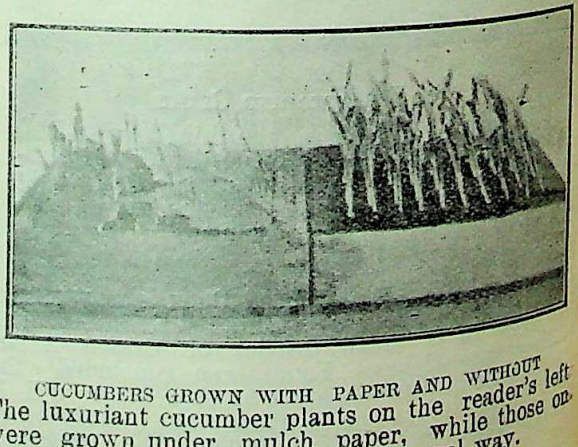
—*Evolution*

Farming Under Paper

We may grow all our crops under paper before long, thinks Milton Wright, who contributes an



HOW PAPER HELPS THE ONION CROP
The unprotected soil in the box on the left formed a hard cake, through which the onions had difficulty in forcing their way. The onions on the right were planted under paper, which kept the moisture in the soil.



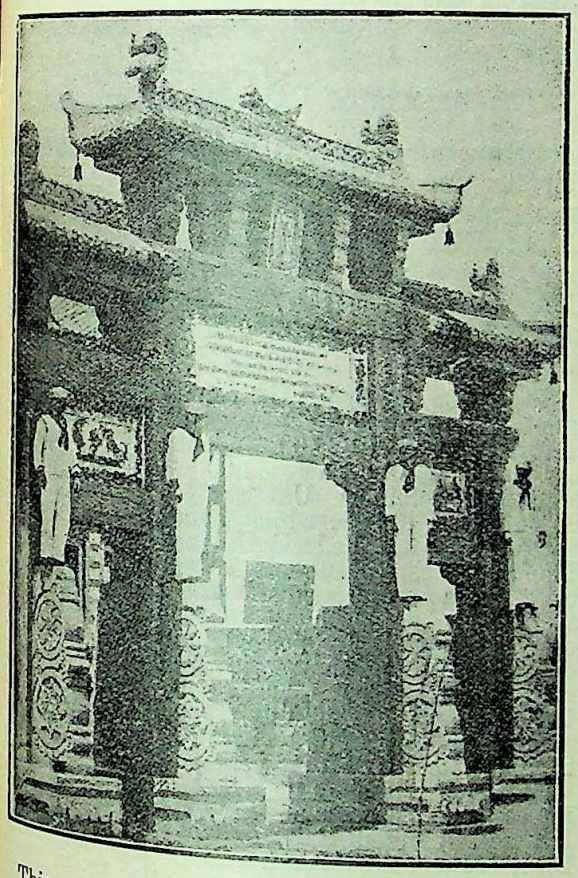
CUCUMBERS GROWN WITH PAPER AND WITHOUT
The luxuriant cucumber plants on the reader's left were grown under mulch paper, while those on the right were raised in the usual way. Note the difference.

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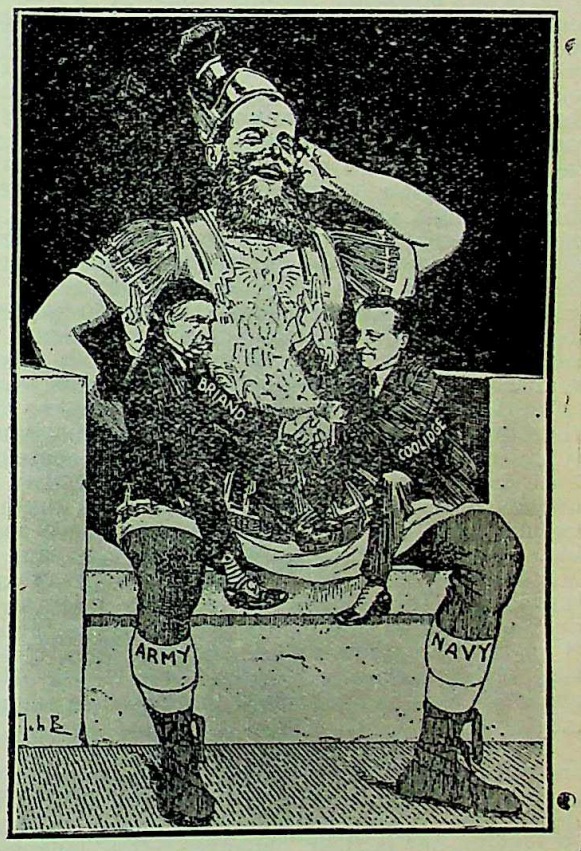
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article on this subject to *The Scientific American* (New York). His conclusion is based on the success of this method in Hawaii. The pineapple growers of that territory last year paid $500,000 for paper under which to grow pineapples. The growers raise 30 per cent, more pineapples than they otherwise would—and there is a tremendous saving in labor. He goes on: "On a sugar plantation near Honolulu, before the World War, Charles F. Eckart found it a stupendous task to keep down the weeds. "If only Eckart could find a *mulch* that would control the weeds permanently, he would be making a tremendous stride forward. At last he hit upon a tough kind of paper. The sharp shoots of the young plants easily stabbed their way through, but the weeds were smothered. The idea grew. The use of black paper, it was found, raised the temperature of the soil. The activity of bacteria was increased. The moisture remained in the ground until it was absorbed by the plant roots instead of being wasted quickly by evaporation. Then, too, the paper preserved the original cultivation of the soil throughout the growing period. "Applying mulch paper to a crop area is simplicity itself. The paper comes in rolls—150 or 300 yards long, and in widths of 18 and 36 inches. The farmer lays the roll down across one end of a row of cultivated soil and unrolls it to the other end over or between the beds. The paper is thus in direct surface contact with the beds. Where drill crops are to be planted a strip of two inches or less is left between successive strips. The paper is anchored to the ground with stones, staples, or with dirt turned over the edges."

—



This great stone symbol of American- Chinese amity at Chafoo, China, with a quartette American sailors, bears the following inscription on its centre tablet (top)—Dedicated to and Erected in honour of the Citizens of the United States of America—Our Friends across the seas. May there be eternal peace between our two peoples—Lin Tze Heng—September 1921.



An Amsterdam View of the Kellogg Pact which will be appreciated now, when the Anglo-French Naval Pact is said to have "angered" Coolidge

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Shadow-pictures at Java

In *the Visva-Bharati Quarterly* for July Rabindranath gives an interesting description of the shadow-pictures at the palace of Raja Soesoe-poenan at Soerkarta—the head quarters of one of the biggest ancient families in Java.

This is a speciality of this country, worthy of remark. The shadows of figures cut in cardboard, and fixed to long rods, with movable limbs worked by strings, are thrown on a lighted screen. The text of the story is chanted by the narrator, and the pictures have to follow its incidents. The *gamelan* concert accompanies the show. If only we could have given our history lessons like that—the schoolmaster telling the story, a marionette show giving a visual representation of its main incidents and a musical accompaniment voicing the emotions, with various tune and time !

The life of man with its joys and sorrows, its trials and triumphs, courses along in waves of form and colour and sound. If we reduce the whole of it to sound, it becomes rich music ; similarly, if we leave out everything else except its motion, it becomes pure dance. Whether it be rhythmic melody, or only rhythmic movement, it has a progress which influences our consciousness into a similar flow and keeps it alive and awake. Any deep realisation involves a rhythmic stimulation of our consciousness, and these people have kept alive the stories of the Ramayana and Mahabharata with the constant swing of such movement. Like waves of emotion they stream over their lives in a continuous cascade. It is as if, in their eagerness to taste the delights of these they have naturally evolved this form of self-education eminently suited to their own temperament.

To come back to the shadow pictures, they were a form of story-telling by movement, just as was their dance. For it became clear that their dance, also, is not intended to display the beauty of motion, but is their language,—the language of their history and their annals. Their *gamelan* also is but a tonal dance, now soft now loud, now slow now swift,—it also is not intended to express musical beauty, but is only a setting for the rhythm of their dance.

When we first entered the part of the hall which was on the lighted side of the screen, the effect was somewhat disappointing. Then we were taken over to the dark side where the women were seated. Here the pictures of their manipulators were no longer visible, but only the shadows dancing on the lighted screen, like the dance of Mahamaya on the body of the prostrate Shiva. We see creation only when the Creator, who abides in the region of light, conceals himself behind it. He who knows that with the created forms the Creator is in constant connexion, knows the truth. He who sees the process of creation apart from the Creator, sees only Maya. There are seekers of truth who would tear away the screen and go over to the other side,—that is to say they want to see the Creator apart from his creation,—and nothing can be so empty as the Maya of their illusion. This is what I felt as I looked on this show.

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The Reform of Calcutta University

In an informative article in *the Calcutta Review* for October Prof. J. W. Gregory, who came to India as a member of the Calcutta University Commission of 1917-19, puts forth a vehement plea for reform of the Calcutta University by effecting the separation of its teaching and examining work. We are told :

In 1918 Calcutta Universiiy had a larger number of students than any other university in the world. It had 28,400 students, and the number has since risen to over 34,000. It has been exceeded by Columbia University, New York, with its 34,247 in 1924-5, which I am informed has been surpassed by the Federal University of California. The huge European and American Universities have two advantages over those of India; they are fed by better schools and can rely on a larger expert educational "posse comitatus" for service on the governing bodies and Committees. Dimensions that may be tolerable in Europe and the United States may be unworkable in India.

Calcutta University, with its 51 colleges and 28,400 students, and its jurisdiction over 288,000 students, has become both too large and complex for satisfactory management by any unpaid board. If the East Indian Railway were to replace its Directors and highest officials by an unpaid Committee of 100 eminent citizens, its trains would probably be less punctual than they are. One method of reducing the size of the University would be by depriving many of the colleges of their University status. This course has been recommended on the ground that the numbers of University students and colleges are in excess of the requirements of Bengal ; but any policy that involved the abolition for many of the colleges of their university connexion would be strenuously resisted. That resistance would, I think, be inspired by a sound and creditable instinct. The belief in higher education is especially ardent in Bengal, and ambition to obtain a university training is particularly to be encouraged in a poor crowded community where the brain-power of the people

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is the most valuable asset. The objection that the Universities train more men for degrees than there are posts for them to occupy applies to other countries besides India. We hear in Scotland of graduates making their fiftieth unsuccessful application for a post, and of others who, recognising the conditions, make no attempt to secure employment in their Honours subject. Sweden has recently established an organization to find work for its unemployed graduates, and a similar scheme has been proposed in England. Nevertheless the University degree is steadily strengthening its position and, during the past 20 years, has beaten the technical college diploma out of the market.

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The Peace of the World

In the September issue of *the Indian Review* Mr. C. F. Andrews records some of the efforts that have been made to bring about world peace by the big powers in Europe and elsewhere and attempts to appraise their real value. The writer observes in conlusion:

My own heart is as sore as everyone else's when I look out on Europe and the World today. Politicians are trifling. Like foolish. senseless children they are playing with fire. No lesson seems to have been learnt: no warning appears to have gone home. The appeal is still to passion, not to reasons; to momentary excitement and applause, not to the eternal verities. Nevertheless, it is impossible to give way to despair. We must learn and hope. We must strive on without thought of despair.

I am writing this on board a French Steamer after a miserable buffeting in the monsoon waters. Day after day we seemed to make no progress: day after day it was harder te hold up one's head amid the miseries of sea-sickness. Yet here to-day the misery is past and calm waters have been reached. The parable is easy to read. Humanity is now in the trough of the monsoon seas, battered and tossed by the tempest. But we have only to keep our course straight and our hearts brave to come out at last into calmer waters peacefully and at rest.

—

Universal Suffrage and India's Womanhood

Referring to the legislation establishing universal suffrage in Britain *Stri-Dharma* for September observes editorially:

The legislation establishing universal suffrage in Britain comes into force from September 1. By virtue of this new Act, women will be entitled to vote at the age of 21 on the same terms as men. The number of women who will reach majority on that date is calculated at 51.4 millions. This will be a phenomenal windfall, over and above the millions of elder women already enfranchised. Thus the next elections will see a great stir at the polling booths. The long struggle of the British women has at last ended in victory—as all struggle for freedom must, if carried on with faith, determination and self-sacrifice.

Judging from the social revolution in Turkey and the awakening in India, the emancipation of the women of the East does not seem to have involved much noise and clatter. It is not that we have been without our pangs of struggle. Whether we have been spared unseemly wrangles by the chivalry of our men, or whether our abhorrence of scenes and dread of estrangement sustained our endurance, it is futile to discuss to-day. Time has not yet arrived to take a review with a historian's detachment. Besides, the fight is not all over. Unlike the West our fiercest battle will rage, not round the employment bureaus or qualifying academies, but round the domestic hearth. We are not out to compete with men for livelihood or profits, though we certainly claim the right to do so whenever necessary. Our vital need is freedom from the bondage of customs which exploit us for the selfish indulgence of man. It is in the home that we must assert our right to God's sunshine and air, to knowledge and cultured intercourse. Above all, it is there that our will must prevail in forming life's links and in determining life's goal.

It must be recorded, in justice to the present generation of men, that they are realising in growing numbers the iniquities of their forerunners, and have taken an early opportunity to share with us their growing political power. That power to us is but a means to an end. Men have made a mess of things everywhere. Problems of communal strife, of criminal reform, of social evils, of labour and capital are all crying aloud for solution. It is time *we* tried our hand, not only at shaping our own lives, but also at setting our national house in order, and we are determined to do so with the help of this new power.

—

India and Modern Thought

In the course of an illuminating article in *the New Era*—a newly started monthly published from Madras, the Late Lord Haldane expressed the opinion that there was a fundamental basis in common to the spirit in the East with that of the West. we read:

The British Empire is entering on a new stage in its development. The principles recognised and adopted two years ago for that development express what is latent in the new stage. Wherever a dominion has reached a sufficient level in the practice of self-government, it is now recognised that it has freedom to govern itself without interference from London. It is open to it to secede from the British Empire if it should elect to do so. The movement has however been accompanied by another movement. The dominions generally have shown that they attach importance for themselves to remaining within the Empire on terms of complete liberty of action Not only is this important to them from the poin of view of wealth and trade and commerce as well

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as of defence. It is important to them in another respect, which is each year growing more apparent that the Empire is consolidating itself in another fashion. Each year sees more of the best teachers of standpoints held in common going out to continue their work in the dominions overseas and more of the best teachers in these dominions are coming to Great Britain to teach our students' and to work co-operatively in the advancement of learning generally. The Empire is in short being unified intellectually.

Of course, this step forward requires the attainment of such levels as can enable it to be taken. If the Dominions are to be equal among themselves and with the mother country, they must have developed their standards of excellence to the necessary point. It is this that is making people turn with increasing attention to the development in India of the deeper outlook which has characterised its thought. A common misapprehension, even among philosophers, is that the quality of thinking of a nation can be readily estimated by glancing at what are really its superficial aspects. Because much of what is said in the name of that nation to-day does not seem to accord with Western sciences and all the ethical standards of to-day in the West, it is apt to be assumed that we may turn our eyes away from it. But this seems to be a profound error. To see what is the thinking of a nation which has produced a high level of idealism, we must understand the history of that idealism. It has been truly said that there is no one system of philosophy that will commend istelf to all men individually. We have to study the history of reflection before we can appreciate what that history has brought to birth. The full truth lies in the development grasped as occurring from stage to stage. It is only so that the highest advances can be ascertained and estimated. Such an inquiry calls for the study of all phases of live history. It is useless to imagine that a reliable result can be reached by looking at what has been said, however apparently authoritatively, in any one generation.

—

The Native States of India

Mr. Nabagopal Das writes in *the Presidency College Magazine*:

The cry for a responsible government whereby India will be able to put herself on an equal footing with the Dominions in her various relations with the British Crown has long been echoed and re-echoed throughout the length and breadth of India. And while politicians of all creeds, opinions and schools have been busy devising schemes along which the future governance of India should be directed, no one can afford to shut his eyes to the curious position in which the Indian States have been placed, and will probably be placed, in their relation with the Crown and the Government of India. The gentleman or gentlemen who first applied the term "state" to these territories must have been either ignorant of the real significance of statehood, or careless enough not to note that sovereignty which means 'the original, supreme, and unlimited power of the state to impose its will upon all person's, associations, and things within its jurisdiction has been and is, absent in them. These "states" are states only by courtesy. They have, up till now, no control over anything that smacks 'foreign,' while in their internal administration, most of them, excepting probably only a few of the larger states have been deprived of a good deal of their freedom.

—

Is Police Evidence Untainted

In *the Malayan Miscellany* for August Mr. J. Smiles observes why the general public do not put implicit faith in evidence tendered by police, we read:

Theoretically it would appear that the policeman who enters the witness box to give evidence against an accused person is not under any necessity of deviating from the plain and undistorted story which is "the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth." Considering that the magistrate's finding is, generally speaking, consistent with the principles of Justice, the representative of the law has nothing better to wish. His duty lies in the maintenance of law and order, and it befalls him to arrest or summon any citizen who may seem to have committed a breach of the law. Whether or not the offence is genuine rests with the magistrate to decide.

But the state of affairs from a practical point of view is entirely different. An ambitious constable cannot be content with the undecorated uniform that is his. By securing convictions against accused persons, his footing on the steep ladder of promotion is assured. With such an object in view he makes the best of every opportunity that comes his way. If he can with success impress the magistrate with the prisoner's guilt—genuine or otherwise—the rest is easy and, to him very pleasant to contemplate. A not particularly refined individual nor endowed with a first class education, his sense of proportion and fairness is apt to be, and indeed is, questionable. In short, the man who is entrusted with such grave responsibilities as concern the country is no more than a comparatively ignorant, uncultured person —two factors which are sometimes only too painfully apparent.

We entirely agree with the writers conclusions that

So long as the constabulary is enlisted from the low, uneducated class of Malays, that so long as no real standard of physical, mental and intellectual fitness is set up in the force, (so long as there are executive and judicial separation Ed. M. R.) so long also can no magistrate reasonably expect "the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth" from the policeman in the witness box.

—

The Body and the Mind

Prabuddha Bharata for October has reproduced from the *Century Magazine* of America an article by S. T. from which we make the following extract:

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We must have absolute control of the body. We must have absolute control of the mind. The mind is always in some sort of disturbance. Anything that comes along—any outside object, any slightest word that is said to us, any memory floating up from the past—can throw the mind into agitation, even positive passion ; and in a moment all our high aims and intents are put to rout. How can the Soul, the Highest, be perceived, when all these blurring mind-waves are continually obstructing our true vision ?

To control these waves, we must control their fine causes—the fine memories and impressions buried deep down in their subterranean labyrinths Patanjali, thirty hundred years ago, worked-five out a system of anyalysis and control of the subconscious, beside which modern psychoanalysis looks like a child's primer. Its strength is in its linking of the spiritual, mental and emotional natures. Modern psychoanalysis gives mental training without high spiritual aspiration. It cleanses but does not inspire. It gives no driving motive, other than the well-being of the social group. Most religions, on the other hand, furnish plenty of inspiration and emotional drive, but have no psychological technique for wisely guiding or using the emotional force they rouse. They have one or two blanket formulas which they urge indiscriminately on individuals.

"Be good" say all the religions. "Be social says modern psychology. But why ? What I want is to be happy. And how ?—when they are all these instincts stronger than I am, clamoring for satisfaction. Yoga links man's strongest desire (for greatest possible happiness) with his highest religious aspiration (for God, the supreme state of consciousness), and then furnishes him with a practical system of mental and spiritual training, by which to achieve the two in one.

Through Pantanjali's system a man gets control of the body, control of the mind, control of the outside universe. When we have knowledge of a thing, *full* knowledge of it, we have control over it. By concentration, prolonged meditation on any object, we can get knowledge of and control over that object. When all the rays of the mind are focussed, we see that object in full light.

—

Education and the Nehru Committee Report

The Educational Review for August observes editorially :

Amidst all the political excitement in which the Nehru Committee has drawn its report of a future constitution for India, embodying Dominion status to the country, it has not forgotten the needs of education. There are two clauses of the Declaration of Fundamental Rights to which we should like to refer. Clause (v) runs : "All citizens in the Commonwealth of India have the right to free elementary education without any distinction of cast or creed in the matter of admission into any educational institution, maintained or aided by the State, and such right shall be enforceable as soon as due arrangements shall have been made by competent authority." It will no longer be possible for Governments to plead want of funds in the spread of elementary education, nor can they take refuge behind the theory that the country is not ripe for the introduction of compulsion. Clause (xii) runs: "No person attending any school, receiving State aid or other public money, shall be compelled to attend the religious instruction that may be given in the school." The introduction of a conscience clause has been the subject of keen controversy for several decades in many provinees, but it is now happily a settled fact at least in some of them, and we are glad the Nehru Committee is giving the weight of its support to the idea underlying it.

—

Some Practical Projects

Miss. A. B. Van Doren writes in the October issue of *the National Christian Council Review*:

A complaint sometimes brought against the Project Method is that in many cases the projects introduced are artificial, and in some cases useless. Successive classes build houses which in turn have to be demolished to make way for the work of the next year, In some cases it may be possible to avoid these difficulties by carrying on as projects the production of equipment really needed in school. In village schools, which are bare of furniture and equipment, why should not the project take the form of things actually needed for the carrying on of school activities ?

As examples of such projects, one may mention the plans of a certain rural school in Burma. On Saturday morning the teacher and the older children co-operate in actually making the equipment that is necessary for the school. One morning they worked at cutting paper for school notebooks and stitching these together, and were able to sell the product at half the bazaar price. The next Saturday the village carpenter came and helped the boys to make a much-needed cupboard, in which books and equipment might be kept. The first products in this case will doubtless be somewhat crude, compared with the more careful workmanship produced by Sloyd and other formal methods of teaching. The motive, however, is so real and compelling that the teacher may feel assured of arousing genuine interest and purpose in the children, and hence of evoking an educational value greater than that produced by work mechanically perfect but disconnected with the needs and life of the school. This experiment was to be followed up by other attempts at necessary furniture.

The same school plans to attempt the preparation of simple text-books for the teaching of reading and arithmetic to the lower classes of the school. The teachers will plan easy lessons based on village life, so that books will be village-rather than town-centred. The sums and sentences which the teachers produce will be copied neatly by the older children in their transcription period. Little illustrations will be added by the children who take delight in drawing. The sheets will then be sewed together and bound in an inexpensive cover. Thus they hope to produce text-books at almost no expense, and at the same time to provide

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subject matter well adapted to the needs of the children.

Various types of weaving and basket-making may be utilised for the supply of school requirements. A school in the Central Provinces, where hemp is plentiful, weaves mats on which the children sit, to protect themselves from the chill of the stone floor. In other places bamboo, reed, or grass mats can be woven for the same purpose. In Burmese schoolhouses each child needs a reed mat before him to keep his pencils, seeds, sticks, etc., from dropping through the cracks in the bamboo floor. In India children will delight in making themselves baskets or paper boxes in which to keep their pens, pencils, seeds and sticks. Children in the higher classes in geography may co-operate with their teachers in making sets of maps for the wall. Ordinary globes are far too expensive to be bought for village schools. Quite a satisfactory substitute can be made by setting an earthen pot on its mouth, and drawing in and then colouring the continents and oceans. No school need do without a globe when one can be produced for four annas. Large relief maps of clay can be made in a corner of a room and coloured with bazaar paints, or can be laid out in the playground with the outlines indicated by lines of flowering plants of various colours. One school in South India walled its playground with a row of stones alternately red-washed and white-washed in ones, twos, threes, etc., to provide a large and delightful means of learning addition tables. A school that can afford coloured paper can produce fascinating wall friezes of elephants, camels, palm-trees and other decorations belonging to their Indian environment.

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Shoul the West Teach Honesty to India ?

Mr. A. S. Panchapakesi Ayyar, M. A. (Oxon) I. C. S., observes in *the Garland*:

Some westerners have told us from time to time what we have to learn from them. These include honesty, brotherliness, morality in sexual relations, real religion as opposed to superstition, learning in the arts and sciences, courage, physical, mental and moral, kindness towards all living creatures, the dignity of labour, a robust optimism and a will to reform the world.

The writer then "dispassionately" examines these claims of the West one by one. Regarding Honesty we read :

No one can seriously hold that the West can teach honesty to the East. The village servants in India who are paid ten shillings six pence per month and get no pension are entrusted with hundreds of pounds of Government money for being transported across wild jungles to the government treasuries, and rarely is there a case of defalcation. So too, the equally miserably paid postal runners and postmen are entrusted every day with hundreds of rupees' worth of money orders and value payable parcels and discharge their trust with an honesty which has excited the admiration and wonder of many an English official. I challenge any western country to beat this record of some of India's poorest and most illiterate children. This honesty did not begin with the British rule. The British only utilized the system they found before them. No doubt, I may be told western commercial honesty is greater. It is not greater in all western countries. It is certainly great now in England and Germany if we regard relatively fixed prices and same quality as tests. But if we are to take into account the monstrous swindles as perpetrated on the public by western countries including England and Germany, such swindles as are caricatured in Tono Bungay, we shall hesitate before praising the honesty of western firms. Add to this the fact that even in England there are sometimes different prices for different customers and that in France and Italy merchants are as unscrupulous as in India.

If English and German merchants have recently learnt to make goods correspond to sample and to charge each class of customers much the same price it is only intelligent sell-interest which makes them do so and not any passion for honesty. The atrocious lies indulged in by western diplomatists are further proofs that the west is not exactly fitted to teach anybody honesty.

If further proof were wanted to show the colossal unfitness of the would-be teacher of honesty the horrible, campaign of lies spread by both parties n the last War would be enough.

The only serious argument which an Englishman can bring is the comparative absence of corruption in England and its comparative presence in modern India. I must candidly admit that there is less corruption in the inferior public service and specially the constabulary in England than in the same cadres in India. The greatest reason for this is the radiculously low pay of these people in India. The London constable gets more than fifty times the pay of his Indian brother ; even allowing for the difference in the value of money and the cost of living this means that he is getting about three times the pay. If we pay three times the present pay and enforce discipline we can get educated men of character who will stand comparison with the London constables. So too with the low-paid clerks and other inferior servants. Given the same adequate pay, I do not think that the Indian will be behind any other race in honesty. The spoils system of America and its periodical prodigies of corruption are unknown to India, I must also add that inferior government servants in France and Italy appear to be no better than their confreres in this country.

—

Nishkamya Karma

In the course of his learned presidential address (published in *the Young Men of India* at the Andhradesa Social Service Conference Mr. K. T. Paul put forth a plea for a better understanding of social service. Concluding the speaker observes :

The Ancients knew human nature. They called service a Yoga, a process of discipline.

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and so it is. They also reckoned it as one of the regular processes of discipline whereby the human soul is perfected in its long pilgrimage toward God. Karma Yoga is classed with Bhakti Yoga and Gnana Yoga, and it is recommended that all the three processes be pursued. But the essence of the discipline is in the freedom from Self. The supreme message was just on that point. It is there that a distinction was made; not *any Karma* but *Nishkamya Karma*; the whole of the heart so filled with love that there is no room for Self. Not for the plesure or profit of one's self or one's family or one's social group or one's sect or religion or even one's nation, but in pure human sympathy to which it is constrained by a relentless conscience should the heart instinctively feel in unison with suffering wherever it is found and the hand and the foot the whole body and mind must hasten to the acts of relief. It is only such sponteneity, such sustained continuity, such freedom from every corrosion of Self which deserves to be called service. That is Nishkamya Karma. That and that alone can constitute to be a form of Yoga. Mark what our great Poet says:—

Leave this chanting and singing and telling of beads! Whom does thou worship in this lonely dark corner of a temple with doors all shut? Open thine eyes and see thy God is not before thee!

He is there where the tiller is tilling the hard ground and where the path-maker is breaking the stones. He is with them in sun and shower, and His garment is covered with dust. Put off thy holy mantle and even like Him come down on the dusty soil!

Deliverance? Where is this deliverance to be found? Our Master Himself has joyfully taken upon Him the bonds of creation; He is bound with us all for ever.

Come out of thy meditations and leave aside thy flowers and incense. What harm is there if thy clothes become tattered and stained? Meet Him and stand by Him in toil and in sweat of thy brow.

—

Litigation

We read in *Harmony*:

The three crushing evils that India today groans under, are landlordism, usury, and litigation. Of these three, litigation is the most to be deplored, for through it, our men of light and leading are leading a vampire life, fattening on the fruits of the honest labour of a famished peasantry, who, in civilized countries, are immune from every burden. Only the other day, Mr. Churchill, in placing the English Budget before the House of Commons, said, "agricultural production was to be permanently and completely relieved of all rates." And our Hindu patriots of the Swaraj party have not felt ashamed to perpetrate the maddest massacre of Innocents, in the name of amending the Bengal Tenancy Act! Alas, litigation is making the life-candle of India's *body politique* to burn at both ends, impoverishing the wealth-producers at one end, and demoralising the intelligentsia on the other, breeding, in place of the amity, which prevailed fifty years ago, as we can ourselves testify,—breeding mutual jealousy and hatred all round, dividing man from man, class from class, causing "a solution of continuity," and want of national cohesion, in our caste-divided *body politique*.

The best intellects of the civilized world, are leaving no stone unturned for, increasing the wealth of their country and in combination with the capitalists of the country, they are finding work on a living wage, for their working proletariat. The best intellects as well as the capitalists of India on the other hand, are busy in the spoliation of those who produce food for them, and for us all! Is it not like children sucking the blood of their mothers, instead of their milk? O what monsters are we transforming ourselves into, by litigation! Our schools and colleges, which ought to train our budding youth to become the honest producers of food and wealth, are become nurseries for the training of the youth, in the nefarious arts of "suppressio veri" and "suggestio falsi." for is not litigation to-day become the true staple food-crop for our educated classes.

—

Academy of Music at Travancore

The Scholar observes editorially:

Travancore deserves to be congratulated on its decision to establish an Academy of Music. The objects as outlined at the preliminary meeting, which was held recently in Trivendrum are the laying down of definite lines on which Indian music deserves to be developed, establishment of a Music Library, publication of standard works in Music, and the establishment of training schools for music in the State. But we do not see why music should not also form part of the curriculum of teaching in all schools, made if necessary optional instead of compulsory, to suit the tastes of the unhappy few, if any, who could not constitutionally feel the ennobling effect of it. Many of the young boys of the school, undoubtedly possess not merely the ear for music, but also the capacity to give practical expression to it provided they are given opportunities to develop in this direction. But their development is left to be acquired by their own exertions, clandestinely practised in out of the way places as though it was an improper thing to do so. Their knowledge, therefore, is bound to be imperfect and crude like so many of our professional bhagavathars, who practise the art more for their livelihood than for art's sake. The educational authorities own it to them to help such of the pupils as have an inborn aptitude for it to improve themselves in this direction.

—

Buddhism and Hinduism

Sj. T. L. Vaswani writes in *the Kalpaka* that he does not regard "Buddhism as a revolt against Hindu Idealism." We are further told:

Buddhism was not a rebel of Hinduism. The Buddha came to renew the Religion of the Rishis. Like them he realised the spritual value of com-

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munion with Nature. "Here are trees", he would say to his disciples at the end of his discourse, "go and think it out!" The Rishis were not ascetics; nor was the Buddha. His "Middle Path" avoided extremes at once of asceticism and self-indulgence. Sujata offered him with *Bhakti* milk and rice. Buddha was no dry ascetic. His heart blessed the maiden. In the words of Edwin Arnold, he said to her:—

Wiser than wisdom is thy simple lore
....Grow thou, flower!
Thou who hast worshipped me, I worship thee!
Excellent heart! I learned unknowingly
As the dove which flieth home; by love.

Like the Rishis Buddha recognised the value of *tapasya* but rejected the ascetic theory and the ascetic method; for wisdom is born of reason and restraint, not torture of the Physical body. Speaking to a disciple. Buddha referred to the rigorous ascetic practices of the early period of his quest and their fruitlessness in the following words:—

"I used to go about naked, heedless of convention. I had declined to beg my food. I refused food brought to me. Nor did I accept alms. I partook of nourishment once a day, then once in two days, then once in 7 days, I took the vow to keep standing. When I lay down to rest it was with thorns upon my sides. The accumulated dust of years gathered on my body. I was in a wood-land Place,—in solitude and seeing anybody I fled from grove to grove, from thicket to thicket, from glen to glen, from hill to hill,—so that he might not know me, nor I him. I lived in a dark and dreadful wood,—a fearsome forest,—burning in summer sun, frozen in winter's cold. I sat naked far in the forest-depths. In a place of graves I laid me down upon on a heap of cracking bones. Yet by this method, with all these painful practices I did not attain to Knowledge and to Noble Wisdom I was not come."

The more one studies Hinduism and Buddhism the less do they, at their best, seem to stand apart. Hinduism, in its great periods, has been a dynamical religion emphasising the value atonce of action and self-reliance. The message of the Buddha, as I have repeatedly submitted, is not a retreat from life but a call to noble living. "Play the man!" said Buddha. And again:-"Come, rouse thyself!"

—

Colour Inheritance in Rice

We read in *Rural India*:

Among the workers on rice in India, Hector and Parnell have devoted sufficient time to the study of the inheritance of character in rice. They studied the effects of natural crops-fertilsation resulting from the cultivation, side by side, of a large nnmber of different varieties. In their work on cross-fertilisation both Hector and Parnell realised the difficulty of working with so many different varieties with their respective colour combinations exhibiting in various parts of the plants as different patterns. As a result of successful investigations they have come to definite conclusions on many interesting phenomena. Doctor S. K. Mitra M. S. Ph. D. Economic Botanist to the Government of Assam and Messrs S. N. Gupta and P. N. Ganguli assistants in Botany have been continuing the same work since 1921 and have obtained some definite results which are described in the Memoirs of the Department of Agriculture, Botanical series. Vol. XV No. 4.

As the result of detailed investigations and experiments spread over a long period, the authors have come to the following conclusion. (1) The inheritance of the colour in rice is very complicated. The colour complexes are not fixed in a particular part of any organ. (2) The factor that produces the colour exists in some part of the parent plants either visible or invisible, which effects the expression of colour when suitable factor combinations occur by cross-fertilisation. (3) The factors for purple, pink, brown, yellow, red, black, white and green are independent of each other and so is the actual shading of each one as light or deep colour. (4) Generally, coloured factors are dominant over non-coloured ones. Purple is dominant over green or white red over white, green or yellow over brown, and black over green or yellow.

—

India and the World

Mr. P. R. Singarachari contributes a paper under the caption "India: Her Function in Economy of Races" in the September issue of *the Humanist* from which we give the extract below:

Now, after a lapse of nearly thirteen hundred years since Harshavardhana, India, under the rule of the British race, is once more one country and is well connected with all the countries of a world wider than ever known or reached. Already India's doctrines are percolating in different directions through several agencies founded by leaders like Raja Ram Mohan Roy, Swami Vivekananda. Dr. Tagore and Dr. Bose. Others there are in the land even now living, like Gandhi, whose merits are not known either because of their nearness to us or because of the political colour which some of their activities seem to have taken. There are many more still, not generally known, but who are all men, good and true in their own ways. Even the Government, on certain occasions, feels compelled to send out India's children as ambassadors of peace to foreign lands. Men are sent to the League of Nations. Persons like the Rt. Hon'ble Srinivasa Sastri are sent as preachers of peace to the different parts of the British Empire. India's Universities also are sending out their professors and scholars to lecture on India's achievements before the cultured bodies of the world.

Thus, even in the 20th century, India has begun to discharge her function in the economy of races, which she discharged in the past. Her work is one of preaching the Absolute; and thereby bringing about an openness of heart, a free and noble intellect, both of which are essential to produce a Brotherhood of Humanity which every man, every community, every race very much desires, but which any one backed by commercial greed or pride of territorial possessions finds difficult to achieve.

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Wealth

Dr. E. Asirvatham says in *the Indian Educator*:

From the moral and religious standpoint no one has wealth. He simply *owes* it. It is a truth for which the trustee must render a faithful account to his Maker. For every penny that a man spends on himself, he must be able to show that it is absolutely necessary for his maximum efficiency as a member of society and that it cannot produce greater good elsewhere.

—

Sadhana and Mundane Duties

The following extract from the "Spiritual Talks of Swami Brahmananda" of the Ramakrishna Math, and published in *the Vedanta Kesari* for October, well repays perusal by every social worker :

Disciple:—Maharaj, while engaged in the Relief work, I have to labour very hard all the day long; I have little or no opportunity to carry on my spiritual practices : I find no time at all ; so I do not feel inclined to do such work.

Swami:—But have you to work like that through ?

D.:—No Sir, for the first few days only.

S.:—Then, why do you complain that you find time? It is the ordinary worldling who is often apt to grumble in this strain—that secular duties stand in the way of spiritual practices. Such an argument, my boy, does not befit you, a Brahmacharya ; you have the power of Brahmacharya (absolute continence) in you ; you must carry on your spiritual practices and mundane duties simultaneously. My idea is that you do not possess any worldly desire at heart for spiritual exercises ; you would like to pass your time in vain works, in fuss and merriment ; and your plea of shortness of time is nothing but a lame excuse. In Relief Organisation the first few days may be a very busy time for you and I fully appreciate it ; but this state of things does not continue for long. What would you do then ? Why do you not carry on your Sadhana at that time ? Don't you feel ashamed to complain in this wise ? Fie on thee to thy foible!

Those who are really inclined towards Sadhana can perform it under all circumstances ; only they do it more intensely whenever and wherever the opportunity is more favourable. But those who always complain of inconviences of time and place never do any progress in their life ; they go about like a "vagabond" and spend their precious time in vain."

—

The Late Maharajah of Mayurbhanj

The *Ravenshaw College Magazine* pays the following well-deserved tribute to the memory of Lt. Purnachandra Bhanja Deo, Maharajah of Mayurbhanj :

Our College is very greatly indebted in various ways to the House of Mayurbhanj. The munificence of Rajah Krushnachandra Bhunj Deo gave shape to the dream of Mr. Ravenshaw and the College owed its very existence to that act of noble-minded generosity, Maharajah Purnachandra only followed the tradition of his ancestors when he gave more than a lakh of rupees for an electric installation in the College which makes the study of higher courses of Science possible and adds to the comfort and convenience of thousands of students who flock year after year to the only College of Orissa. During the short time that he was on the *Gadi* of Mayurbhanj, he gave away large sums in charity and the fine hall of the Utkal Sahitya Samaj would have remained incomplete if he had not taken the matter in hand.

Maharaja Purnachandra was endowed with all the noble qualities which made his father so great. He was an aristocrat of the right type, calm and dignified and yet approachable to the meanest of his subjects who had any matter which, he thought claimed his personal attention. He had set up a Judicial Committee as a final Court of appeal in Mayurbhanj and he was contemplating a legislative chamber where his subjects could have a voice in framing the laws by which they would be governed. He had given local self-government to the people of Baripada who had their own Municipality to manage the affairs of their own town. In this way he endeared himself to everyone who came in touch with him and we are indeed sorry that death claimed him for its own so early in life.

—

Citrous Fruits

M. Hastings, Director, Physical Culture Food Research Laboratory, U.S.A., advocates the use of citrous fruits in place of Drugs in *Brahmacharya* for October :

In citrous fruits we have a real medicine brewed by air and sunshine instead of in an apothecary shop. Orange juice will prevent or cure the dread disease of scurvey: lemonade (swetened lemon juice) is most a excellent remedy for colds; grape-fruit will prevent or check influenza. Any of these citrous fruits—for they are all similar in nature and effects—form remedial treatments for many ills; they aid in the digestion of other foods, prevent nausea, build resistance to invading germs, prepare a patient to withstand the shock of ether, even check tooth decay, and serve as skin lotions.

—

Green Leaves or "Protective Foods"

Dr. H. C. Mankel, M. D., writes in *the Oriental Watchman and Herald of Health* for October :

The green leafy vegetables in their raw state form one of the most important food sources for vitamins and for this reason they are called "protective foods."

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The dietary practises in India are very largely of a nature making it impossible to obtain the vitamins necessary for growth and health. This is conspicuously so in Central and Southern India. Likewise the diet of most Europeans in India is defective in these respects and account for much ill health that is usually blamed on climate or hard work.

For convenience in checking your daily dietary I have arranged an outline of vitamins known as A. B. C. D. & E. giving the functions performed by each in maintaining balanced nutrition; the result of a deficiency in quantity, and the principal food sources of each.

These substances are so minute, representing about five to six parts in 10,000, that they are difficult to separate or demonstrate. Their presence or absence from any class of food substance is ascertained mainly from observable effects of that particular food when experimentally fed to animals.

The matter of greatest importance is that many chronic invalids, who find little relief from medical treatment, are such because their food does not provide the full complement of the five essential vitamins. These minute food factors easily occupy a place of first importance in food requirements.

Vitamin A

This vitamin is very essential to the child. It maintains normal development and resistance to infections in children and adults.

Deficiency of this vitamin in the diet results in eye trouble, retarded growth, loss of weight, lack of interest, susceptibility to infections and respiratory diseases.

Food Source of Vitamin A.—Whole milk, butter cream, cheese, codliver oil, fresh green vegetables, tomatoes, carrots, sweet potatoes, green peas.

Vitamin B

This vitamin is necessary for the maintenance of life and health at all ages. Deficiency results in loss of appetite, retarded growth, serious digestive and nutritional disorders, diarrhœa and mucous colitis, constipation, beri-beri, neurotic.

Food Source of Vitamin B.—All green vegetable tissues, tomatoes, root-vegetables, fruits, nuts, whole cereals, yeast. Internal organs of animals, but not of fowls.

Vitamin C

Deficiency of this vitamin produces pyorrhoea, decay of teeth, ulcerations of stomach and bowels, poor digestion, under-nourishment, bleeding from mucous membranes, reddish skin eruptions.

Food Source of Vitamin C.—Lemons, oranges, pomelo, tomatoes, cabbage, lettuce, spinach, green beans, green peas, turnips, sprouted seeds. Internal organs of animals fed on green foods.

Vitamin D

This vitamin prevents and cures rickets and other forms of mineral malnutrition.

Deficiency in a child's diet results in deformity and bone disease with anemia and undernourishment.

With adults the symptoms are those of acid autointoxication frequently terminating in rheumatism, neurotic, diabetes and Bright's disease.

Food Source of Vitamin D.—Ultra-violet spectral rays. Vitamin D is absorbed by the blood when the skin is exposed to the sun and rays from a quartz mercury vapour generator. Also foods exposed to such rays absorb and retain vitamin D.

It is also found in some specimens of codliver oil, egg yolk and milk, but not always.

The only reliable source is spectral rays.

Vitamin E

Prevents and relieves sterility in both sexes.

Food Source of Vitamin E.—Lettuce, meat, whole wheat, wheat germ, rolled oats, large quantities of milk, dried alfalfa grass.

Lt. Col. R. McCarrison F. R. C. P., in reporting the results of detailed nutritional study of the various diets in different sections of India, concludes that the best Indian dietary is one which includes whole-wheat, (*ata*) sprouted gram, milk, milk products, green leafy vegetables, and fresh fruits,

This investigator finds that the whole wheat is of higher nutritive value than whole rice. The difference in food value between these two basic Indian foods is not so much in their protein content as in their vitamin and mineral salt content.

For these reason Col. MacCarrison suggests that every effort be made to increase the cultivation of wheat in India, and to increase its use in adequate combination with the so-called "protective foods"—green vegetables and fruits—as shown in the accompanying vitamin outline.

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Tarkish Women as Pioneers

'A Western Woman Resident in Turkey' gives a glimpse of the manysided activities of the Turkish people and the emancipated womanhood of Turkey in *International Review of Missions*. Begins the writer:

Turkey to-day is a land of contrasts. In no areas are these contrasts more marked than in the life of its women. On the third anniversary of the proclamation of the Turkish Republic, October 29th, 1926, the Governor of Constantinople gave a ball in the historic building known as the Sublime Porte, and most of those present were Turks. Everything but the place was of the twentieth century. The Turkish women wore Parisian gowns, had bobbed hair and danced the Charleston to jazz played by American Negroes. On the same night, the President of the Republic gave a ball at Angora at which no man was received unless accompanied by a lady. This was to bring Turkish women out of their harems. Outside these ball-room windows ancient, Anatolian ox-carts were squeaking loudly along the dusty road, their oxen led by patient peasant women in baggy trousers, and tight-fitting jackets with veils over their heads absolutely untouched by the western world within.

To some this may appear to be 'Europeanization with a vengeance.' But it is instructive to read the record of the Republic—its rapid but steady progress, especially in ameliorating the conditions of the Turkish women.

On October 29th, 1923, the Turkish Republic was proclaimed. Then began a series of amazing transformations benefiting women even more than men. The Koranic law, the Sheriah, proved too antiquated to direct a modern state. After vainly trying to reform it, the Grand National Assembly adopted *in toto* the civil code of Switzerland, the penal code of Italy and the commercial code of Germany. These went into effect October 1st, 1926.

The civil code abolishes polygamy, already out of favour in Turkey except among the peasants, where a man needs many women to work in his fields. Turkish girls used to marry men selected by their families, and a bride did not see her husband till he lifted her veil after the marriage. Even at the solemn religious ceremony, the *nigia* bride and groom were not present, being represented by two proxies who took the vows for them. No women could attend the *nigia*. At the *duyun*, or wedding reception, men and women were in separate rooms. A man could divorce his wife by merely saying three times, 'I divorce you.' She had no redress. The new code prescribes a simple civil marriage and gives equal divorce rights to husband and wife. Divorce may be granted only after a period of three months. Under the new regime there is social freedom among young people and love matches are frequent.

A powerful factor in bringing about these legal reforms was a women's organization in Constantinople, "The Society for the Defence of the Rights of Women." Delegations of these Turkish women the most enlightened in the country, visited Angora and brought such pressure to bear on the Government that a number of important reforms were made even before the new code was adopted.

The Government has greatly encouraged women to come out of their seclusion and to mix with men. Harem curtains keeping women apart in trams, boats and other public places have been removed. In large cities most women have discarded the *charshaf*, replacing it by moderen dress and a veil like a toque, wound daintily around the head but never over the face. Some wear hats. The changes are coming far more slowly in interior towns, depending on local conditions. Home life also is being influenced and improved by the new education. Women study western books and magazines on home-making. Much credit is due to Turkish women for having been able to adapt themselves to the rapid transformation with dignity and energy, without indulging in much excess. Many of them feel their new responsibility and opportunity to work for their country. They have a number of welfare societies doing useful work. The Red Crescent is now carrying on industrial work and teaching poor girls to copy the beautiful old Turkish embroideries. The Green Crescent, largely composed of women, is working for temperance. Other organizations maintain baby clinics and care for orphan children in homes and orphanages.

The most encouraging indication of the development of women is the widespread interest in education. The Government, realizing that the lower schools are entirely inadequate in number and methods, has increased and improved its normal schools, especially for girls. Normal students pay no tuition fees, but must serve the Government for a term of years after graduation.

The Government has employed for the last three years an American teacher of household arts in a girls' lycee and in the Stamboul Normal School. This is a new and important subject in Turkey. The Stamboul University, entirely Turkish, now occupying the large building formerly used by the Ministry of War, has opened all its courses to women. The faculties most popular among women are medicine and law. In the medical school alone are enrolled four hundred and

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fifty women, thirty of whom graduated this year. Medical graduates are required like teachers to practise for a few years in needy interior towns. Some Turkish girls have gone to Europe and America for further study; a few have made successful lecture tours in western lands.

There is more demand for higher education of the girls in India than before. But, we are afraid, few of them go in for medical education, though perhaps it is more imperative for them to get it. Again the health of the school-going girl has been a matter of great concern to all of our advocates of female education. Turkey has not neglected it:

In addition to many classes in physical training the department of health education conducts special normal courses for leaders who teach gymnastic and healthful recreation in the local schools and orphanages. This teaching, new in Turkey, has been so successful that the Minister of Education has secured Swedish teachers to give physical training to men and women students in the government normal schools. At the Y.W.C.A. summer camp on the Sea of Marmora hundreds of girls have discovered the joys of outdoor life and learned to love nature. Swimming and life-saving play an important part. Last summer three camp girls, one a Turk, rescued a man whose boat had capsized and who could not swim. Four girls—a Turk, a Greek and two Armenians—swam the Bosphorus, an unheard of feat for girls of Turkey.

Let us not fight shy of the word 'Europeanization' if that implies such healthy enlightenment.

—

Christianity to End Racial Hatred

At the Jerusalem Conference Christians the world over flocked to discuss among others the questions of racial hatred, industrial problems, rights of minorities, etc. Mr. Samuel Gay Inman in giving on account of the proceedings in the pages of the *Current History* holds up a mirror to the face of Christianity as he says:

"The World War was fought by so-called Christian nations, who were sending missionaries to so-called heathen nations. These same 'Christian nations' often shipped their munitions and fire-water on the same boat on which they sent their missionaries. In this very exploitation of the weaker peoples they appeared at times to be using the missionaries in programs of peaceful penetration.

"It was evident at the beginning of the conference that the old attitude of superiority of the West over the East, the regarding of Nordic civilzation and the Christian religion as one and the same, was not acceptable. Prof. R. H. Tawney of the Department of Economics of London University said on the first day that he could not share the complacency of those who talk about all the good things we have to offer to backward peoples when we could not point out a single country in Europe where a real Christian civilization exists. He added that we are trying the impossible in offering to save the individual, yet leaving the social structure pagan. Bishop Francis J. M. Connell of the United States admitted that he came from a nation which is in some respects pagan, which subscribes to the doctrine of militarism and has given itself over to the pursuit of wealth. The report of the Committee on Industrial Problems declared.

"We acknowledge with shame and regret that the churches both in Europe and America, and the Missionary enterprise itself, coming as it does out of an economic order dominated almost entirely by the profit motive, have not been sufficiently sensitive of these aspects of the Christian message as to mitigate the evils advancing industrialization has brought in its train, and we believe that our failure in this respect has been a positive hindrance—perhaps the gravest of such hindrances—to the power and extension of missionary enterprise."

The Christian representatives of the depressed nationalities of the world, we read, openly aired their grievances against the Christian Western nations:

"Britishers and Indians, North Americans and Filipinos, Japanese and Koreans, African and American negroes with Southern whites, were among these groups which worked out special ways for the Christian forces to lead in abolishing hatreds and rivalries existent between these groups. The Philippine delegation invited the North American Christians to send a commission to the islands to study the growing prejudice against the United States because of the independence question, since, as Dean Bocobo of the National University said: 'Racial conflict between America and my country has made the Philippine islands one of the sorest spots in the world.'

"The British were told that revolution was bound to come in India unless conditions were changed. The Koreans pointed out to the Japanese delegates that out of eight heads of departments in the Korean Government seven were Japanese, and out of 18,454 government employees only 7,000 are Koreans. The Chinese delegates told their Western friends that exploitations by Foreign Powers in China are such as to make it impossible for us to revive ourselves until the death-grip of foreign imperialism upon the throat of the nation is removed. A South African negro pointed out how unchristian it was for a Great Power to foist on a country, where eight-ninth of the natives live in rural communities, a law providing that 88 per cent. of the land is for the foreigners and 12 per cent. for the natives. An Argentine delegate told of how certain interests of the United States brought economic pressure to bear on his Church because of its protest against the intervention of the United States in Nicaragua.

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Man and His Mind

Dr. Sigmund Freud, much hated and much worshipped, arrests contemporary thought. In a sober discussion of his latest work 'The Future of an Illusion,' *The Japan Weekly Chronicle* gives an instructive explanation and estimate of his ideas and theories in the following:

At the age of seventy-two Dr. Sigmund Freud is following with as great a zest as ever the problem of the human mind. His hypotheses are open to a great deal of dispute. His interpretation of dreams seems to many who have studied the subject one of the most absurd and unscientific ventures ever undertaken; and as regards the "libido," the "censor and other technicalities of the Freudian method some of his closest associates arrive at different interpretations. Indeed, not only do Jung and Adler each have their own distinct schools, but there is a tendency for each psychoanalyst to branch out for himself in new discoveries. That in itself is rather encouraging except for one thing while it indicates independence of mind, which is the most valuable thing in scientific investigation, it also suggests that there is a great deal of hypothesis and not too much fact. Hypotheses are not always acceptable because they embrace a large number of facts: sometimes their comprehensiveness arises from their looseness of structure and vagueness of content. It was perhaps inevitable that since Freud found so much in the human mind which had come down from remote periods, he should discover confirmation of his theories in the beliefs and practices of primitive people, and his *Totem and Tabu* marked a new phase not only in psychology but also in anthropology. Indeed, it has had a somewhat disastrous effect on anthropology, suggesting to sketchy investigators easy explanations for all manner of things. The fundamental error of seeking psychoanalytic confirmations in the doings of primitive people seems to lie in the fact that these primitives are, after all, very much like ourselves and are by no means unsophisticated, while the conditions to which Freud refers the dark places in our minds were those of infinitely long ago.

In his latest work, Dr. Freud discusses our cultural bonds and the possibility of dispensing with them. To many readers of psychoanalytic literature it must have seemed as though the Freudian theory was that all evils arise from the repression of natural instinct, and there has been a tendency, largely assisted by this literature, to discover in every kind of concupiscence a laudable self-realisation and self-expression. The task of the psychoanalyst, of course, lies in a different direction that of explanation rather than encouragement to express instincts instead of repressing them: though many people who have tried to understand the theory have been some what mystified as to how a neurotic patient could gain comfort and consolation from the explanation that his distress of mind was merely the result of a suppressed desire to murder his father. Communal life requires a great deal of suppression of instinct, and Freud points out that it is remarkable that, little as men are able to exist in isolation, they should yet feel as a heavy burden the sacrifices that culture or civilisation expects of them—such a burden that every individual is virtually an enemy of culture, which is nevertheless ostensibly an object of universal human concern. Culture must be defended against the individual, and its organisation, its institutions and its laws, are all directed to this end; they aim not only at establishing a certain distribution of property, but also at maintaining it, in fact, they must profect against the hostile impulses of mankind everything that contributes to the conquest of nature and the production of wealth.

Such a description of civilisation and its obligations indicates a rationally conservative attitude of mind, and would suggest to any ardent Communist some doubts of the qualifications of Freud as a teacher. He goes on to discuss religion as the fulfilment of a human need.

—

Next Quarter Century in Africa.

We read in *The New Republic* (Sept. 5.)

Dr. R. L. Buell, of the Foreign Policy Association of the United States, is one of the world's chief authorities on the treatment of the natives of Africa by the European powers. Speaking the other day at the Williamstown Institute of Politics, he declared that the next quarter-century will see in that continent either "a great inter-racial war or a great experiment in inter-racial cooperation." He described the bad effects which European exploitation has had upon the natives in the past. Homes have been broken up, disease increased, and virtual anarchy created by the policy of moving large bodies of men away from their native villages to work. Death rates have run as high as 80 or 100 per 1, 000 per annum, as compared to a normal rate of 10 or 12; in parts of Africa the native population is declining. On the other hand, he sees hope for the future in the new policy of some of the powers, which are beginning to foster education and sanitation, are restoring the natives to their homes and seeking to develop appropriate industrial occupations for them. The hope for the future lies in creating small farms, where the natives can stay on their own land and live in their own way. The record of Europe in Africa has been about as black as it could be; and it is cheering to know that there are even glimmers of something better in sight.

—

The Right of Self-Defence

The Inquirer informs us under the above caption:

Professor H. Darnley Naylor has drawn attention in *The Manchester Guardian* to one or two points that should be taken into consideration in connection with the abolition of war. Nations, for instance, in reserving the inalienable right of self-defence and of judging for themselves when self-defence is justifiable, are claiming privileges which are not permitted to the ordinary citizen, *i, e.*, there is no "right" of self defence if the police are at hand; and, in the absence of the police, the defender must justify his action before a court. Now, if the law were

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established that nations cannot exercise the right of individual self-defence if the protection for which the League of Nations makes itself responsible is available; and if any nation transgressing this understanding had to justify its action before the Council or International Court of Justice, should we not feel that the general security was much more adequately safeguarded than at present? It is worth thinking out.

—

Crime in Chicago

'A Resident of the Windly City Relieves His Mind' thus in *The New Republic* (Aug. 29.) on this subject:

Chicago has always been famous for slaughter. Philosophic vegetarians will maintain that there is a direct connection between shedding the blood of dumb animals and of human beings—a connection symbolized by the story of Cain and Abel—in which case we should attribute the prevalence of major crimes of violence in Chicago to an atmosphere reeking with the blood of hogs and beeves. Interesting as such psychological speculations may be, it is the social, rather than the physical environment, which affords the most plausible explanation of the preeminence of the city in this, as in so many other lines of endeavor. For Chicago has socialized crime to a greater extent than other large communities—has industrialized it and domesticated it, made it a recognized adjunct to business and more than an occasional feature of home life.

Years ago I knew a detective sergeant on the Chicage police force by the name of Mike Dorr. He was of a speculative turn of mind which fitted him for his special assignment as head of the anarchist squad. Dorr was in belief himself an anarchist, and I suspected that his theories, which seemed to me subversive, bore the mark of an *agent provocateur*. Dorr did his official job of suppression perfectly, however, with a minimum of roughness and considerable humor. Dorr used to explain that crime was an evidence and a product of civilization, an *aperitif* and a condiment for the monotonous diet of life, without which society would get too bored to eat. Of course, the healthiest, cleanest crime was to be found in pioneering conditions; but as the great open spaces filled up, such communities as Tombstone and Poker Flats settled into lethargy, and crime, like other large functions of modern life, tended to become urban. It was the chief and most important duty of the police to provide crime. Crime was a luxury, Dorr used to say, and society which demanded it could well-afford to pay the price.

Crime therefore is only a way of escape from the dull monotony of life for some people of jaded taste. Who knows if libelling the eastern people is not another way of escape for some others of independent means?

—

Getting the most out of your Motor Car

The following useful advice is given by the *Pacific World Commerce* to the motor-car owners:

The following list of the most frequent causes of tire blow-outs was compiled by a national automobile association.

Driving the car several blocks on a flat tire.

Driving over a brick or rock road at high speed.

Driving across a hole in the pavement at high speed.

Driving on street car tracks.

Striking the street curb at a sharp angle.

Driving with tires underinflated, even as little as ten pounds.

Pinching a tire against the curb when driving against it.

Unless avoided, these practices may result in serious tire troubles. While they may not produce fractures that show at once in the rubber, they tend to break underlying cords and pave the way for future trouble.

Every motorist should carry a few spares in his car. Here are some of the useful ones most frequently used: Extra bulbs for the headlights ought always to be carried. A few dry cells may be invaluable in emergency. Two or three pairs of pliers instead of the customary one, should be included in the tool kit. Spare tire valves and a hand pump for emergencies will be friends in need on occasion.

When the last "spare" has gone bad or it is impossible to find a good tube, the car can be driven considerable distance through the use of several yards of rope twisted around the rim of the wheel.

To run far on the bare rim will dent it and bend it so badly that it will be impossible to restore it to its original shape. The rope stunt can be applied to wood and wire wheels, but not on disk wheels.

—

Labour Group mind their own Housing

Monthly Labour Review of U. S. Bureau of Labour Statistics tells us in the following words of the 'Housing Activities of Labour Groups:'

The provision of housing accommodations for trade-unionists has thus far received comparatively little attention from labor organizations.

There are, however, a number of organizations promoted by trade unions for financing the construction of homes by their members. Of these the Bureau of Labor Statistics has data for seven.

One organization has been in existence since 1920, one since 1922, one since 1924, two since 1926, one since 1927, and one was organized just this year. Six of these building and loan associations have financed the construction of at least 441 dwellings.

So far as the bureau has been able to determine only two unions have undertaken the actual cons-

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truction of dwellings for their members. These are the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers and the Amalgamated Clothing Workers. The operation of the former have been in the development of a town in Florida, constructing detached dwellings, mainly. Those of the latter have been in the construction of apartment buildings in the city of New York. In neither instance, however, is the purchase of dwellings confined to members of the union which has undertaken the housing work.

In addition to these strictly union undertakings, a housing project in New York City is being carried on by a group of trade-unionists from a number of trades.

Having provided themselves with quarters through their organization, the tenants of these union-constructed apartment houses in New York City have gone further and are filling their other needs cooperatively, buying milk, ice, electricity, groceries, meats, etc, collectively, and providing such other features as library, kindergarten, nursery, medical and dental care, gymnasium, playgrounds, etc, thus forming a more or less selfcontained community of apratment dwellers.

—

The Mysteries of Bird Migration

The annual migration of birds is begun in our country now, and Mr. Arthur De C. Sowerlay's instructive contribution under the above caption in *The China Journal* will be of interest to many. Says the writer:

An interesting phase of bird migration is the distance covered by birds in their journeys to and from their breeding haunts. We have seen that in some cases the journey from breeding ground to winter resort is very small, a few miles at most. This is very different from the tremendous distances covered by some birds. The Pacific golden plover, for instance, breeds in Alaska and winters in South-eastern Asia, Australia, and even as far as the Low Archipelago in the Southern Pacific, having taken a course along the East Asiatic coast line, through the Malay Archipelago and Northern Australia, a distance of over 10,000 miles. Another immense flight is that of the Arctic tern which literally spans the globe. It breeds along the coasts of North-east Canada and Greenland and winters in the antractic not far from the 80th parallel of latitude, traversing a distance of 11,000 miles twice every year. Amongst the greatest single "hops" made by any birds are made by certain golden plovers which fly from Southern Alaska to the Hawaiian Islands, a distance of 2,400 miles. This means continuous flight for at least thirty hours, and there is no chance of a rest or food on the way. Golden plovers also fly from Nova Scotia to South America, 2,500 miles in one flight, and this, as far as is known, is the longest single flight made by any bird.

A thing that helps to complicate the subject and make it difficult to explain how birds find their way from their winter resorts to their breeding grounds, is the fact that the courses are by no means always due north and south. Frequently they are diagonal to the lines of meridian. An interesting example of this is the little red-footed falcon, a bird commonly seen in China. This little falcon breeds in North China, Manchuria and the Amur and Primorsk Provinces of Eastern Siberia. It winters in South Africa There are many other such cases, but space forbids their being cited here.

The question as to how birds find their way from their breeding grounds to there winter resorts and *vice versa* is a mystery that has never been satisfactorily solved. Some have tried to explain it by saying that the young birds have been shown by the older birds, and they in turn by their parents, and so on, but this theory is completely knocked on the head by the fact that in many cases, if not in all or the majority, it is the young birds that start south first, often as much as a fortnight ahead of their parents, and unerringly find their way to the regular winter resorts of the species. This means that they were never shown.

The accuracy with which birds make for and find their desired destination has been tested out on young swallows, which have been ringed while fledgelings and subsequently caught again as adults in the same localities the following year after months of travel in foreign climes.

That birds sometimes lose themselves is evidenced by the fact that they have a way of turning up in all sorts of queer places altogether off their usual beats. Thus we have Asiatic birds recorded from Western Europe, and birds belonging to Europe turning up in China, or American species appearing in England.

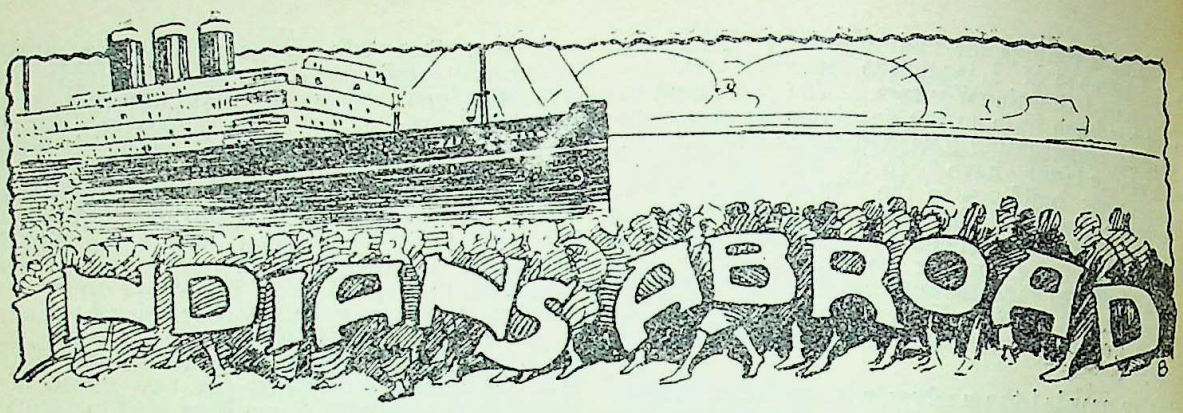
We must suppose in such cases that some factor has intervened at the moment that they were leaving their breeding grounds to give them a start in the wrong direction, but even this is really a mystery, since we are only guessing.

The whole subject of bird migration is fraught with mystery and pregnant with unsolved problems. We do not really know why migrating birds fly so high; neither do we know why some go due north and south while others go almost east and west. We cannot say why one group chooses one course while another closely related group chooses altogether another. We have not the remotest idea what it is that guides migrating birds to their correct destinations. All we know are the bare facts—the why, the how and the wherefore are entirely beyond our ken. Nevertheless, we need not lose heart; science has solved many more difficult problems, and we may hope that some day, when we have discovered *all* the facts and correlated them, we may find the key to the many mysteries of bird migration.

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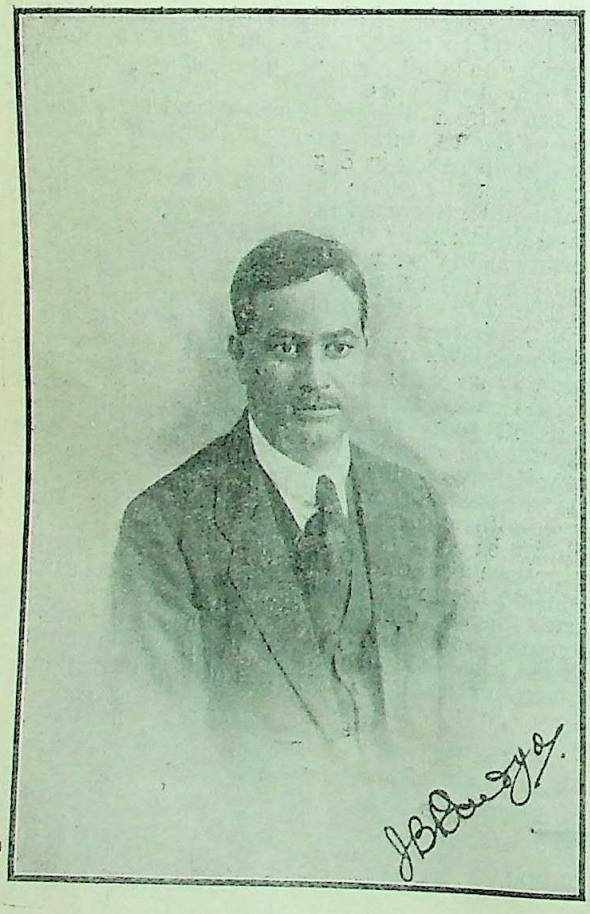


By BENARSIDAS CHATURVEDI

An Indian leader in East Africa

An esteemed correspondent has sent to us the following note about Mr J. B. Pandya an Indian leader in E. Africa.

"Jagannath Bhawanishanker Pandya eldest son of Mr. Bhawanishanker Naranji Pandya, Head-Master Paneli Moti school in Gondal State, Kathiawar was born at Sihore in 1891. He received his education at Bhavnagar High School and came to East Africa in 1908. At a competitive examination held in Mombasa for Government Service he obtained highest number of marks and joined the Customs Department at Mombasa.



Mr. J. B. Pandya

He resigned from the Customs Department in 1914 for better prospects and joined a European firm and gained experience in business. Shortly afterwards he opened his business as Clearing and Forwarding agent under the name of Pandya & Co. in 1917. His firm is now one of the leading Indian firms in Kenya. In addition to Clearing and Forwarding business he has now got warehouses and many agencies of first class and influential firms. He has also a wholesale and retail department. In 1926 he opened a Printing establishment which has now greatly expanded under the name of the Pandya Printing Works Ltd. and is one of the foremost printing works on the Coast. Mr. Pandya is the Managing Director of this establishment. In June 1927 he started "The Kenya Daily Mail" a bi lingual Daily and Weekly Newspaper, the first copy of which was printed at the hands of The Rt. Hon. Srinivas Sastri who was then going to South Africa as the First Agent-General to the Government of India.

After he had started his business in 1917 Mr. Pandya entered public life in Kenya as a member of the local Indian Association. He soon made his mark and in 1918 he was elected Hon. Secretary of the East Africa Indian National Congress which had its head-quarters at that time at Mombasa. His ability, application to work and regularity earned great credit for him from the Indian leaders and he was elected a member on the District Committee in 1920 where he

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worked upto 1925. He then resigned and remained an honorary member.

In 1925 he was elected president of the Indian Association. In that very year he was elected as a member to the Kenya Legislative Council on which body he worked till 1927 when he refused to go to the Council obeying the mandate of the E.A.I.N. Congress.

In 1927 he was appointed as one of the Commissioners on the Local Government Commission under the Presidentship of Mr. Justice Feetham. His minority report is a spirited and able document.

He is the President of the Indian Merchants Chamber and Bureau at Mombasa. He has been four times elected as a delegate to the Association of East African Chambers of Commerce by the Mombasa Chamber of Commerce and Agriculture which has a European majority. He also worked as a member on the Port Advisory Board.

In order to serve the people of the country of his adoption, Kenya, as well as his motherland, India, he has now put forward a Free Passage Scheme which affords opportunities to prominent political leaders in India to come over to East Africa and study the various questions."

The 'Kenya Daily Mail' Free Passage Scheme:

Here is the scheme of Mr. J. B. Pandya:—

"*The Kenya Daily Mail* desires to encourage visits by Indian gentlemen occupying posts as prominent political leaders and editors of Daily and Weekly newspapers, throughout India during 1929, with a view to studying conditions in these territories, and on their return to serve the interests of these countries whenever opportunity occurs. The Kenya Daily Mail will defray the cost of a certain number of passages from Bombay to Mombasa and back, first or second class according to the status of the visitors, and will place at their disposal on their arrival here its whole organisation and facilities for becoming familiar with all sections of the community and the study of East African problems.

The Kenya Daily Mail accordingly invites correspondence from those in India desirous of availing themselves of this opportunity. Correspondents should afford full details of their profession and activities, and should state clearly the degree of their association with public or political life. The selection will be in the hands of the Proprietors of the paper and will be announced in due course in its columns. Correspondence should be received here not later than December 31st. 1928, and an intimation should be given as to the most convenient time for the visit to be made and its proposed duration.

The scheme is put forward in the single and sincere desire to facilitate the growth of knowledge in India of conditions under which Indians oversea live, and the Proprietors confidently invite the co-operation of the Indian press and public in making it a success."

We heartily congratulate Mr. Pandya for this patriotic idea and hope that he will not mind if we give him a few suggestions. Here are some of the names that we would suggest for the deputation. Sir Purushattamdas Thakurdas, Sir Lalubhai Samaldas Mr. J. B. Petit and Mr. L. R. Tairsee (any two of these four capitalists) Lala Lajpat Rai, Acharya A. T. Gidwani M. A. (Oxon), Dr. Kalidas Nag M. A. D. Litt. (Paris) and Mr. S. G. Vaze (Editor, the Servant of India).

We are in favour of the inclusion of two capitalists because Tanganiyka stands in great need of Indian capital. Principal Gidwani is a great educationist and he will be able to give expert advice on the question of Indian education in East Africa. Dr. Nag is devoted to Greater India of the past and at a time when our countrymen overseas are building Greater India of the future, Dr. Nag's well-informed lectures will prove very interesting and inspiring indeed. We should not forget that ancient Indian colonisation was cultural while the modern Indian emigration has been mainly economic. We have to make a happy compromise between these two forms of emigration in our scheme of Indian colonisation in future, I need not say anything about Lala Lajpat Rai for he requires no introduction. As regards Mr. Vaze, our countrymen in East Africa already know something of his calm dispassionate handling of our problems. Possibly he will prove the most useful of all the members of the deputation. Mr. Pandya should put himself in touch with these people immediately. One thing more we have to suggest. No discrimination should be made as regards passages. The only consideration for a first or second class passage should be that of health. Surely an editor of an influential journal has got a status no whit inferior to that of any capitalist.

Indians in British Guiana

Here is an extract from the Daily Chronicle of Georgetown, British Guiana :—

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B.G. East Indian Association

The Executive of the B.G. East Indian Association with Dr. J. B. Singh as President has already held nineteen District Meetings within the counties of Demerara and Berbice. It was no doubt a very hard task, as the Executive had to forsake their houses twice or thrice every week, and in many cases other important duties, and travel by day as well as by night to accomplish the work of the Association.

The most important subjects dealt with were :—(a) Acquiring a Vernacular Press to publish news for the benefit of the East Indian Community. (b) Vernacular education for the Hindoo and Muslim children. (c) Co-operation among the East Indians. (d) Formation of an organisation to protect the rights of the Rice-growers. (e) The raising of funds to clear off the liabilities of the Association and to make addition to the Association Building.

At all the meetings held in the various Districts the East Indian turned up promptly and this convinced the Executive that the people are willing to stand by the Association to carry out its aims and objects.

At these meetings, various sums of money were raised by voluntary subscriptions and there were also promises of substantial sums, and of several bags of rice. Each rice-miller in the District readily promised a bag of rice, and the Executive was requested to ask every other East Indian rice-miller within the Colony to give a bag of rice.

The Executive at every meeting organised a Committee to receive donations in aid of the Building Fund.

Donations were also received in aid of the Building Fund from certain individuals.

We are glad to note that our compatriots in British Guiana are waking up. Their decision to acquire a Vernacular press and to encourage the study of Indian Vernaculars is praiseworthy.

West Indies are situated at a distance of thousands of miles from India and there is no regular steamer service. Our countrymen in West Indies have thus remained unaffected by the beneficial influence of National movements in India. By starting a Hindi paper and by opening Vernacular schools our Indian leaders in British Guiana will lay the true foundation for a better understanding between their adopted land and the Motherland.

Social and Educational Work among Indians in the Colonies

"When will you visit India again? I asked Rev J. W. Burton, General Secretary of the Methodist Mission of Australasia, when he came to India two years ago. Mr. Burton's name is a house-hold word in Fiji Islands, where he did a great deal of work for the indentured Indian labourers.

Rev. Burton replied :—Well I have to visit North Australia, Papua Islands, Fiji Islands, England and India, one by one in five years. So I can come to India only once in five years but next time I shall try to come to India earlier."

When Rev. Burton was speaking these words I was thinking of the coming future when Indian missionaries will visit the colonies in the same way. There is a great deal of social and educational work to be done in the colonies and if we can send the right type of workers from India they will not only prove useful to our people there but they can also make themselves men of position and influence. We are turning out dozens of *Snataks* (Graduates) from our Gurukulas and National Colleges every year. With a proper organisations it will not be difficult to find suitable jobs for some of them at least in the colonies. The All-India Aryan League can certainly do a great deal in this connection. If they can arrange for free passage for some of their *Snataks* a number of them may be found willing to go abroad for social and educational work. I wrote a note on this subject, in the *Modern Review* of January 1928 and referred to the resolution that I moved and that was passed unanimously at the Dayanand Centenary at Mathura. This note of mine attracted the attention of Syt Ramanand Sanyasi, Secretary of the Aryan League, who wrote to me that on reference he found that no such resolutions had been passed at the Centenary!

This is sufficient to explain the hopeless way in which the subject of sending Vedic missionaries abroad is being handled by our Aryasamaj leaders. Many of these leaders have absolutely no imagination at all. The Aryasamaj suffers from officialism and red tapism considerably and there is a lack of spirit of adventure and religious fervour in their men of first rank. I wish some of them could be transported to East Africa and made to see the work of the Aryasamaj there. The Aryasamaj at Nairobi (Kenya) has got one of the finest Arya Mandirs that I have seen and there is a first class Girl School—conducted by it. It is high time that the Aryan League took up the matter in right earnest to prepare a practical scheme for sending missionary workers abroad. I would suggest a meeting of Prof. Ram Deva, Prof. Satyabrat, Mahatma Narayan Swami, Pandit Tota Ram Sanadhya, Honourable Badri Maharaj and Shriyut Devi Dayal for the purpose. Will the Aryan

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League give some consideration to this suggestion of mine ?

Right Honourable Mr. Sastri in South Africa :—

The Indian Opinion of South Africa has published the full details of the outrage on Mr. Sastri committed by the European hooligans in Klerksdorp. Here is an extract from that paper :—

On Saturday evening, Mr. Sastri and his staff attended a banquet at Klerksdorp. The Mayor of Klerksdorp presided, and there were 138 European guests, including Major Maquassi, the Police Commissioner of the district, the resident magistrate and other leading people of the town and surrounding area.

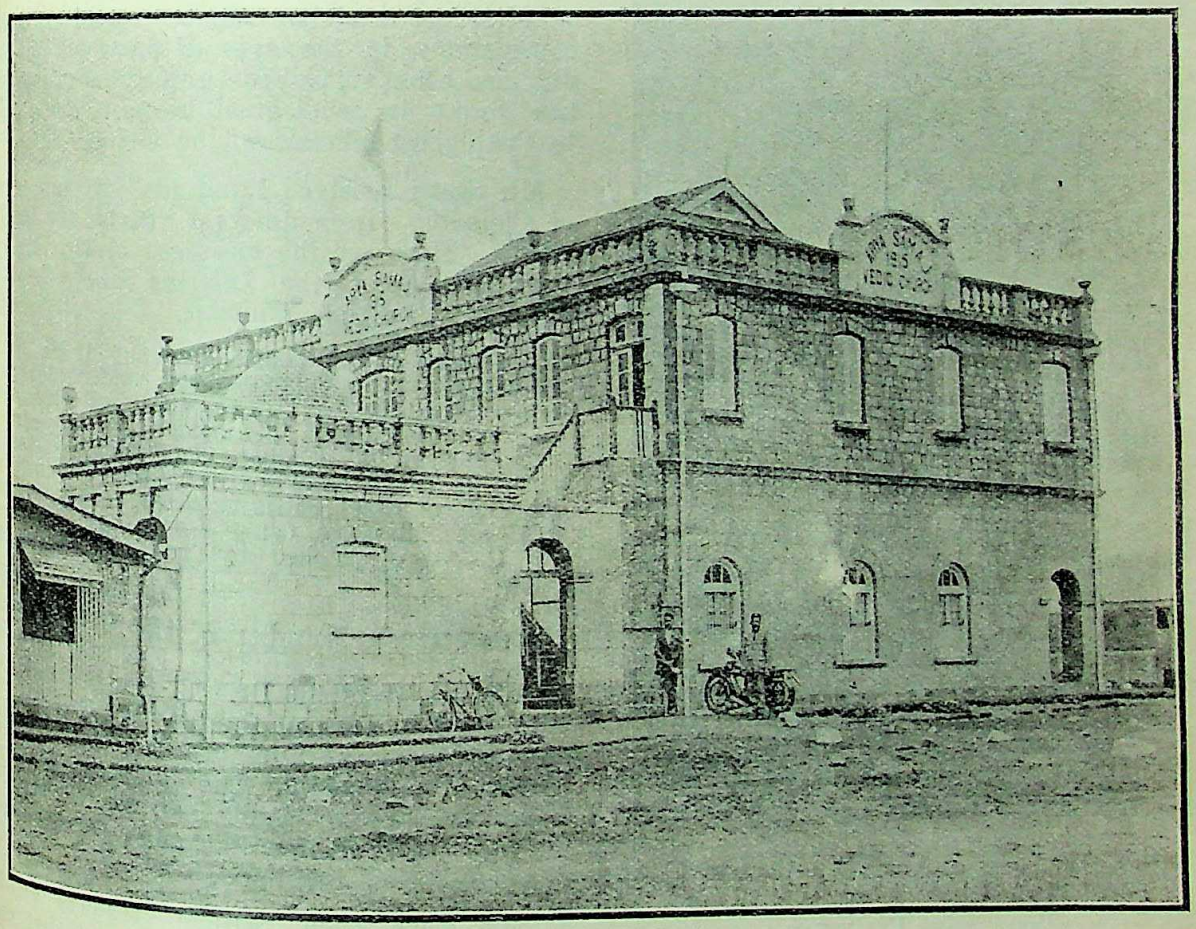
That road lies across the hope of the children of South Africa. Are you ? Curse you !"

After the banquet the guests moved from the Tivoli Hotel to the Railway Institute Hall. Here it was found that the doors had been broken in and that a score of men were occupying seats reserved for the banquet guests. As the platform party entered, booing and hooting began until Mr. Jooste pleaded for order saying that Klerksdorp must not be the only town in the Transvaal that misbehaved itself when Mr. Sastri visited it.

Mr. Sastri then began to speak on the Indo-Union agreement and its effects, dealing incidentally with the word "Coolie" that had appeared on handbills on Friday.

"You must not call my people coolies," he said. "They are not, for 'coolie' means a person who sells his body for physical labour, and the word is insulting to our people."

After the speech had continued for about nine minutes, Mr. Morgan Evans stood up. "We have



Aryasamaj, Nairobi (East Africa)

Deputy-Mayor Leads

During the banquet it was noticed that Mr. Morgan Evans, the Deputy-Mayor of Klerksdorp, was driving a motor-car about the town. The car bore several inscriptions, including the following "Are you helping the Indian uplift movement ?

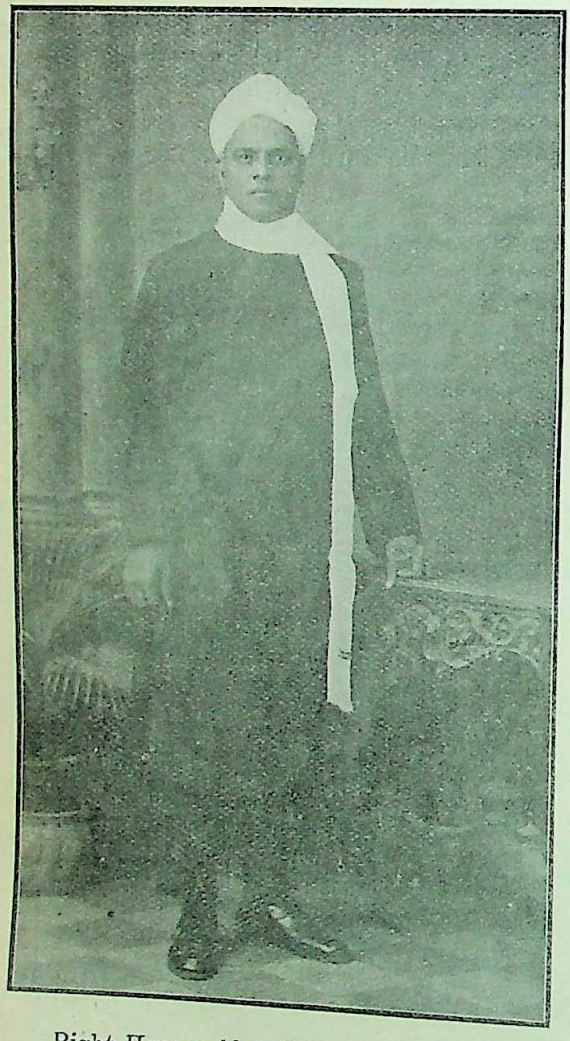
not come here to listen," he said. There were cries of "sit down," and Mr. Jooste again began to plead for order, when suddenly the lights were switched off. Women started screaming, and the audience began to make for the doors, some women being knocked to the ground during the confusion.

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Suddenly, a glass vessel fell just next to the platform, and the contents were splashed about. A match was lit and a fire flared up where the bomb fell.

Men rushed with overcoats to put out the flames by smothering them. This took some minutes to effect. Meanwhile strong biting fumes began to penetrate the hall, affecting the throats of all those in it. Men and women were coughing continually; several women fainted, and later a woman and a child had to be removed to the hospital for treatment to the throat and lungs, which had been affected by the chemical fumes.



Right Honourable V. S. Srinivas Sastri

DISTURBERS DISAPPEAR

Police were rushed to the hall, but before they arrived the disturbers had disappeared. Before the lights came on again or the police arrived, many members of the audience began shouting, "Go on Mr. Sastri. We are here."

Mr. Sastri advanced to the centre of the platform and said, "Yes, I am here, and I will go on."

At this, rotten eggs began to be thrown at him. None, however, hit anyone, although the walls and platform were bespattered with eggs.

Mr. Jooste then called to the audience to adjourn to an open space outside. This was done, and Mr. Sastri resumed his address.

"Ladies and gentlemen," he began, "as I was saying before, the venue of this meeting was altered from indoors to the open air," and so took up the thread of the speech. His voice was noticeably affected by the gas for the first few minutes, but later the effect apparently passed away. Mr. Sastri continued his speech for almost an hour.

MR SASTRI INTERVIEWED

Mr. Sastri, interviewed on Monday, declined to make any reference whatever to the incident. He looked remarkably well and chatted gaily with the interviewer. When asked if he suffered any ill-effects from the gasbomb, he replied, "I am addressing a meeting in Springs to-night."

Mr. Sastri has no doubt raised himself considerably in the eyes of the world by his dignified behaviour. This unfortunate incident has shown in what great respect he is held by the highest officials of the Union.

Mr. Sastri received hundreds of messages of sympathy from different parts of South Africa. Here are the messages of Dr. Malan, the Minister of the Interior and General Hertzog, the Prime minister.

All day on Tuesday the staff of Mr. Sastri were kept busy in Johannesburg handling telegram deprecating the Kleiksdorp affair and sympathising with Mr. Sastri in having been subjected to such outrageous conduct. Again on Wednesday morning, the stream of telegrams commenced, the total of which, it is reported, ran into many hundreds. Messages came from every corner of the Union, despatched by both Europeans and Indians.

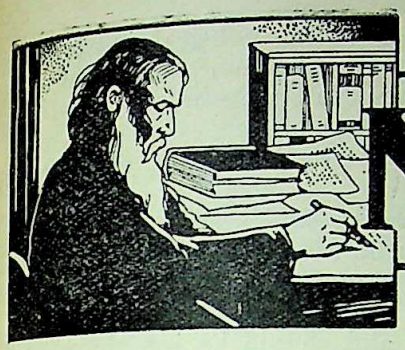
Anniversary Number of the Vriddhi:—

We congratulate Dr. I. H. Beattie M. A. and Pandit Durga Prasad of Fiji on the fine Anniversary number of their monthly journal, the Vriddhi. The number contains many insteresting and instructive articles but those of Rev. Mcmillan and Dr. Lambert deserve special mention.

We have been regular readers of the Vriddhi for the last twelve months and though we may not agree with some of the views held and expressed by the editors, we entertain nothing but grateful admiration for their sincere efforts. We hope in future the Vriddhi will be able to appreciate better the work of the Aryasamaj in Fiji.

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NOTES

Programme of the Bengal Independence of India League

"The Congress workers of Bengal" have formed an Independence of India League for the province of Bengal, and its provisional executive committee has published a manifesto and programme. The programme, as published in *The Searchlight* of Patna, does not confine itself merely to politics but has also in view the establishment of economic and social democracy. This recognition by the founders of the League of the fact that human affairs cannot be divided into separate independent compartments is satisfactory. In the programme under "Political Democracy" occurs only the expression "complete political independence." Many items mentioned under the headings of economic democracy and social democracy depend upon the attainment of political power for their execution. But the programme does not mention any details as to the means and methods of attaining complete political independence;—it does not give even a vague general indication of them. As the League does not and cannot obviously intend to engage in secret revolutionary activities of any kind, its silence on the subject of means and methods appears to show that the projectors do not know what should or can be done to make India completely free. So they are not much wiser in this matter than ourselves, the only difference being that we have often confessed our ignorance, but they have not.

The next section of the programme relates to

Fundamental Principle Of Economic Democracy

Removal of economic inequalities.
Equitable redistribution of wealth.
Provision of equal opportunities for all.
Raising the standard of living.

Regarding Industry

1. The League believes in large scale production through the use of machinery, but would at the same time encourage cottage industries.
2. Key industries to be nationalized.
3. Railway, shipping and air service to be nationalized.
4. Labour to have a voice in the matter of appointment and dismissals of employees and in the management of industries.
5. System of profit-sharing in industries to be introduced.
6. All disputes between Labour and Capital on Management shall be submitted before an impartial board for arbitration with a view to making strikes and lock-outs unnecessary.
7. Limitation of private capital by legislation or taxation including imposition of tax on all property inherited.
8. Supply of cheap credit through co-operative and other methods and Control of usury by fixing a maximum rate of interest.
9. Eight-hour day to be fixed for factory workers.
10. Unemployment wages and old age pensions to be paid by the State.
11. Amelioration of labour by provision of (a) insurance against sickness and accidents, (b) maternity benefit scheme, (c) creches for infants, (d) quarters for labour, (e) adequate leave, etc.

Regarding Land

1. Uniform system of land tenure.
2. Equitable rent to be guaranteed by the State.
3. Annulment of agricultural indebtedness through State intervention and indemnification.
4. Abolition of Landlordism by indemnification.

The objects aimed at in this section of the programme are unexceptionable. An attempt on a national scale can be made to gain them only if those who cherish them succeed in obtaining supreme power in this country, which they are not likely to do in the near future. But even at present they can give a concrete shape to their ideals in their personal relations and their immediate surroundings. Among "the Congress workers of Bengal" who have become members of the League there may be some Zamindars (landlords), capitalists, employers of labour, etc., and certainly there are many who have at least some domestic servants. It would

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be good and a proof of the sincerity of the members if they would remove economic inequalities between themselves and their employees or tenants or domestic servants, etc. No law would stand in the way of their doing so. Similarly, if they distributed their wealth equitably among those with whom they are connected, they would not be guilty of violating any law. Provision of equal opportunities for all is a great ideal. At least the well-to-do members of the League should send the children of their tenants or employees or domestic servants to the same schools, colleges and universities to which they send their own children. This would show that they are true to their ideals, and they can be true to their ideals in a perfectly law-abiding manner. As for raising the standard of living, it is to be hoped that the members have already provided at least their own domestic servants with clothes, food, rooms and other comforts and conveniences somewhat like those which they themselves have.

The profession of high ideals becomes very easy and sometimes paying, too, if one does not expect to be called upon to live upto them till the country has become independent.

Regarding industry, the League says it believes in large-scale production through the use of machinery, but would at the same time encourge cottage industries. There is nothing heretical about this belief. But Mr. Gandhi is against large-scale production by power-driven machinery, and hence the League cannot have the Mahatma's blessings in this respect.

The carrying out of items 2 and 3 requires the possession of preponderant political power.

As regards item 4, those members of the League who are owners or shareholders of factories, plantations, etc., can and should give their employees a voice in the matter of appointment and dismissal of employees and in the management of their concerns, *before the law forces them to do so when the country becomes an independent democracy.*

Exactly the same remarks apply to items 5 and 6.

Before the law limits private capital in an independent democratic India, the members of the League can and should set a limit to their private wealth by a self-denying ordinance. Many Indians have set examples, though they never *talked* of economic democracy or of political independence. We do not know what limit to private capital the League has in contemplation—we hope it is not one crore of rupees.

Item 8 is practicable even at present, so is item 9.

Item 10 does not seem practicable just now, because of India's political helplessness and the consequent economic backward condition.

Bills can and should be introduced in the Central Legislature even under present conditions for the accomplishment of the object aimed at in item 11.

What has been said regarding land would require legislation. Item 1, 2 and 4 seem hopeless under the present constitution of the legislative bodies. The third item may and ought to be tackled.

In the section devoted to social democracy there are a good many items which can be carried out without the intervention of the law. It is remarkable that the founders of the League have felt obliged to draw up a programme of social reform, though social reformers in Bengal have never been in their good graces, nor have "the congress workers of Bengal" been famous themselves for the practice of social reform. Their programme is printed below.

SOCIAL DEMOCRACY

A—REGARDING CASTE

(1) Abolition of Caste which will necessarily include :
(a) the removal of untouchability
(b) free access for all communities to roads and wells.
(c) free access for castes to temples.
(d) inter-caste dining.
(e) inter-caste marriage.

B.—REGARDING WOMEN

(1) Emancipation of women—which will include
(a) Abolition of Purdah ;
(b) Compulsory education for women ;
(c) Physical culture for women ;
(d) Freedom for widows to remarry ;
(e) Equal status for women as for men ; and
(2) revision of the existing law relating to women's rights.

C—REGARDING MARRIAGE, ETC.

(a) Polygamy to be abolished ;
(b) Inter-provincial marriage to be encouraged ;
(c) The marriageable age to be raised for men as well as for women and a minimum age to be fixed ;
(d) Dowry, whether in cash or in kind at the time of marriage, to be abolished.

D—REGARDING PRIEST-HOOD

(a) Abolition of the system of hereditary priests and gurus.

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(b) Individuals to be encouraged to perform religious ceremonies themselves without the aid of professional priests.

Compulsory education for women; equal status for women as for men, and revision of the existing law relating to women's rights; abolition of polygamy; and a few other items would require legislation. But very great progress can be made by earnest and sincere social reformers. In Bengal the Brahmos have done more for the cause of social reform and the emancipation and advancement of women than any other section of the people, and they have been rewarded with persecution, slander, gross calumnies, and the attempt of Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose, the boss of the Independence League, to wreck the City College. Nevertheless, we are pleased that the Time Spirit has compelled Subhas Babu and his co-workers and followers to profess adherence to the social programme of the Brahmo Samaj. But it is to be hoped, it will not be mere profession.

It is not clear why there is no mention of the compulsory education of *men* and of physical culture for *men*. In their new-born or simulated zeal for doing good to women, the members of the League seem to have forgotten that in Bengal the vast majority of men, too, are uneducated and weaklings. Perhaps they were too eager to pose as champions of women's rights, as being the correct timely forward thing to do, to remember the existence of the hitherto unfair sex.

We note that a Musalman contemporary has protested against the proposed abolition of polygamy as against the Quran! Kemal Pasha and Amanullah Khan would make short work of such protests.

Those who have drawn up the programme of the League have assumed the role of Buddha (*minus* the awakening and enlightenment of the soul), Marx, Lenin, etc, rolled up in one. Let us wait for their actual performance and leave judgment to be pronounced by posterity.

—

Pre-Medical Courses for Medical Colleges

In American Universities, it is understood, if a student wishes to enter a medical college, the condition is that before applying for admission he must have studied a pre-medical course in a university for two years. This pre-medical course includes chemistry, physics, botany, hygiene, physiology (rudiments), zoology and other similar subjects. Cannot the study of such a pre-medical course be arranged for in the Calcutta University?

—

Fine Arts Exhibition, Indore

The Prabasi Banga Sahitya Sammelan (All-India Bengali Literary Conference), which is to be held at Indore (C. I.) in the coming Christmas Week, will hold an exhibition of Oriental Arts. The Exhibition is open to artists of all provinces and will contain works in Painting, Sculpture, and minor arts. All artists are cordially invited to send their exhibits. A detailed prospectus will be sent on request to P. N. Bhattacharya, General Secretary, Prabasi Banga Sahitya Sammelan.

—

Importance of Finds at Mohenjo-Daro

Until now only two lands could rightly claim to represent the cradle of civilisation. One is Egypt, in the valley of the Nile; the other is Mesopotamia watered by the Tigris and the Euphrates. But now there enters a third and serious claimant—the valley of the Indus, in the north-west corner of India,

writes Sir Arthur Keith, the famous scientist, in *The Referee*. He goes on to state:

The chief site of discovery in the Indus Valley, Mohenjo-daro, is 200 miles from the mouth of the river; it was built on the flat, alluvial plain on the western bank; to the west of the plain rises the mountainous frontier of Baluchistan. Six years ago a prospecting officer of the archaeological survey who arrived on the scene found merely rolling mounds covered by soil and sand which the river had left behind when it overflowed its banks in flood times. Under the alluvial covering of the mounds, often thirty feet in height, found mouldering bricks.

The mounds which marked the site of the central part of the buried city, covered an area equal to about one square mile. Beyond, and lost in the plain, were the submerged suburbs. In the north-west corner of the central city was a particularly large and high mound. This was suggestive, for in the north-west corner of a city the ancient Babylonians always built their "ziggurat," or Tower of Babel.

Missing History

Several trial shafts were dug, and by 1924 Sir John Marshall realised that he had gained access to a lost and buried world of humanity. It was suspected before then that India had an anceint history, but every attempt to trace it into the second millennium before Christ had ended in failure. Nor would Sir John Marshall have succeed-

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ed in this attempt without the guidance of Mesopotamia and Egypt.

Sir John Marshall's preliminary excavations on the Indus disclosed houses, ornaments, jewels, utensils, weapons, pottery, seals, and works of art, all so similar to those of ancient Babylonia that there can be no doubt that the time sequence is the same for both. By this fortunate chance he has been able to restore to India at least 2,000 years of her missing history—a restitution in which her vast mordern population may justly take pride. For the foundations of Mohenjo-daro carry us back like those of Ur of the Chaldees, to a point in time some 3,500 years B. C.

Regarding Harappa and other prehistoric sites, Sir Arthur Keith writes :—

Sir John Marshall, at the beginning of his investigations, realised that Mohenjo-daro could not be the sole representative of this ancient civilisation of India. The Punjab lies to the northeast of Sind, and a railway now connects Multan with Lahore, passing along the plain of the River Ravi. An airplane survey conducted along this dusty plain has revealed several ancient sites one being at Harrapa 440 miles from Mohenjo-daro

The leader of this expedition was not content to search Sind and the Punjab for ancient sites, but sent Mr. Hargreaves from Sind westward into Baluchistan, where traces of the same ancient civilisation were found. Still further to the west, in the lower valley of the Helmand River of Afghanistan are other sites, that tempt the explorer's spade. We have every reason to hope we shall yet find links in Persia which will join the ancient civilisation of the Punjab with that of Mesopotamia.

Incidentally the reader may be asked to note that the Indian gentlemen who actually made the discoveries, not with the spade, but with their brains, are not mentioned by name, nor is there the least indication given that any Indian had anything to do with the discoveries. It is Sir John Marshall who did all these things! Not Hiralal, Rakhaldas, or any other non-white human being. Mr. Hargreaves is mentioned because he is an Englishman. It is as if the scientific discoveries of J. C. Bose and P. C. Ray were credited to the Englishmen who were Principals of the Presidency College or Directors of Public Instruction when these scientists were professors in the Presidency College! Indians have been deprived of their birthright of freedom and of their native land. Must they be deprived of their intellectual achievements also?

—

"The Secret of Life"

Much sensation has been caused by the announcement, made by Prof. F. G. Donnan at the Glasgow meeting of the British Association, of Professor A. V. Hill's discovery as to the difference between life and death.

The cell that is the basis of life requires constant oxidation, he explained, to preserve the peculiar organised molecular structure of life of a living cell. The living cell is, in fact, like a battery which is constantly running down and which requires constant oxidation to keep it charged. Death is the irreversible breaking down of this structure, always present, and only warded off by the structure preserving action of oxidation.

Professor Hill's hypothesis for the first time enables men of science, Professor Donnan said, to understand, though a little dimly, "the difference between life and death and the very meaning of life."

Oxidation, assimilation, and the rejection of waste products were continually going on, and the living cell was constantly exchanging energy and materials with its environment. The apparently stationery equilibrium was in reality kinetic or dynamic equilibrium.

A Still Greater Mystery

In the problem of life, there was a still greater mystery. If a motor-car was deprived of petrol, the engine stopped, but it did not die, whereas if the living cell was deprived of oxygen or food it died at once or went to pieces.

The doubt suggests itself even to the mind of a layman. How do hibernating animals live without oxygen? How did *yogis* entombed under the earth live?

What, it might be asked, was cellular death? It was at this point, Professor Donnan said—at the very gateway between life and death—that Professor A. V. Hill was on the eve of a discovery of "astounding importance," if indeed he had not already made it.

Professor Donnan concludes

"My belief is that Professor Hill is on the verge of an astonishing discovery. I think that his continuous fine analyses of the phenomenon the living cell must lead to such an understanding of the organisation of life that there is no reason why the construction in a laboratory of a living cell on the physical plane could not be effected, or its construction in the ocean, for instance, observed."

—

If Science "Creates Life"?

Referring obviously to the announcement briefly summarised above, Mr. A. George Tarrant observes in the London *Inquirer* :—

Some people have been rather frightened lately. They have read in the daily press certain sensational statements and rumours as to new discoveries, and, as these discoveries seem to touch on the origin of life, they are disturbed.

The writer reassures them by saying :

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But, after all, the position is really very simple and natural. We have known, for a very long time, that the family of life includes many very different members. We have known that if we trace the stream of life backwards along the line of evolutionary development, we descend from man and the higher animals to more lowly forms of life, until we lose the stream in a world of very tiny and very lowly organisms. As our means of exploring become more efficient, as our microscopes become more powerful and our technique more subtle, we find we can trace the stream further and further back. We finally lose it in a region of forms so lowly as hardly to be recognised as living matter, and lose it there, not because the stream comes to any abrupt end, but because we have not the power to trace it further.

After tracing life from its highest manifestation to its lowest, Mr. Tarrant reverses the process, stating :—

If on the other hand, we start in the realm of merely inanimate chemical substances—the chemical element of which all things, living and non-living, are made—we find these substances building themselves up, in obedience to natural laws, into more complex compounds. Some few of these elements—carbon, oxygen, hydrogen and nitrogen—build themselves up into substances of very great chemical complexity, whose ultimate particles are comparatively large. Moreover, these more complex molecules have the property, sometimes of joining one to another almost without limit, and of joining on to themselves simple molecules from the world around, and so growing almost as do lowly forms of life. If we trace the upward development of the stream of chemical complexity, we lose it in a region of complex growing molecules—and we lose it there, not because it comes to an abrupt end, but because chemistry has not the power to trace it further.

The writer then asks,

Has science bridged the gap, and joined these two streams together? Have we now a continuous road, from one end of the scale to the other? It may be so—how strong or how faint is the evidence cannot be discussed here. What

Supposing science does bridge the gap,

Surely there is no need for alarm. For science is only doing in the laboratory what nature did on this earth in the dim past. Life on this planet arose, unquestionably, from some such development of inorganic elements into complex compounds, and from these to very rudimentary specks of living matter. This development was continuous. If we have learnt in our laboratories to reproduce some of the steps of this progress, is it a cause for alarm ?

Once we realise the continuity of nature, once we abandon the idea of change by catastrophic leaps and sudden discontinuities, then such a development as this must be recognised as the most natural possible. Such discoveries as are indeed at must be greeted with pleasure, as we see one more piece of the puzzle of nature fitting into its place under the hand of man.

Mr. Tarrant asks in conclusion, what is the bearing of this upon religion ? His answer is :—

Surely only to confirm us in our wonder at the mystery of creation, and of man's ability to think God's thoughts after him. For the living cell, whether science can create it or not, is not the soul of man. A cell in the body of a man may go to form the brain with which he thinks the sublimest thoughts, or it may grow into a cancer which wrecks the whole bodily fabric. The man is more than a form of animate life.

Love, the choice between good and evil, sin, repentance, these are attributes of man, not of a simple living cell. These, and the religious experiences of man, are still there, unaltered, and there is no fact of biology or chemistry more real than these.

Let us then be re-assured. If science has shown the path from lifeless chemical element to living cell, what of it ? Some such path must have existed for life to be on earth at all. And if science tells us a little of the way in which God works, does that mean there is no God ?

—

Modern Indian Languages as Media of Instruction

The Calcutta University Commission does not think that the English medium of instruction in Indian schools and colleges is such a great handicap as it is described to be, writes Mr. C. Bhattacharya in *The Progress of Education.*

Mr. Mayhew says that India is not the only country where a bilingual system of education is in vogue and seems almost to suggest that it is a necessary evil. For, was not the higher education in Europe conducted for many years mainly through the medium of Latin? Newton wrote his Principia in Latin. The German philosopher Leibnitz wrote his books in the same language or in French. Again every fresh revival of the study of the classics in England gave a new impetus to original thinking and hence to the development of the indigenous literature of the country. The Latin medium was not a handicap in these countries. Why should English be a handicap in India? On the contrary, it should prove itself to be a continual source of inspiration to the stagnant minds of India.

The writer controverts these views by observing :—

The mistake in this argument lies in confusing English as a medium of culture and English as a medium of instruction. The study of the former shall be ever supported. It is necessary in order to broaden our minds and especially in order that we may come into contact with western science and culture. The English literature is full of virile thought, breathing liberty and freedom. Who will not profit by its study ? It was probably in some such spirit that the great Raja Rammohan Ray supported the Anglicists. But for this, it is enough if the foreign language is under-

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stood. The foreign medium is no necessary accompaniment of bilingualism though the latter may be essential for a people whose mother tongue is in an undeveloped condition. Mr. Michel West says in "Bilingualism". "The English student of Chemistry is taught in his mother tongue, but is not cut off from the fountainhead of German chemical research".

He strengthens his argument by citing the example of Japan.

The history of Japanese education of the last fifty years shows what a really serious attempt by a sincere Government can do for the improvement of an undeveloped language. Even today Japanese is a crude tongue. It did not possess any alphabet before the seventh century when it accepted the Chinese alphabet. It is however, such a cumbrous and immobile vehicle for expressing ideas, that it was almost next to impossible to adapt it for the expression of modern thoughts. In the most authoritative dictionary of the Chinese language published recently, the lexicographer has used forty-seven thousand, two hundred and sixteen characters. It can be easily imagined what a difficult task the Government of Japan has performed in making ninety-five per cent of the population literate in less than fifty years. It was in 1870 that scholars were for the first time sent to Europe to bring the culture of Europe to Japan. The first University of Japan was established in 1877. At first foreign teachers were engaged for instruction in higher education. Gradually, they were replaced by Japanese scholars; and at present in the whole of Japan, there are not more than eight or nine European scholars engaged in the domain of higher education. But though the study of some foreign language is compulsory, in all secondary and collegiate education, the medium of instruction is almost everywhere Japanese. At first, the work of translation was difficult, owing to the immobility of the Chinese characters, to remove which many Japanese educationalists are thinking of replacing the Chinese by the Roman characters. (*Vide Japanese Education*, by B. Kikuchi).

The position is much better in India so, far as our principal languages are concerned though not so far as the inclination of the rulers is concerned.

The Indian dialects, at least those that owe their origin to Sanskrit, have got a richer ancient literature than Japanese. Marathi, Kanarese and Bengali boast of lyrics and ballads mainly on religious themes dating back to a thousand years. Moreover, Sanskrit, the mother of all these languages is a vast store-house of words already in use and is a wonderfully prolific mint that can turn out any number of new words required for new purposes. There are books on astronomy, philosophy, chemistry, algebra, and medicine that were studied in India from generation to generation. One has only to look over the pages of Dr. Seal's "Positive Sciences of India." to be convinced of the truth of this statement. As a witness said before the Calcutta University Commission, "Even the most highly developed modern languages and literatures were at first no better than Bengali. In their case development was obtained by use. It will be obtained in our case too in the same way." (C. U. R. Page 256).

—

Complete Political Independence Versus Dominion Status.

Lala Lajpat Rai says in *The People* that no self-respecting Indian could be so base as not to desire complete political independence for his country in the same sense in which the other countries of the world have it. He then asks: "But is there *any* country in the world which is really absolutely independent? Every country has some limitations on its 'complete independence.'" This is true. When *The Modern Review* says that it is for complete or absolute independence, it only uses popular language, not scientific language. It is prepared, of course, to accept the human limitations on the independence of the freest countries—neither more nor less. Lalaji makes a fair enumeration of the reasons of the seekers of independence for their choice, and observes:—

Every Indian must sympathise with this point of view. If India were free to-day to make her choice, she will not be disposed to join the British Commonwealth. But she is not free. She is included in the British Empire. The question before her then resolves itself into one of expediency, — not hypocritical expendiency but one of practical wisdom. Even Mr. Srinivas Iyengar says he would accept Dominion Status if it was granted at once. Some others hold that we should work for Dominion Status as a stepping stone to Complete Political Independence. I do not agree. I am of opinion that we should honestly, wholeheartedly and sincerely work for Dominion Status whether we get it immediately or in the next few years. I say so, because to me in our present circumstances, that seems to be the path of practical political wisdom.

It has been stated more than once in this journal that its editor does not oppose the movement for dominion status, because that status may lead on to independence. But we have not joined any movement either for dominion status or for independence, for reasons which seem to us adequate. We do not see any practicable way to the attainment of independence. Hence we do not join any Independence League. But as the desire for independence is ever present in our mind and has become a sort of creed, we cannot join a movement for dominion status which we do not like without some mental reservation; because whatever we do we want

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to do whole heartedly. In fact, it was this attitude which, among other reasons, prevented the present writer from standing for election to the legislature when requested by a representative of the leaders of his district to do so with the assurance that the election would be unanimous and uncontested. Thus the position of the writer is that of a mere journalist, or, in plainer language, that of an armchair onlooker and critic. It is hoped that this bit of egotism will be excused, as it has been considered necessary to define our exact position. Lala Lajpat Rai gives the following reasons for working for dominion status :

(1) That Dominion Status, as at present understood, secures to us full independence and freedom to remain within the Commonwealth as long as it is in our interest to do so.

(2) That the partnership of the Commonwealth does not mean voting by population and that in case any dominion finds that it is out-voted by virtue of race prejudice or other similar considerations, it is free to dissolve the partnership.

(3) That the first task of the Indian Nationalists is to take the Indian States with them. No attempt in this direction has the ghost of a chance if you declare Complete Political Independence as your immediate goal. That a combination of the British Government and the Indian States against you will be a formidable obstacle in the way of your political progress.

(4) That the cry of complete Political Independence leads people away from constructive political and social work and is a disturbing element in the nation-building departments of the country.

(5) That it gives the British an excuse for repression and suppression. I recognise that in the case of subject peoples repression and suppression is sometimes more beneficial to the political freedom than petty conciliations and superficial concessions. But even then in the present circumstances of India with our economic helplessness staring us in the face at every step, the balance of advantage lies in not giving the British an additional excuse for excessive repression and suppression.

(6) That any *practical active steps* towards Complete Political Independence cannot be taken except in secrecy and through revoultionary violence. The preachers of non-violence may talk as much as they like, but they will not advance an inch towards the goal unless they actively grapple with the problem of how and by what means ?

(7) That the dream of an Asiatic Federation is a mere fantasy, and we cannot build upon it.

These reasons would have sufficed for us, too, to work for dominion status, if we had not independence on the mind.

—

India's Three Great Words

Under the pen name of "Calamus," a writer in the London *Inquirer* quotes Rabindranath Tagore as saying that India is "incurably religious." According to this writer, the Soul of India is the belief that spirit is the great reality. Atma alone is real. In all things there dwell the Supreme.

Referring to Mr. J. C. Winslow's book, "The Indian Mystic," the writer says:—

Mr. Winslow takes three great words of Hindu religion and shows that behind each of them is an idea that may lead to a deepening of the Christian's religious consciousness.

The first word taken is Bhakti. :

This is the Way of Devotion. Bhakti is a beautiful and rich term, as Dr. Stanley Jones points out in the 'Christ of the Indian Road,' and Mr. Winslow shows us something of its beauty and richness. Bhakti is that loving devotion to God which has proved the most dynamic force in the religious life of India. It is good to learn from a Christian book that India has a noble conception of God "as One who loves mankind and thirsts for the response of man's love," and that "His most characteristic name is Bhagavan, the Adorable One the supremely Lovable, who gives Himself in love to man."

The second great Indian word is Sannyas.

Sannyas means the Way of Renunciation, which has always made a potent appeal to the heart of India. The sannyasi is a person who has given up everything to live the holy life. The true sannyasi can always win the hearts of the Indian people. Western civilisation, with its frank materialism, has no attraction for the Indian. Amassing wealth simply does not interest him. To quote Holland ('The Indian Outlook') :—

"What his soul worships instinctively, passionately, is poverty. 'Not the master of industry with his millions, not the Boss of Big Business, has roused India's enthusiasm and thrilled her imagination ; this has been done only by the sannyasi, going out from house and home, with no possession but his begging-bowl, to be alone with God.' Gandhi's bare feet and single garment are no small part of the hold he has on Indian reverence.

The third great word is Yoga.

Yoga is the Way of Discipline. The word covers a systematic training in the art of contemplation.

An Indian Christian once told me a story about an orthodox Hindu friend of his. The Christian prevailed on the orthodox Hindu to attend a Christian service. Later he asked him what he thought of it. "It interested me very much," said the orthodox Hindu, "but why do you get up and sit down so much ? It is all getting up and sitting down. To me it seems more like drill than worship. But perhaps that is why you call your services religious exercises ?" That is how it strikes the Hindu ! India is one day going to teach the Christian how to be still. "Be still and know that I am God," said the Psalmist. "Study to be quiet," said Paul. India knows what these words mean.

At one time the Christian only sneered at the Yoga systems of India. To-day a Christian writer can say that Patanjali's system (to mention one

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of the most important) is set forth with considerable psychological acumen, and that it might be described in modern terminology as a method for deliberately isolating, and gaining control over, the subconscious and its powers.

India, then, has given us three great words: Bhakti, Sannyas, and Yoga but the greatest of these is Bhakti.

—

A Hindu Publisher in America

Mr. Hari G. Govil, mentioned in the previous note as the director of the India Society in America, is editor-in-chief of the *Oriental Magazine* and a promising Hindu publisher in America. The name and address of his firm are Hari G. Govil, Incorporated, Oriental Publishers, Times Building, New York City. He was born at Bikaner, Rajputana, and educated at Benares. He went to America in 1920 to study electrical engineering at the Massachussets Institute of Technology. When Mr. Ramlal Bajpai, who has sent us a character sketch of Mr. Govil, met the young Indian student, "his application and certificates had already been sent. When it came to the question of money, we found that he actually had five cents in American money and two English pennies and nothing more. When we enquired just how he expected to enter any kind of a college with no money, he assured us with confidence that he was going to work and earn the money." This he did. He subsequently changed his plans bought an old press for about thirty dollars, repaired it himself, and worked on it far into the night experimenting with printing. Thus he produced his first publication, the *Oriental Magazine*.

Mr. Govil was helped to go to England by Jajodia Brothers, Birla Brothers, and Shivaprasad Gupta of Benares. He could go to America from London because Mr. Ambalal Sarabhai gave him the passage money.

—

Varieties of Socialism

Of late, in speeches delivered at Youth Conferences, Students' Conferences, some other conferences, and Independence League meeting the word socialism has been rather frequently mentioned. It is, therefore, good to bear in mind that socialism is not a single system of thought about economic reorganization but a whole series of related systems. One of the latest books dealing with these systems is *A History of Socialist Thought* by Dr. Harry W. Laidler (New York, Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1927. 2·50 dollars). Reviewing this work in the *Political Science Quarterly* of New York, Professor P. F. Brissenden of Columbia University gives the reader to understand that socialism has had a very long history—"from the ethico-religious Utopias of such Old Testament prophets as Amos and Hosea (700-800 B. C.) to the diluted Communism of the Russian Bolsheviks (A. D. 1927).

"Between the prophets and the Bolsheviks are the Utopias of Plato, More and Bacon, of the French Utopian Socialists, Babeuf, Cabet, Saint-Simon, Fourier, Louis Blanc, Proudhon; of Brisbane, Hertzka, Morris, Bellamy and Wells; the socialism of all socialisms—that called Marxian: Fabian Socialism; the socialism of the German Social Democracy; Revisionism, Syndicalism; Guild Socialism; State Socialism; Socialism of the Chair; Christian Socialism."

There is also post-war socialist thought. There are altogether fifty-seven varieties of socialism.

—

Russian Communism

There are some admirers of Russian Communism in our midst. They may or may not have read "*Marx and Lenin: The Science Revolution*" by Max Eastman (Albert and Charles Boni, New York). The author wants "to show how to make a communist revolution." So his sympathies are with the Communists. Yet, according to the New York *Nation*,

> We are bound to ponder certain of Mr. Eastman's observations by the way: that "wholesale curtailments of liberty and violations of their own ultimate ideal of social relations are a necessary and intrinsic part of the plan of action of all scientific revolutionists"; that the essence of the Russian political situation is the unshakable dominance of the Communist Party, which holds "a position in the new state not unlike that occupied by the personal sovereign in the old"; that the most unsatisfactory feature of the Russian experiment is the failure to establish a great system of education, in place of which has been set up "this great solemn fetish of dialectic materialism, which is nothing but the old shoes of Almighty God"; and that the second most unsatisfactory feature is the absence of a direct and simple purpose "to see to it that the proletarian dictatorship and the collective ownership of the means of production shall create *to the full extent possible at any stage of its development*, a free and true human society." Alas! After ten years here is another full-sized serpent in the garden.

—

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Lajpat Rai's Gift for a Consumptive's Hospital

Lala Lajpat Rai has given Rupees one lakh and collected about another lakh for a consumptive's hospital to be named after his revered mother Srimati Gulab Devi. Nothing more need be said than that the act is characteristic of the man.

—

Hindu Mahasabha Resolutions on Removal of Untouchability

It is satisfactory to note that the following resolutions were passed at the eleventh session of the Hindu Mahasabha held at Jubbalpore in April last :—

1. This Hindu Maha Sabha declares that the so called untouchables have equal rights with other Hindus to study in public schools, to take water from public wells and other sources of drinking water, to sit with others in public meetings and to walk on public roads. The Maha Sabha calls upon all Hindus to remove such restrictions as may be existing anywhere at present in the way of the so-called untonchable Hindus exercising these rights.
2. This Maha Sabha declares that the so-called untouchables are fully entitled to have Dev Darshan, and the Maha Sabha calls upon all Hindus in general and all Hindu Sabhas in particular to provide the same facilities for Dev Darshan to them as are enjoyed at present by other Hindus.
3. This Maha Sabha calls upon Purohits [Priests], barbers and washermen to offer their services to the so-called untouchables also.
4. This Hindu Maha Sabha is of opinion that every Hindu to whatever caste he may belong has equal social and political rights.
5. This Maha Sabha appeals to all Municipal Boards to provide healthy quarters to the so-called untouchables specially the sweepers and directs the local branches of the Hindu Maha Sabha to draw special attention of their Local Boards towards this matter.
6. This Maha Sabha looks upon the practice of nomination of the representatives of the depressed classes by the Government to the Local Bodies, Provincial Councils and the Assembly as most harmful and injurious to the true interests of the country and considers that this practice will become a source of creating a great gulf in the near future between other Hindus and the so-called untouchable classes. In the opinion of the Maha Sabha the right course to stop this practice is to put forward and back proper candidates belonging to the so-called untouchable classes to the elected bodies named above.
7. This Mahasabha emphatically protests against the so called Adi Hindu movement started by some self-seeking persons with a view to create division between the Hindu Community and warns the so called untouchable brethren against the dangers of falling a victim to this harmful propaganda and calls upon them to remain faithful to and well wishers of their ancestral Hindu faith.

A resolution, strictly speaking, is something which one resolves to do, is determined to do. Therefore, all members of the Hindu Mahasabha and all others who follow its lead are bound as a matter of sincerity and truthfulness to act up to these resolutions. They should not remain mere paper resolves.

Nomination of representatives of "depressed" classes is undoubtedly undesirable from the nationalist point of view. But it is not quite accurate to say "that this practice will become a source of *creating* a great gulf in the near future between other Hindus and the so-called untouchable classes." *The gulf was already there* before any "representatives" of these classes were nominated. What the practice of nomination is likely to do is to *widen* and *perpetuate* the gulf. It will not do to throw all the blame on Government. Orthodox Hindu society has been for centuries wicked and unrighteous in its treatment of the so-called untouchable classes, and this has been the original cause of the gulf.

We are against the Adi Hindu Movement. But we do not think it is correct to speak of *creating* division in the Hindu community. The division already exists. What the Adi Hindu Movement may do is to make the division rigid and to perpetuate it. This cannot be prevented by mere paper resolutions. The so-called Adi Hindus must in practice be treated exactly as the social equals of the Brahmins. Then alone will the former remain faithful to and become well-wishers of their ancestral Hindu faith. Now that all classes and ranks of people have become self-conscious, the Hindu community must consider itself doomed unless it can take the wind out of the sails of Musalman, Christian and bureaucratic propagandists by becoming truly democratic and righteous in its social economy.

—

An Object Lesson to India

Under the above heading *The Young East* of Tokyo for September, just received, reproduces the following editorial from the *Osaka Mainichi* (English edition) :

On August 28, 57years ago (counting from 1928) a proclamation was issued by the Government declaring all the subjects in the Empire equal. It was an epoch-making event. The proclamation

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for once and all swept aside the traditional class distinctions that would promote the caste idea and hinder the national progress.

The samurai and common people classes became nominal. It created a new and wider world for the masses; anybody was free to do anything without fear of being subjected to unprincipled prejudices because of the long standing distinctions. Swarms of the common people class seized the opportunity and proved the sagacity of the proclamation.

But tradition persists; a tradition that has had a life of many centuries could not be pushed aside with just one proclamation. People hailed the proclamation with cheer, but enough of class predjudice remained. The samurai class would not so easily condescend to mingle with the common people class; much of the old-time haughtiness lingered in their minds that appeared to be making desperate efforts to maintain its ground.

To-day the traces of this traditional class distinctions may be stated as having entirely gone. We have seen sons of the poorest farmer risen to an exalted position in the Government; sons of the smallest storekeeper have climbed up to commanding places in army, navy or business circles. Nobody thinks it strange; everybody regards the fact as inspring.

It is because of this equal opportunity to all this country has been fortunate to find many men of ability rare in all fields of activity. The absence of a caste spells progress and Japan has experienced it.

The Young East commends these paragraphs to the consideration of its Indian readers. We hope all Indians will seriously reflect on the lesson taught by the Japanese proclamation and its results.

It is not merely orthodox Hindus who are in favour of keeping up caste distinctions. The British Government seeks to perpetuate caste in various ways, which need not be enumerated.

Among other things the *Osaka Mainichi* states that "sons of the smallest storekeeper have climbed up to commanding places in army, navy or business cricles." But the British rulers of India have divided our people into military and non-military races!

—

Two Reports of the Same Interview

The following extract is taken from *The Bengalee*:—

In the report of an interview with the eminent physicist, Prof. Sommerfeld, he is said to have observed:

According to the "Statesman"—

"There is real independent spirit of science in India as seen from the work of Dr. Raman of Calcutta, Dr. Saha of Allahabad and other famous scientists."

According to the "Englishman":— "The real independant spirit of science in India has produced some very important scientific work. There were such men as Prof. Raman of Calcutta, Prof. Saha of Allahabad, Prof. Bose, a nephew of Sir Jagadis Chundar Bose and Prof. Bose of Dacca."

Why this omission in the Friend India? Is there again the hidden hand?

The difference in the two reports of the same interview seems mysterious. Even the two combined may not perhaps be a faithful transcription of what Professor Sommerfeld actually said. He is an eminent physicist, and therefore it would be quite natural for him to confine his observations to his own special branch of science. That may be the reason why there is no reference to the original work done by Indians in chemistry or botany, for example. But even as regards physics, the *Statesman's* report is more meagre than that of the *Englishman*. The name "Bose," whoever among scientists may bear it, seems taboo to the Chowringhee paper.

However, it does not much matter what the abovenamed papers choose to print or omit. Even novices in physics know that before Sir J. C Bose turned his attention to the study of living matter he made many discoveries in physics, some of which are referred to with a diagram of one of the apparatuses invented by him, in the eleventh edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, Vol. IX, p. 206, under the article Electric Waves. It is for this reason that in the Foreward to his "Collected Physical Papers" (Longmans) Sir J. J. Thomson writes:—

"Another aspect of these papers is that they mark the dawn of the revival in India of interest in researches in Physical science; this which has been so marked a feature of the last thirty years is very largely due to the work and influence of Sir Jagadis Bose."

The Professor Bose of Calcutta referred to by the *Englishman* is Dr. Debendra Mohan Bose, who, with Prof. Meghnad Saha of Allahabad, represented India at the Volta Centenary in Italy last year; and Professor Bose of Dacca is Professor Satyendranath Bose, after whom and Professor Einstein the Bose-Einstein theory has been named.

—

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Unanimous Demand and the Grant of Self-rule

The condition laid down by the British arbiters of India's destiny for the grant of a small measure of self-rule is that the people of India must make a unanimous demand and produce an agreed constitution.

For a country inhabited by 320 millions of people to make a unanimous demand in the literal sense of the term is an impossibility, particularly when the powers that be are bent on encouraging, if not also producing, diversity of opinion. In spite of this difficulty an agreed constitution has been produced which has been accepted by the main groups of politically minded Indians. Therefore, the bureaucracy have redoubled their efforts to make every insignificant group and every nonentity claiming to speak on behalf of a group appear more important and influential than the parties who have accepted the All-Parties Conference Report. Perhaps the natural reaction has been that in some quarters the support given to the Nehru Committee's report has been claimed to be more unanimous and nation-wide than it actually is.

These circumstances remind one of the very different circumstances under which other parts of the British Empire, spoken of as white men's lands, obtained self-rule. The British and French and original American inhabitants of Canada were not required to produce, nor did they actually produce an agreed constitution and make a unanimous demand of any sort before obtaining self-rule. Lord Durham's Report gave Canada self-rule. Before that the Canadians had rebelled against Britain several times (perhaps that was taken as a proof of their fitness for self-rule) and the British and French section of the population were at logger heads with one another. As a matter of fact, therefore, unanimity among Canadians, either literal or practical, did not precede the grant of self-rule to Canada, it was self-rule which produced some harmony among the discordant elements of its population. Such was the case in South Africa, as also in Ireland. And in South Africa, even after the introduction of self-rule there is not much agreement in the political aims and ideals of the Boers, the British settlers and the original inhabitants of the country.

In India, therefore, the people's reply to the British demand of unanimity should be that unanimity in its literal sense does not exist in Britain or any other country and practical unanimity can come only after the country has obtained self-rule and been relieved of the incubus of British domination just as Hindu-Moslem dissensions and riots can cease to a great extent only after the British third party has ceased to profit by such quarrels.

—

The Aga Khan on the Nehru Report

That parasitic lotus-eater, the Aga Khan, has contributed an article on the Nehru Report to the London *Times*. He suggests a constitution based like the association of free states like the old German Empire. Each of his proposed free states should be based, not on considerations of size, but religion and nationality, race and language, *plus* history.

The German Empire has ceased to exist; it is a republic now. So what is the use of an analogy borrowed from an empire which had the seeds of decay within it? Similarly, as the idea of basing polity on medieval theology and religious dogma has been given up even in Turkey and practically so in Afghanistan, why should the Aga Khan, who is neither a Musalman nor a Hindu, stand up for this exploded and effete old-world idea?

—

Lord Birkenhead's Resignation

India never liked Lord Birkenhead as *her* Secretary of State—we mean as a Secretary of State to tyrannise over her. So no Indian will even pretend to wipe his eyes to bid him farewell. Not that India *can* like any Secretary of State to play the absentee despot at a distance of 6000 miles from her shores. Just as drums as musical instruments are best appreciated when not played upon, so what would be best appreciated in relation to the office of Secretary of State for India would be its abolition together with the abolition of its caudal appendage the Council.

—

Campaign of Slander in U. S. A.

The vast disgusting scale on which unbridled campaigns of calumniation are carried on previous to presidential elec-

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tions may be surmised from the following passages in the *Literary Digest*:—

A Campaign of Character Assassination, in which the assassins, using for weapons whispers and innuendoes, strike at the Presidential candidates under the cowardly cover of anonymity, is causing embarrassment both to the Republican and the Democratic party leaders. It was whispered diligently especially during the pre-convention campaign, that Mr. Hoover's Americanism was open to grave suspicion, and that his wealth had been acquired none to scrupulously. Or, as the Republican Hartford *Courant* puts it, he has been called virtually everything "from a traitor to a superior type of horse-thief." The whispers against Governor Smith, which are said to be particularly active and sibilant in the South seem to be chiefly concerned with two charges—that he is intemperate in his use of alcohol, and that as President, his appointments and other official decisions would be subject to religious bias.

Responsible papers, while admitting that the well-known records of the two candidates both in their private and their public lives place them far beyond the range of such unscrupulous attacks, nevertheless deplore and denounce this degrading feature of the Presidential campaign. "To be privately traduced has been the common lot of men seeking high office in the United States," the New York *Times* (Dem) reminds us but it adds—"Every right-minded citizen must resent the employment of such unfair tactics. It is not a question of the effect upon a party or upon a candidate. What should be of concern is the general influence of all this upon political decency and the morale of voters." "If Presidential campaigns cannot be conducted on a plane above the gutter level, we may as well abolish the election and establish an executive dynasty," declares the Cleveland *Plain Dealer* (Ind. Dem.). And it adds:

"Of all the despicable methods of campaigning this whispering device is the worst. It spreads poison and lets the poisoner escape. It is base slander which permits the slanderer to sneak away in the dark. While the civilized powers admit the desirability of abandoning poison gas in warfare, civilized society may well declare a war of extermination against this equally reprehensible method of political offence, which is aptly described as organized mud-slinging."

—

"The Literary Digest" and National Character Assassination

While the *Literary Digest* of America rightly disapproves of the "whispering" campaigns of slander directed against the presidential candidates, it had no hesitation to aid and abet the assassination of the character of the 320 million inhabitants of India by Miss Mayo, by reproducing some of the worst passages and pictures from her book "Mother India." It has not had the fairness to reproduce refutations of her lies and half-truths by Hindu authors and journalists. Moreover, it generally manages to extract passages from Anglo-Indian newspapers which are calculated to lower India in the eyes of foreigners.

—

Rev. Ottama in Japan

The *Young East* of Tokyo writes:—

A news agency reports that a high Burmese priest of the name of Ottama arrived in Tokyo in August. He is a revolutionary leader. He plunged in the Independence Movement of India in 1906 and has ever since dedicated himself to the work of promoting co-operation between India and Burma in opposition to the English rule. He has been imprisoned several times, the latest of which was for four years, coming out in March this year.

This paragraph gives a wrong idea of the character of the movement with which the Rev. Ottama has been connected. He is *not* a revolutionary leader. He, like most Indian and Burmese political leaders, wants dominion status for India and Burma. If Britain will not agree to India's acquisition of such a political status, *all* sincerely patriotic Indians and Burmese must become revolutionaries with Independence as their goal.

—

Teaching Music in Bengal Schools

The proposal of the Director of Public Instruction in Bengal to introduce the teaching of music in boys' and girls' schools in Bengal has given rise to a controversy. Being unmusical ourselves we are not competent to take part in it. But there is no harm in our having our say from a commonsense point of view.

Music is already taught in some boys' schools and more girls' schools. Most of the songs they are taught are Bengali songs, and that is only natural. And the teachers also are naturally for the most part Bengalis. As for instrumental music, it being practically the same all over India, it does not much matter from which province the teacher comes, provided the pupils are able to understand his oral instruction. But, for obvious reasons, most of the teachers of instrumental music also are Bengalis. We are not competent to judge of the relative merits of the musicians of different parts of India, and it is not necessary for our purpose to do so. Suffice it to say that as the schools are situated in Bengal, as the pupils to be

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taught are Bengalis and as there are Bengalis sufficiently well-versed in vocal and instrumental music to be able to teach boys and girls, the question of importing musicians from outside Bengal does not arise. It is true Bengal did not produce Tansen, Maula Bakhsh and other famous musicians. But that does not mean that Bengal has not produced and does not possess musicians of such average ability as would suffice for the purpose of teaching school children.

Take the case of European countries. As the science underlying Indian music is practically the same all over India, so the science underlying Western music is practically the same all over Europe—and the technique is also essentially the same. It is an admitted fact that Britain has not produced musicians like Beethoven, Wagner, Bach, etc., of Germany. It is also an admitted fact that Germany excels in music, Britain does not. But these facts have not led to German songs being taught in England by German musicians instead of English songs by English musicians. The question everywhere is how to teach school children and who should teach them, *not* how to produce or import great experts like Tansen or Wagner.

Another point requires attention. In painting what interests beginners and other ordinary spectators most is the story or other subject of the painting ;—understanding and appreciation of the technical excellence of paintings may come afterwards. Similarly, though in vocal music it is taken for granted that the *ragas* and *raginis* should be correctly rendered, what interests beginners and other ordinary listeners most is the verbal composition called the song and its meaning. For them the charm lies not merely in the air and tune but also (and perhaps mainly) in what the words of the song mean. Hence, when children are taught music, it is desirable to begin with songs in their mother-tongue. Bengal possesses plenty of songs in various *ragas* and *raginis* quite fit for children. We cannot say whether Hindi has plenty of such songs. We sometimes hear Bengali children taught by Hindustani teachers to sing Hindi songs of a somewhat erotic or amorous character in complete ignorance of their meaning. They should not be taught such songs. This can be avoided by teaching only Bengali songs to Bengali children. And obviously Bengali teachers are the fittest to teach such songs.

—

When Killing is not "Himsa"

A calf in Mr. M. K. Gandhi's Asram had been suffering excruciating pain and in the opinion of Mr. Gandhi and others in touch with him there was no hope of its recovery. Therefore, to shorten and put an end to its sufferings he asked a doctor to inject poison into its body, which caused its death in two minutes. Mr. Gandhi argues that as the killing of the calf was meant to relieve it of pain and as the motive was altruistic, not selfish, the injection cannot be characterized as *himsa*. As orthodox Hindus look upon cows as sacred, the killing of any animal of the bovine species is in their eyes entirely different in character from the killing of other animals. What they think of Gandhiji's act and reasoning they are best fitted to say. Others who object to the killing of any animal for food or other selfish purpose, except self-defence, must admit that the killing of the calf in question was different from other kinds of killing. Whether possibly Mr. Gandhi was in the least actuated by the subconscious or unconscious motive of relieving himself of the pain of witnessing the agonies of the calf, is a subtle question which we are not competent to solve. Nor can it be said that human judgment can arrive at absolute certainty regarding the incurable nature of any malady.

Mr. Gandhi has said that even in the case of human beings, when it is thought that they are suffering from a painful and incurable disease, it would be a religious act to kill them. We have not before us the actual words used by him, but we give from memory the gist of what he wrote. We do not consider the principle laid down by him satisfactory. The desire to relieve a patient's misery is apt to get mixed up with the unconscious desire of his relatives or other attendants to free themselves from the suffering caused by witnessing his pain and nursing him. The incurability or otherwise of a disease is a matter of opinion. It would be risky in the highest degree to accept the opinion of all local physicians combined, even were they unanimous, as infallible. The greatest physician in the world, if any were really entitled to be called such, may

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hold and pronounce an erroneous opinion regarding the incurablity of the disease of a particular patient. Patients *have* recovered from diseases pronounced incurable by physicians locally available. Next comes the question of the degree of suffering which it would be legitimate to end by killing. Then one has to judge how long before the probably natural death of a patient he should be killed. Suppose the best physicians locally available say that a patient suffering indescribable pain from cancer would die six months hence. When would it be right to kill him? Six months before the probable day of his death? Or six days, or six hours? If it be right to kill him at all, why allow him to suffer any preventable pain even for an hour?

All excruciatingly painful diseases do not render the patients entirely incapable of rendering some little service or other to other persons. Would it be right to deprive the world of this advantage by killing a patient before the moment of his natural expiry?

There is also the question of self-determination. The lower animals cannot say whether in spite of pain they would like to live. Human beings can generally do so. If a patient whom physicians, relatives and neighbours decide to kill for his benefit, hopes and desires to live, ought he to be killed? Take the opposite kind of case. Some curable diseases, from which many patients recover, often become so painful that the patients express a desire to commit suicide or to be killed. They do so because the agony becomes unbearable. Would it be right to fulfil their desire to terminate their connection with the body?

In the last place, it should be noted that pain is not unmixed evil. Apart from the fact that pain is nature's warning and is also often part of the curative process, it has a disciplinary value;—it chastens, purifies and humanises. At what point it ceases to have such value and becomes an unmixed evil which may and ought to be put an end to by killing the patient, we are not presumptuous enough to attempt to determine.

On the whole though we admit Mr. Gandhi's good intention and sincerity and courage of conviction, we unhesitatingly and definitely reject his doctrine, so far at least as it relates to human beings.

—

Protective Measures for the Simon Seven

Anglo-Indians and stay-at-home Britishers are sparing themselves no efforts to create the impression that the vast majority of Indians are dying to co-operate with the Simon team. In fact the desire of most Indians to welcome and co-operate with them has been so plain to the white rulers of India that the timings of the arrival of the Simon Commission at Bombay and Poona were changed at the eleventh hour, the district magistrate of Poona refused even to let the leaders of the boycotters know the route which Simon & Co., would take, the Railway Station and roads in its neighborhood were closed to the public, and the police permit required the processionists to keep 500 yards away from Poona Railway Station.

—

Coronation by Brahmin Priests in Cambodia

The new king of Cambodia was crowned on July 22 last. How Brahmin priests officiated at the ceremony is thus described by the special correspondent of the London *Times*.

'On the entry of the eight officiating Brahmin priests the King rose and seated himself on a low chair immediately in front of the throne-dais. The eight Brahmins approached and knelt around the Sovereign, representing the eight points of the compass. One after another they repeated the traditional prayer for the King's welfare, his Majesty turning his chair so as to face each priest as he spoke. During this ceremony the King, although a Buddhist, held in his hand the images of Vishnu and Siva, the "Protectors of Cambodia" —a tradition of the old Vedic faith so deeply rooted in the country.'

—

"Not such a Hypocrite"

"We did not conquer India for the benefit of the Indians. I know it is said in missionary meetings that we conquered India to raise the level of the Indians. That is cant. We conquered India as the outlet for the goods of Great Britain. We conquered India by the sword, and by the sword we should hold it. I am not such a hypocrite to say that we hold India for the Indians. We hold it as the finest outlet for British goods in general and for the Lancashire cotton goods in particular."—*Sir W. Joynson-Hicks, Home Secretary.*

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"The Dial" on Tagore's "Fireflies"

The Dial, an ultra-modern American magazine, the mouth piece of the American and English "new" writers, notices Rabindranath Tagore's 'Fireflies" as follows :

These delicate moth-wings of elusive wisdom carry...the peculiar spiritual urbanity & serene detachment of the author...Limpid as water-colour vignettes they are characteristically East Indian in tone. Lacking the dramatic intensity of Blake's mystical aphorisms : lacking too the wistful humour of Chinese poetry ; they convey to the mind a tender resignation, soft and insidious, like a diffused perfume, suspected rather poignantly inhaled.

—

Sir J. C. Bose's Seventieth Birth-day

The Hindu's benediction or prayer for long life is, "Live a hundred years." But in these days, the generality of Hindus do not live to be centenarions. So the biblical three score years and ten has come to be considered a long life in India, as in some other countries. But in the case of those who have led a useful life and are still active at seventy, we are justified in wishing for and expecting a longer career of usefulness. Such a life has been that of Sir J. C. Bose. In about a month's time he will complete the seventieth year of his life. There may very well be public rejoicings on the occasion. In any case, it would be well if a function could be arranged at which his former students could meet him.

—

Reforms in Afghanistan

In the course of a recent important speech at Kabul the King of Afghanistan foreshadowed the formation of a Cabinet among the coming important reforms. His Majesty intimated that, as Sher Ahmad Khan, whom he had entrustsd with the formation of a Cabinet, had failed to do so, he would himself for the present discharge the functions of a Prime Minister. The appointment of Ghulam Sadiq Khan as Foreign Minister and of Muhammad Wali Khan as Permanent Regent in the King's absence from the capital, were also announced. Other measures foreshadowed were the reform of Municipal Law and of the Judiciary, foundation of public libraries and factories, compulsory co-education of girls and boys between the ages of 6 and 11 at Kabul and the introduction of European clothing at Kabul. In an important announcement of the subject of social reform the Amir of Afghanistan reiterated his well-known views on the emancipation of women. While denouncing superstitious practices, he affirmed his intention to carry out the true doctrines of Islam.

On the question of Purda, the King indicated his preference for wearing of modern veils in Kabul at least, while leaving it to the discretion of the people of the provinces to adhere to the old or new fashion.

A dramatic incident ensured when Queen Souriya and other Court ladies present removed their veils. The speech was delivered to a very large audience including all high Afghan officials and Foreign Diplomatic representatives, and was cordially received.

All this shows that a considerable proportion of Afghans is ready to welcome political as well as social reforms.

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Mischievous use of Khilafat Movement

The Mussalman writes :—

In the course of the last three or four years we have several times expressed the opinion in these columns that the need for any Khilafat Committee or organization in India has altogether ceased. The Khilafat organization was started at a time when the British Government interfered with the affairs of the Ottoman Empire in a manner that imperilled, and subsequently destroyed, the Khilafat and the object of the Khilafat Committee was to keep up a movement for the restoration of that institution. The Sultan of Turkey, as the world is aware, was then the Khalifa, the spiritual head, of the Muslim world, being the warden of the holy places of Islam, the most important of which is the Hedjaz where Mecca and Medina are situate. Since then there have been catastrophic changes in the world, particularly in the Muslim world. The Sultanate has ceased to exist and Turkey is now a Republic and republican Turkey has herself abolished the institution of Khilafat. Moreover. it must not be forgotten that the Sultan of Turkey was the Khalifa of Islam by virtue of his being the custodian of the Islamic holy places. As a result of the Great War Arabia and other holy places ceased to be under the suzerainty of Turkey and the president of the Turkish Republic could not therefore legitmately be the Khalifa of Islam, even if he so desired. Under the existing circumstances Sultan Ibn Saud, the present ruler of the Hedjaz, may legitimately be the Khalifa as he is the custodian of the holiest places of Islam, namely, Mecca and Medina. But it is apparent that he does not want to adopt the title and shoulder the responsbilities of the position. So it seems to us that Indian Mussalmans can

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hardly do anything that may lead to the restoration of the Khilafat. Moreover, there is difference of the opinion now-a-days as to whether it is at all desirable to try to set up a Khalifa receiving the homage of the entire Muslim world, if, of course, to bring about such a situation is at all possible in these days. In these circumstances it appears to us that a Khilafat organization in India is at the present moment a superfluity. It has absolutely no work to do and so the moribund Central Khilafat Committee should without delay go into liquidation. Its continuance means, we are afraid, mischief to the community. Every body knows that when one has no work to do one is inclined to do mischief. And the Central Khilafat Committee is such a body at the present moment.

Our contemporary adds that the public are fully aware that after the Chotani affair the whole Khilafat organisation stands discredited. As an illustration of its remark that "when one has no legitimate work to do one is inclined to create mischief," it writes:—

The Calcutta Khilafat Committee has recently got inspiration from the Central Khilafat Committee —inspiration in the shape of advice and, some say, money—to carry on a propaganda against the Nehru Committee report and the resolutions of the All-Parties Conference and some of those who, in order to save their own skin, could not join the Non-co-operation or the Khilafat movement are now the guiding spirits of this moribund Committee. We only hope that the misguided activities of this Committee will hoodwink none.

—

Popularising Latin Script in Turkey

With a view to popularising the new alphabet of Latin characters in Turkey, the Government has decided that all inhabitants of Angora, men, women and children, should attend special public courses at which the alphabet will be taught. Coffee-houses, casinos and other places of amusement will be converted into temporary class-rooms and instructors will be recruited from ministers, deputies and the highbrows of Angora under the supervision of Kemal Pasha himself.

—

All-India Oriental Conference at Lahore

The Fifth Session of the All-India Oriental Conference will be held at Lahore, from the 19th to the 23rd of November, 1928.

The objects of the Conference are the following:—

(*a*) To bring together Orientalists in order to take stock of the various activities of Oriental Scholars in and outside India.

(*b*) To facilitate co-operation and Oriental studies and research.

(*c*) To afford opportunities to Scholars to give expression to their views on their respective subject and to point out the difficulties experienced in the pursuit of their special branches of study.

(*d*) To promote social and intellectual intercourse among Oriental Scholars.

(*e*) To encourage traditional learning.

The conference is held every second year and practically sums up the work done by Oriental Scholars in various branches of Oriental Art and Literature. Mutual exchange of thought and personal contact with Scholars are not only stimulating to further research but have also a tendency to coordination of efforts. As such the utility of these Conferences has long been recognised in Europe and America.

The Conference will be divided into a number of sections, the provisional list of which is given below :—

1. Vedic. 2. Classical. 3. Philosophy. 4. Philology. 5. Fine Arts. 6. Arabic, Persian and Zend. 7. History and Archaeology. 8. Urdu. 9. Hindi. 10. Panjabi. 11. Anthropology.

There will be a concert of classical Indian Music, a Musha'ira, and representation of a play in Sanskrit. Excursions to places of historical interest like Taxila and Harappa will also be arranged.

All Orientalists are invited to become members of the Conference by paying a fee of rupees five only to the Honorary Treasurer, Mr. A. C. Woolner, M.A., C.I.E., University Hall, Lahore.

—

Mr. Natesan's Experiences in Canada

Mr. G. A. Natesan was one of the members of the Indian delegation to the Empire Parliamentary conference held this year in Canada.

Interviewed by Reuter regarding the part played by the Indian members of the Empire Parliamentary deligation at its meeting in Canada, Mr. Natesan said that opportunities for the discussion of Indian questions had been very few, but the Indians had taken advantage of them to the utmost. He and his colleagues had been everywhere received and treated with courtesy but they had not been able to help feeling the subordinate position occupied by India as a dependency.

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Reading between the lines of this part of Mr. Natesan's statement, one feels that the "courtesy" was not such as could make the Indian guests forget that they were helots within the Empire. Why then were they invited?

The Empire Parliamentary Conference had throughout concentrated on the problems of migration and marketing of Empire products. Mr. Natesan said that the Indian delegates had profited by the discussion of the question of migration at Ottawa and had drawn attention to the grievances of Indians overseas, emphasising that the treatment accorded to them was inconsistent with the profession of equality of British citizens and declaring that the Government of India was in complete accord with the feelings of the people on this question.

What are the proofs of this bureaucratic *complete* accord with the feelings of the people on this question? What did the Canadians say when their attention was drawn to the "grievances"? They are not insults, of course.

Mr. Natesan said that a Conservative member of the British delegation had once stated that self-government was the product of the West, the gift of which to India had been delayed for her own sake, in order that it might not prove to be a poisoned cup. Mr. Natesan, in the course of a subsequent public speech, challenged this view and pointed out that the art of government was in no way unknown to Indians, who were in many ways qualified for self-government, which they claimed as a right and not as a gift.

Not only in Canada, but in New York, which the Indian delegates had visited, and even among the British Parliamentary delegates, considerable ignorance about India was noticeable.

Mr. Natesan concluded: 'My visit to Canada has made me more hopeful about the destiny of India. If Canada, with its many nationalities and races, once warring with each other, can, within a short time after obtaining responsible government, make such a rapid and marvellous progress, India, if given a fair chance, can lay claim to a brighter future.'

Though we on our part had never any doubt as to India's power to manage her own affairs, it is really very encouraging to learn that a man of the type of Mr. Natesan has become hopeful about the destiny of India. But what one would be more eager to learn from him is whether, owing to his visit to Canada, he has become more hopeful of India's being given a fair chance by those who think that they rule her destiny.

One would also like to know the impressions and experiences of Messrs. Chaman Lal and Goswami. Why did not Reuter interview them? Or perhaps it is the other way about. It is not always Reuter that seeks an interview, but some people want to be interviewed by Reuter. And it does not suit the purpose of that friend of India to interview persons who are outspoken in their utterances to an inconvenient extent.

—

Indian Delegation to International Agricultural Assembly

Reuter understands that Mr. Guru Saday Dutt, I. C. S., now on leave, has been appointed by the Government of India to lead the Indian delegation to the ninth General Assembly of the International Institute of Agriculture, Rome. Mr. Dutt tried to improve agricultural conditions in the districts of Bankura and Birbhum as magistrate by irrigational facilities and other means. He is, therefore, acquainted with agricultural problems and has thought out some of their solutions.

It is not the custom of the Government of India to select an Indian to lead an Indian delegation to any conference in foreign countries, if it can help doing so. The selection of Mr. Dutt may be due to the fact that there is no politics in this international agricultural assembly.

—

China's New Constitution

Some idea of China's new constitution may be formed from a brief description, cabled by Reuter from Nanking, of a historic document, entitled "The organic Law of the National Government of the Republic of China," which was promulgated there early in October and will be henceforth enforced. From it we learn that the National Government will exercise all governing powers of the Republic and supreme command of the fighting services. The Government will be composed of five "Yuan," namely, executive, legislative, judicial, examination and control, with a President, who will represent the Government and be the Commander-in-Chief of the fighting forces.

There will be twelve to sixteen State Councillors from whom Presidents and Vice-Presidents of the five Yuan will be appointed. The Executive Yuan will be the highest and will establish Ministries and appoint commissions to decide legislation to be introduced in the Legislative Yuan which latter will decide, together with budgets, matters of peace and war treaties, etc. The Judicial

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Yuan will be in charge of judicial administration, the Examination Yuan will control examinations and determine qualifications for public service for which everyone must pass an examination and the Control Yuan will exercise impeachment and audit powers.

—

Quinquennial Review of Progress of Education in Assam

The Quinquennial review of the Progress of education in Assam for the years 1922-23 to 1926-27 by Mr. S. C. Roy is a carefully prepared and exhaustive document. Besides the usual descriptive and statistical matter which such reviews contain, there are observations and suggestions relating to all grades of education, from the university stage downwards, which are worthy of attention. On the question of founding a separate university or universities for Assam, for example, Mr. Roy's review contains much useful information and some observations. After briefly recapitulating the history of the demand for a university in Assam made on different occasions, from the year 1917 onwards, the Review states :—

> The reasonableness of this demand, which found expressions on so many different occasions is apparent. Even apart from the defects of the Calcutta University in relation to secondary and collegiate education, which led to the appointment of a Commission, and even before the reforms introduced in 1920 were so much as contemplated, the Government of India in their memorable Resolution dated 21st February 1913, which defined the educational policy to be followed in this country, deemed it necessary to restrict the area over which the affiliating Universities of the type of Calcutta should have control, by securing a separate University for each leading Province and even foreshadowed the creation of new local teaching and residential Universities within each of the major provinces in harmony with the best modern opinion as to the right road to educational efficiency.
>
> Besides, after the inauguration of reforms, under which Assam was constituted a major province with a Governor at its head, the idea of its educational tutelage under another province seems inconsistent with the principle of provincial autonomy.
>
> Academically speaking, the geological and mineral wealth as well as the flora and the fauna of Assam, no less than the large variety of tribes and races of mankind, represented in her hills and plain districts, each with its own history, language manners and customs, offer wide fields of interesting study to be explored by University scholars desiring to carry on research works in Geology, Mineralogy, Biology, Sociology, Anthropology and kindred sciences.

The reason why the question was not actively debated in the Council nor pushed to the front by the Department in spite of such favourable reception on the part of Competent leaders is mainly financial.

Considering that Assam is a region of vast undeveloped resources, the financial difficulty can not be considered insuperable. Many independent countries having a smaller population than Assam have one or more universities. We have given a table in *Prabasi* in support of this statement of ours.

Another difficulty pointed out in the Review is that "the agitation of a section of the people of Sylhet for reunion with Bengal has kept the fate of the Province hanging in the balance, and this cloud of uncertainty will not be finally removed till the Statutory Commission meets in 1929." It has met earlier though it will be some time before it drafts and publishes its report.

In *Prabasi* and *Welfare* we have stated most of our reasons for thinking that the Bengali-speaking areas included in Assam should not be separated from that province and re-included in Bengal. If our view prevails, one difficulty in the way of Assam having a university of her own will be removed.

—

Girls' Education in Centrally Administered Territories

The Government of India has accepted the proposal made by non-official members in the Legislative Assembly that a committee should be appointed to enquire into the question of primary education for girls in the territories under its direct administration. This belated move will no doubt be properly advertised by the publicity agency of the bureaucracy. But what have the Government of India been doing all these years? All over India, the education of girls is in a most backward condition. But in the provinces the state of things is somewhat better than what it is in the territories under the direct administration of the Government of India. It is understood that in these small areas sanitation is also very much neglected.

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A Condition Imposed on Nawab of Bahawalpur

The Feudatory and Zemindari India writes that the Nawab Sahib of Bahawalpur

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recently took a loan from the Government of India which amounted to five crores of rupees for the improvement of the Sutlej canal.

"The amount was paid out on sufficient security. We fail to understand how a novel condition was imposed by the British Government and accepted by the Nawab to the effect that till the loan is repaid the appointment of the Prime Minister of the State should have the approval of the Government. We do not see the reasonableness of this strange imposition. If there was a systematic maladministration of the state, that must be due to other causes. The Indian Government recommended some time back one Sikandar Hayat Khan as prime Minister. The Nawab appointed him. Not satisfied with his administrative capacity the Nawab had to pass orders to dismiss him from service as the Dewan refused to resign. We understand that the Nawab Saheb has been called upon to go to Simla to confer with the British authorities on this subject."

—

States Subjects Deputation to England

As some Princes have been very busy in England to preserve, among other things, their "right" to govern their states despoti-



Prof. Abhyankar and Mr. P. Chudgar who left for England as members of the States Subjects Deputation

cally, the states' subjects have acted wisely in sending a deputation to England to place their case before the authorities and the people there.

—

The Bundi Administration

According to the *Indian States*, in Rajputana the State of Bundi is making good progress under the new Prime Minister, Mr. N. Bhattacharya, M.A., who was for a longtime the Dewan of Banswara State. Our contemporary writes that "Mr. Bhattacharya is an experienced administrator, has imagination and is keen on developing Bundi."

—

The First India Conference in America

According to a news sheet issued by the India Society of America, Inc., the First India Conference is to be held in New York city from October 14 to November 5, 1928, in order to present a survey of India's life and thought, art and culture. Mr. Hari G. Govil is the Chairman of the India Conference and



Mr. Hari G. Govil

director of the India Society of America. The conference will be conducted through general and round-table sessions. At the general sessions, lectures of interest to the generai public will be offered. Vital issues pertaining to India, with particular reference to America, will be discussed at the various round-table conferences.

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The program of the conference will include an exhibition of Modern Hindu Art. Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, who is visiting America for the first time, will be one of the main speakers. Dr. Ananda Coomaraswamy, Keeper of the India Section, Boston Museum of Fine Arts, and one of the foremost authorities on Hindu Art, will lecture on the "Recent Discoveries in Hindu Art and Archaeology." Prof. Herbert Adams Gibbons of Princeton University will speak on the "Role of India in the New Asia." Mr. Dhan Gopal Mukerji, Hindu author and lecturer, who has just returned from a visit to India and Europe, will present, 'What has, India to offer to the Modern West?" Rev. Dr. J. T. Sunderland, will give an address on "The Civilization of India and her place in the Modern World." Dr. Alfred W. Martin of the Ethical Culture Society of New York and one of the vice-presidents of the India Society of America will speak on "Tagore and the Reconciliation of the Orient and the Occident." Prof. S. L. Joshi of Dartmouth College will discuss "Religion in the Life of the East and in the West." Mr. Hemendra K. Rakshit, editor of the "Hindustani Student," will talk on "Present Economic and Social Outlook in India." Prof. Edwin R. A. Seligman of Columbia University, and one of the vice-presidents of the India Society of America, Dr. John Haynes Holmes, minister of the Community Church and President of the India Society of America, Prof. Harry F. Ward of the Union Theological Seminary, New York, and other prominent speakers will participate in the India Conference.

The schedule of the conference will also include a program of Hindu Music by Hindu artists and "Glimpses of India" with the aid of motion-picture and lantern slides.

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Great Britain Seeking Anglo-American Entente

All political parties of Great Britain,—the Tories, the Liberals, the Laborites—are unanimous, that an Anglo-American Entente is the best means for utilising American economic, political and industrial power towards the security of the British Empire and furthering its interest. To promote Anglo-American Entente, cultural and political propagandists--both official and unofficial from Great Britain are carrying on their activities with great energy. Of course, these British propagandists have no other mission but to promote "world peace" through the Anglo-American Entente! Hon. J. Hugh Edwards, M. P., is the latest addition to the scores of British lecturers in America who are spreading the message of Anglo-American understanding in world politics. The following news-item from New York may throw some light on the boldness of the British propagandists in America:—

NEW YORK.—Bearing a letter from David Lloyd George and representing he said, more than a dozen members of the English Parliament, J. Hugh Edwards, Member of Parliament for Accrington, Lancashire, for the last twenty years, has just arrived here to deliver a message from English political leaders to the American people in a series of lectures throughout the eastern part of the United States.

This message, he added, will be to urge close co-operation between the United States and England and thus serve to guarantee world peace.

Later Mr. Edwards said, definite plans will be outlined to make the co-operation between the English and Americans a practical program in world politics and commerce. It is the aim of other members of Parliament in England, he said, to include first in this "entente for world peace" all of the English-speaking peoples, and later all nations wishing to subscribe to a world program of peace.

Mr. Lloyd George said in the letter which Mr. Edwards showed:

"My Dear Hugh Edwards: *I feel sure that your visit to the United States cannot fail to be of great advantage to the great cause which you and I have at heart in bringing the United States and Great Britain into closer co-operation.* Anything which tends to knit closer the ties between these two great countries which speak the same language and cherish the same traditions must prove of the utmost benefit to the world at large. For that reason I am delighted that you are going to speak in support of ideals which should make their appeal to both sides of the Atlantic."

British statesmen realize that by signing the multi-lateral treaty for out-lawry of war as proposed by the United States, Great Britain has nothing to lose; on the contrary, it makes America recognize that Great Britain should enjoy an absolutely free hand in all matters concerning her imperial interests. So far as Bristish diplomacy is concerned, its main purpose is to secure an Anglo-American entente or at least to tie up America's hands with various agreements, so that America may be prevented from making a common cause against Great Britain. It is needless to emphasise the point that Great Britain has no special love for America; but she wants to utilise American power to promote

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her own interests. The cardinal feature of British diplomacy is to adapt itself to all conditions to serve the best interest of the nation, and there is no question of sentimentalism or altruism about it. However, it always disguises its selfish motive by assuming the character of altruism.

T. D.

The plan for establishing peace is, first, to have an *entente* among the English-speaking peoples of the world; secondly, to include other white peoples in the *entente*; and finally, to include the Japanese and other possible strong and independent peoples. This peace edifice is to be built upon the foundations of (i) division of spoils among the strong and (ii) intimidation of the weak. But it would be a difficult job to satisfy so many robber claimants that their 'just' claims have been conceded. And among the weak nations there would always be rash and desparate men to strike a blow for strength and liberty. So world peace cannot be achieved by the division of the earth's riches among the strong and the bullying and intimdation of the weak.

—

A Phase of Italian Policy in South Tyrol

Italians, especially the Fascists, are brutally frank to admit that the German-speaking people in South Tyrol must be *Italianised*, even by depriving them of their mother-tongue. Language forms the most important factor in all movements for nationalism. To deprive a nation of its own language is the surest way of denationalising it. The German Catholics in South Tyrol have petitioned to the Pope so that German children may not be forced to receive religious instruction in Italian. The following news-item published recently in the *Times* (London) gives only one of the many phases of the sufferings of South Tyrolians of German descent :—

The *Innsbrucker Nachrichten* learns from the Upper Adige or South Tirol that the fact that 18,000 children of German tongue are compelled to receive religious instruction in Italian in the diocese of Trentino, or Trent, has actuated the local German-speaking clergy to renew their petition to the Pope for intervention with the Italian Government.

The petition in question sets forth that in 79 parishes of the diocese Italian is not the mother-tongue of any child attending school, and that as neither their parents nor other adults in the home speak Italian such children can obtain no coaching in it. To correct this evil the petition embodies two requests:

(1) That the Italian priests who are already in the diocese may be instructed to bestow their spiritual care only upon children whose mother-tongue is Italian; and (2) that a departure be made in future from the practice of confiding the *Missio canonica* to Italian clergy for the benefit of German children while the German priests in the diocese have to forego the privilege of teaching scripture in the schools.

The memorandum also asks for the dispatch of a German-speaking Apostolic Inspector who is a citizen of a neutral State to report on the religious problem in South Tirol.

A petition similar to the above has been submitted to the Pope by the German-speaking clergy of the diocese of Bressanone, or Brixen.

The Italians are not the only guilty party in their activities in favour of their own nationalism. On the contrary, it must be recorded that the Christians and the people of Europe have had for centuries carried on oppressive wars of conquest amongst themselves. They have oppressed the defeated and the subjugated peoples with unspeakable brutality and tyranny. The history of Ireland under British domination, the history of Holland under Spanish rule, the history of the Poles under the Russians, Austrians and Germans are but a few of the many instances of barbarous practices of the so-called civilized West to subjugate their fellow "white-men", not to speak of their brutalities against the peoples of Asia and Africa.

T. D.

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Anglo-American-French Economic Entente in the Near East

Recently it has been announced that negotiations have been concluded by which American Oil Companies will be able to participate in the Turkish Petroleum Company which has a concession for the development of the oil resources of the Bagdad and Mosul Vilayets of Irak. The "Turkish" Petroleum Company is called *Turkish* by way of a joke, one may suppose; for there are no Turkish participators in evidence.

The shares in the Turkish Petroleum Company will in future be held as follows :—

	Per cent.
D'Arcy Exploration Company (Anglo-Persian Oil Company)	23·75
Anglo-Saxon Petroleum (Royal Dutch-Shell Group)	23·75
Compagnie Francaise des Petroles (French Group)	23·75

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Near East Development Corporation (American Group)	23·75
Participations and Investments (Mr. C. S. Gulbenkian)	5·00

The American group, represented by the Near East Development Corporation, is composed of the following companies: Standard Oil Company (New Jersey). Standard Oil Company of New York, Atlantic Refining Company, Pan-American Petroleum and Transport Company and Gulf Oil Corporation (of Pennsylvania).

This important economic understanding among the Anglo-American French oil concerns will have its effect in the politics of the Near East and world Politics in general. This understanding will strengthen Anglo-French co-operation in general. In fact it might have helped in bringing about the new Anglo-French Naval Entente.

T. D.

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An American Estimate of British Policy in Egypt

The Nation (New York) of August 8th editorially makes the following comment on the present Egyptian situation:—

"The British Plan of governing Egypt is quite simple. Give the natives a show of self-government but keep all the police power in British hands. Create a parliament with permission to talk but with no power to drive out the British invaders, or tax them directly, or take away their extraterritorial rights. Then, if the Parliament becomes obstreperous, suspend it for three years through a king appointed from London who is a creature of the British High Commissioner. That is what the British Government did on July 19—ten years after Egyptian workers had been drafted into a labor corps and compelled to help Britain win a war for the self-determination of subject peoples. For Egypt self-determination has included complete suppression of freedom of the press, with British control of the Suez Canal, British armies on Egyptian soil and a British general in command of Egyptian police. The Nationalists, who comprise about nine-tenths of the native population, have lost faith in a government which has promised them "freedom" some sixty-odd times, so they rejected the Sarwat-Chamberlain treaty last spring and their Ministry resigned in a body. Today their "government" consists of King Fuad, who talks like a ventriloquist's dummy and gets his picture in the London Papers."

We may add that the present policy of the British conservatives regarding Egypt has received full support from British Liberals and Laborites, specially the Rt. Hon. J. Ramsay Macdonald, who refused all Egyptian demands for independence by the late Zaglul Pasha. It may not be out of place to mention that by an indirect method the Government of the United States has accepted Great Britain's special interests in the region of the Suez Canal.

T. D.

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A Memorial to Maharani Lakshmi Bai

About twenty-five years ago we were taught in Indian Schools that Sivaji', the Great national hero of the Hindus was nothing but a "free-booter," a "coward" and "most unscrupulous" man. Now, thanks mainly to the efforts of the late Lokmanya Tilak and his followers, the Sivaji Memorial is an accomplished fact, and even the British officials see in Sivaji "a great hero and statesman". This achievement on the part of Indian Nationalists is an event which must be regarded as epoch-making. It will certainly become a source of inspiration for the Indian Nation to establish memorials to other Indian National Heroes.

Maharani Lakshmi Bai, the Queen of Jhanshi, has been rightly characterised by many as the "Joan of Arc" of India. It is needless to discuss her life; but it may be said without any fear of contradiction from any quarter, that she in her life represented the best of Indian womanhood. Her life, courage, loyalty, devotion and love of freedom may well serve as the right source of inspiration for Indian women of all classes and all ages. It will be the happiest day for those who feel proud of the ideal of Indian womanhood, when adequate measures will be taken to perpetuate the memory of "the Heroine of India". May I suggest that effort be directed towards the erection of a statute of Maharani Lakhsmi Bai at Benares, where the "Heroine of India" spent her early life: and to establish a Maharani Lakshmi Bai Memorial Foundation to spread education among Indian women?

T. D.

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British Oil Interests in Mosul and Baghdad Vilayets

A Baghdad despatch of Aug. 30th, 1928 indicates new and significant activity on the part of British Oil interests and the Colonial office. It says:—

An influential British financial group has made important proposals to the Irak Government, which

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has power next November to submit for sale by tender certain oil plots in the Mosul and Baghdad Vilayets.

The group will tender for these plots, and, if successful, will sign forthwith agreements to construct the Iraq section of the Baghdad-Haifa Railway without any financial contribution from Iraq.

The whole distance of the projected line is about 500 miles, half of which is in Iraq territory and the other half in Transjordania and Palestine. If the company's offer is accepted negotiations will be opened with the Colonial Office regarding the construction of the line in Palestine and Transjordania.

It is understood that Lord Inverforth, Lord Wemyss, and Sir John Latta are concerned in the group—Reuter.

According to the existing understanding between the Government of Great Britain and Irak, and the Government of Trans-Jordania and Great Britain, Great Britain, *i.e.* the British Colonial Office, has the final say about the development of natural resources and granting concessions. Thus if the British Colonial office deems it important to build the 500 miles rail roads for strategic and other purposes, then the Governments of Irak and Trans-Jordania will naturally be forced to agree to such a proposition. Furthermore, it is also evident that the plots of oil lands in Mosul and Baghdad Vilayets in the acquisition of which by purchase, Lord Inverforth, Lord Wemyss and Sir John Latta are interested must be extremely valuable, otherwise these gentlemen would not be willing "to sign agreements to construct a railroad line about 250 miles long without financial contribution from Irak."

Control of oil-resources is not only essential for industrial purposes, but without oil, the British Navy cannot operate to further the holy mission of British Imperialism, and thus the British Government can not but be interested in British financial and industrial magnates, controlling the oil-resources and transportation facilities in the Middle East.

T. D.

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Increasing French Cultural Influence in the Orient

A recent Reuter despatch published in the London *Times* gives the following interesting news of Franco-Turkish cultural relations :—

"Six French professors have been engaged by the Turkish Government to teach in Constantinople and Smyrna schools. One hundred young Turks are going to France to study shortly.

Already in Egypt French cultural influence is supreme, The Syrians regard France as their intellectual preceptress. Persia lately sent a large number of students to study military science in France. The king of Afghanistan has sent his own son—the heir to the throne to secure his military education in Paris. The Amir has already engaged several French scientists and engineers. Large numbers of students from Siam are in French Universities. Because France affords special opportunity to the Chinese students to earn money by working part-time, while attending educational institutions, the number of the Chinese Students in France is larger than those in other European countries.

The population of the Turkish Republic is very small, and the resources of the Turkish Government, compared with those of India are very meagre. If Turkey can afford to send one hundred students to France, India should send at least two thousands or more students, with Government aid to France and other universities of the West to master science and industry. But the British Government regards it dangerous to send a large number of promising young men and women to free countries and first class universities of the West.

French statesmen are fully aware of the significance of the re-awakening of Asia. They also know that the spread of cultural influence of France in the orient has a special political significance and it is an asset to France. Indian statesmen and scholars should adopt definite and effective means to promote cultural relations with France and other progressive nations of the world.

T. D.

—

An Impression of Italy under Mussolini

"Strike, but hear" is a good old request. Rev. D. W. H. P. Faunce, President of Brown University (Providence, Rhode Island), in his recent address at Lake Mohonk, (New York), may be said to have given the following interesting estimate of New Italy

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in response to such an imaginary request of Signor Mussolini:

Dr. Faunce pleaded for a national devotion in time of peace equal to that in time of war.

GIVES MUSSOLINI THE CREDIT.

"One nation in the world today does have it, Italy, under the absolute domination of Mussolini," the clergyman declared. "Call him a tyrant if you will. I suppose he is. But he has so transformed the soul of his country that once again the Italians are worthy of the stern old Romans from whom they are descended.

"If we visited Italy a dozen years ago we saw a charming people, without any whole-hearted allegiance to anything under heaven, sitting in the sun. They could sing and paint, and recall the faded glories of the past.

"Now Mussolini has given to the entire Italian people the thing they have not had for centuries, the thing that made Rome great. He has given stern discipline, relentless self-control, obedience to law, and by his tyranny, if you choose to call it that, has driven out of the Italian city every mere pleasure-seeker, every man who put himself above his country. And by putting all that pleasure-loving populace under the strictest discipline of the modern world he has restored to Italy joy and confidence, and immortal hope. Through dedication to a great ideal that nation has shaken off the torpor and debility of centuries and has entered into gladness."

(*New York Times*, Aug. 20, 1928.)

Nationalist India has much to learn from Fascist Italy in all fields of national development.

—

A Great Indian Emperor

The publication of Professor Radha Kumud Mookherji's "Asoka" (Macmillan) is the occasion for a contributed article in the London *Inquirer* in which Mr. Will Hayes writes:—

The words of Asoka tell best his own tale. "O that my words were written!" cried Job, "That they were graven with an iron pen.....in the rock for ever!" In the case of Asoka this wish was realised. Large rocks in different parts of his kingdom had their faces smoothed, and inscriptions were engraved for all to read, Columns were cut and carved and polished, inscribed with writing and set up where men could not miss them. Asoka invented the Wayside Pulpit 260 years before the Christian era! And he used it always to preach the Dhamma.

The inscriptions are all concerned with Asoka's Dhamma, and the meaning of this Dhamma was embraced in seven words, which we may render thus: (1) Much good: (2) Little defilement: (3) Mercy; (4) Liberality; (5) Truthfulness; (6) purity, (7) Gentleness. Asoka's Dhamma was the Buddhist Dhamma, for we have the testimony of one of his inscriptions, which says:—

"Ye know.....how great is my respect for and delight in Buddha, Dhamma and Sangha, whatever .....has been said by the Blessed Buddha, all that has been well said."

What kind of Buddhist Asoka was, may be ascertained from the following:—

Asoka recommended certain Dhammapariyayas or canonical Buddhist texts, which he said should be listened to and retained in the memory not only by members of the Sangha but also by the lay followers, "in order that the good Dhamma may long endure." From this we learn what kind of Buddhist Asoka was, for a man is known by the texts he quotes! Asoka's mind was not ravished by the ritualistic or metaphysical elements in Buddhism, but rather by its fundamental ethical principles. All the Suttas to which he makes reference are concerned with the ethical side of Buddhism. They are texts that would be edifying to any earnest soul striving for a higher and nobler life, to whatever religion he might belong.

How did Asoka himself practise the Dhamma?

And how did Asoka himself practise the Dhamma? He gave up hunting and the slaughter of animals: one of his edict is virtually a Wild Birds' Protection Act. He created a new class of officials called Dhamma-Mahamatras, whose business it was to visit different parts of the Empire in order to see that the Dhamma was being practised. Asoka was a keen prison reformer. The Dhamma-mahamatras had to keep an eye on local prisons. They were empowered to make grants of money for the maintenance of a culprit's family, and to release all who were stricken with years and not fit to remain confined.

Asoka relinquished war when he became a Buddhist, resolving to conquer men by religion. "The sound of the drum," he says in Rock Edict IV., "has become the sound of the Dhamma." Most of the rock inscriptions are on the borders of his kingdom—a frontier line of texts! And the land was at peace for the whole of his reign—after his conversion.

His humanitarian works are thus referred to briefly:—

Asoka planted trees for shade. He dug wells and built waiting sheds by the roadside. He built hospitals for man and beast, opened dispensaries, and organised the growing of medicinal herbs.

His toleration and universalism are still unrivalled.

Further, the Emperor was friendly towards all religious sects. Rock Edict XII says:—

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"King Priyadarshin, Beloved of the Gods, honours men of all sects, ascetics and householders, with gifts and manifold honours. But the Beloved of the Gods does not think so much of gift and honour as that there should be growth of the essential among men of all sects.....Others' Sects should be honoured. By so doing one honours one's own sect, and does service to another's sect .....Coming together of the sects is commendable in order that they may hear and desire to hear further one another's Dhamma."

Asoka was a pioneer of universalism. True universalism is not possible until we are ready to listen to one another's Dhamma.

No wonder, then, that

H. G. Wells classes Asoka among the six greatest men of the world. In his 'Outline of History' Wells says —

"Amidst the tens of thousands of names of monarchs that crowd the columns of history, their 'majesties, and 'graciousnesses' and 'serenities' and 'royal highnesses' and the like, the name of Asoka shines, and shines almost alone, a star. From the Volga to Japan his name is still honoured. China, Tibet, and even India, though it has left his doctrine, preserve the tradition of his greatness. More living men cherish his memory to-day than have ever heard the names of Constantine or Charlemagne."

The writer in *The Inquirer* expresses the opinion that "India, rebuilding her national greatness, will find the study of the Golden Age of Asoka a constant source of inspiration".

—

Mr. S. Sinha on Dyarchy

An important and well-documented criticism of the statement submitted by the Government of Bihar and Orissa on the working of the Reformed Constitution has been issued to the press by Mr. Sachchidananda Sinha, for years a member of the Executive Council of that province. His criticism has been published in extenso in many newspapers. In his opinion, which is well supported, the statement of the Bihar Government is "full of wrong assumptions, false premises and unwarranted inferences."

—

Mr. Andrews on Labour Party and Simon Commission

(Free Press Beam Service)
LONDON, SEPT. 27.

Mr. C. F. Andrews has addressed an appeal to the Labour Conference on the eve of its meeting regarding its attitude towards India. In course of his statement which is published by the "New Leader" Mr. Andrews reviews the Labour Party's record and recounts reasons as to why the Indian Trade Union Congress is unable to co-operate with the British Labour Party, analyses causes of the present deadlock and appeals for effective expression of Labour's sympathy to facilitate early understanding between both the countries. "I regret the deadlock" he says, "and I long it should end."

Indicting the Labour Party in regard to its past Mr. Andrews points out that it was during its regime that the Bengal Ordinance was passed under which many of the noblest youngmen were imprisoned. He next shows how the British Labour Party never exercised its influence against the introduction and passing of the Racial Legislation in South Africa inflicting disabilities on the Indians.

He criticises Labour's participation in the Simon Commission and says that revision of that attitude is essential to restore co-operation. He attacks the Simon Commission as being trained within imperialism which was trying to dominate intimate national affairs. "Simon Commision", asserts Mr. Andrews, "was offered only because Lord Birkenhead regards India as a conquered country. Sir John Simon has flouted the vote of the Legislative Assembly by requesting the Viceroy to nominate a committee. The Government should not have the support of labour in such political methods." Concluding Mr. Andrews puts forward a simple question. He says, "Here is the simple test of sincerity. Will Simon Commission consent to sit at a Round Table Conference with all Parties Committee and endeavour to reach a satisfactory understanding? If so, a basis of negotiation is reached."

—

Pan-Asiatic Congress

Reuter has sent the following message from Shanghai :—

SHANGHAI, SEPT. 27.

The Shanghai branch of the Kuomintang has sent a petition to the Nationalist Government, opposing China's participation in the Pan-Asiatic Congress at Kabul in November, on the ground that the Conference will be dominated by Japanese "for the purpose of enslaving other Asiatics."

The resolution declares that the Japanese dominated the last Pan-Asiatic Conference at Shanghai, and urges the Kuomintang to call an immediate conference of Eastern races, with the object of relieving oppressed people, but not to permit Japanese to participate.

Indians need not vote for the non-participation of any Asiatic nation. If any such nation has any evil design, it may be

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frustrated by the combination of the other nations' delegates to the Pan-Asiatic Congress.

—

Examinees of the Two Sexes

Readers of our Indian Womanhood columns must have noticed the academic distinctions won by Indian women. The love of learning of the fair sex receives corroboration from the report of the Rangoon University also, for the year 1927-8, where it is stated: "Fifty-five per cent. of the young women sitting for the intermediate examination passed; only 34 per cent. of the young men passed. Eighty per cent. of the young women sitting for the bachelor of arts examination passed; 45 per cent. of the men candidates in the examination passed."



ECSTASY
By Nandalal Bose

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LALA LAJPAT RAI

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ANTI-INDIAN MOVES IN CEYLON (*)

By ST. NIHAL SINGH

I

OUR people need to follow very closely the anti-Indian moves that are at present being made in Ceylon. They are being engineered—openly or otherwise—by some of the most prominent politicians in the Island. Included among them are some of the leaders of the Ceylon National Congress and other associations of a political or quasi-political character and Members of the Ceylon Legislative Council. In view of the powerful backing that the anti-Indian agitation is receiving from these influential persons, it would be the height of folly for stay-at-home Indians to ignore this hostile movement.

The object behind the agitation is quite obvious. It aims not so much to secure the restriction of immigration from India into Ceylon as to keep the bulk of Indians in the Island in a condition of political helplessness.

The cry "keep out the Indians" has, of course, been raised. A motion designed to secure that object is, indeed, shortly to be debated in the Ceylon Legislative Council.

Moves directed toward the exclusion of Indians, or even the restriction of Indian immigration, are fictitious, because Ceylon is woefully underpopulated; and without importation of labour from India she could not carry on her economic activities even for a single day. In a country comprising 25,000 square miles there is a permanent population of only some 4,000,000 persons. Many of them are lackadaisical in disposition, and some of them actually semi-drones or drones. Indians build the roads and keep them in repair. Indians work the tea and, to a large extent, the rubber estates. Indians play an important part in loading and unloading goods and in the workshops. There are, to-day, some 900,000 of them in Ceylon. So invaluable are they that most of them have been *fetched* from India, as I shall relate in a subsequent portion of this article. The talk of shutting Indians out of Ceylon is, therefore, mere bunkum.

The Ceylonese who are crying themselves hoarse, shouting "keep out the Indians", are not, as a rule, regarded as responsible persons. Some of them are, on the contrary, the laughing-stock of their own people. They can do harm, therefore, only if they are permitted to inflame the passions of the mob, which is highly excitable by nature. Racial animosities—the legacy of conflicts in ancient and mediaeval times—

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smoulder in the Island and any oratorical breeze might fan them into flames; but of this more later.

II

The real purpose behind the anti-Indian move is political, as already related. At present the bulk of our people in Ceylon, with few exceptions, are voteless. The anti-Indian Ceylonese politicians are bending all their energies to keep them in that condition. They are striving to do so at a time when a proposal has been made from the outside to place upon the electoral register all Ceylonese male adults and the bulk of the Ceylonese female adults.

The intention behind the move is sinister. It is, in plain language, an attempt to keep our people residing in the Island in conditions of semi-slavery, while all the other communities, including the other non-Ceylonese owing allegiance to the British Sovereign, are to be permitted to enjoy an almost full measure of political powers and privileges. *

Tortuous tactics are being employed by the anti-Indian Ceylonese planter-politicians to accomplish this end. Instead of coming out into the open and declaring that no non-Ceylonese is to be given the franchise, or even publicly avowing their intention to deprive Indians of that privilege, they are advocating proposals which would have the effect of discriminating against Indians without even mentioning the word "Indian." They seek to accomplish that object by making the grant of franchise conditional upon certain qualifications that most of the Indians in the Island manifestly cannot fulfil.

Resort to such devious devices is necessitated by the fact that these Ceylonese politicians, though influential, are afraid of offending the British officials, bankers, insurance agents, merchants, shippers and planters in Ceylon. If they found themselves in a different position they would no doubt immediately proceed to lay down the law making it impossible for any non-Ceylonese, whatever his race or creed, to become enfranchised. Prudence, however, impels them to conciliate the all-powerful British, and, therefore, all the schemes put forward are designed to discriminate against Indians in Ceylon and yet more than adequately secure British interests.

III

What lies at the back of these anti-Indian moves?

The motives are many. Playing politics is one. The determination to exploit the Indians by keeping them politically helpless is another. Spite inspired by the desire to punish the Indians now in Ceylon, for the most part poor and unlettered, for the sins of their forefathers, who, centuries gone by, invaded the Island and wrought havoc, is still another. Let me explain:

Some Ceylonese seem to feel that their little Island is about to be converted from a Crown Colony into a self-governing Dominion. Since the imitative instinct is very strongly developed in them, they have already started to model upon the Dominion pattern their conduct toward the strangers within their gates. Such action raises them in their own estimation.

It will, needless to say, take some time and effort for the Ceylonese to persuade the British to render Ceylon back to the Ceylonese. A few problems will have first to be solved before the rulers of to-day embark upon such a course. The British officials, for instance, must get over their repugnance of Ceylonese legislative control. The British merchants and planters must overcome their mistrust of the "native" politicians. Ceylon must cease to be an important link in the British Imperial chain of defence and communications.

The British might conceivably lay down a condition or two prior to abdicating in favour of the Ceylonese. They might insist upon the Islanders furnishing them with satisfactory proof that they will be able to defend Ceylon against any attack by sea or air. They might also require the indigenous politicians to show that they have managed to overcome racial rancour, credal querulousness and caste invidiousness. The report issued by the Donoughmore Commission that, at the instance of the Colonial Office in London, investigated the difficulties of Government in Ceylon early this year, shows that these matters were in their minds.

* See the author's article, "Donoughmore Dyarchy in Ceylon," in the *Modern Review* for October, 1928 (pp. 396-405). The Earl of Donoughmore and his colleagues recommend the grant of franchise to *all* Ceylonese male adults and to all Ceylonese females above the age of thirty; and also to all non-Ceylonese British subjects who have resided in the Island for five years and can fulfil certain other residential qualifications.

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The removal of obstacles of this nature involves infinite ingenuity, energy and industry. To imitate a ready-made policy, however, is a simpler matter.

And yet not so easy. The Dominions that shut Indians out are not economically dependent upon labour from India. Ceylon, on the contrary, cannot get along without such labour (how abjectly dependent she is in this respect I shall show in another section).

The Ceylonese cannot, therefore, adopt the policy that the Dominions pursue toward Indians just as it stands. They have to twist it round to suit their own exigencies. They propose, I note, to continue to draw upon India's man-power to exploit Ceylonese resources and at the same time devise schemes for the political enslavement of those Indians so long as they remain in Ceylon.

IV

The agenda paper of the Ceylon Legislative Council furnishes a good example of the nature of these schemes. A motion standing in the name of the Hon'ble Mr. A. F. Molamure, M. L. C., an unofficial member of the Ceylon Executive Council, reads :

"This Council accepts the recommendation of the Donoughmore Commission as regards the extension of the franchise, subject to the following amendments :—

"(a) That in the case of females the age for qualification as a voter should be 21 and not 30.

"(b) That in the case of non-Ceylonese British subjects a literary qualification should be added to the proposed five years' residential qualification ; or in the alternative the qualification should be that the applicant to be registered as a voter should—

(1) have resided in the Island for a period of one year,

(2) be possessed of immovable property of the value of Rs. 500,

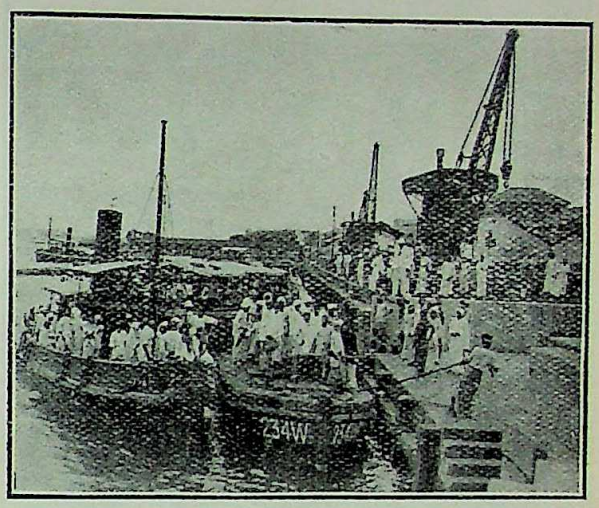
(3) or be in the receipt of an income of Rs. 50 per month,

(4) and be able to read and write one of the languages of the Island, *e.g.*, English, Sinhalese or Tamil."

What would be the result if the principles enunciated in that proposal were accepted ?

Firstly, the only limitations in respect of franchise placed upon the Ceylonese by the Donoughmore Commission would be removed. They, in consequence, would enjoy full adult suffrage.

Secondly, the adoption of either alternative suggested for the restriction of franchise to non-Ceylonese British subjects would have comparatively little effect upon one section of them, i.e., the Britons. The imposition of a literary qualification would not keep off the Register a single adult Briton who possessed the other (five years' residential) qualification. The second alternative would, in fact, give the vote to every British adult in the Island barring the newcomers : for not one of them is in receipt of an income below



Indian Labourers landing in Ceylon

Rs. 50 per month or is unable to read and write English, which the motion describes as "one of the languages of the island."

Thirdly, either alternative would, on the other hand, exclude practically all the Indians in Ceylon from the voting Register. Some of our people in the Island, it is true, are engaged in import, export or retail trade or in professions, are able to read and write and have either immovable property of the value of Rs. 500 or are in receipt of an income of Rs. 50 per month. They, however, constitute a very small minority of the total number of Ceylon Indians. The bulk of them are labourers who are un-lettered and who, almost without exception, have no property nor are in receipt of anything like the stipulated income (Rs. 50 a month).

V

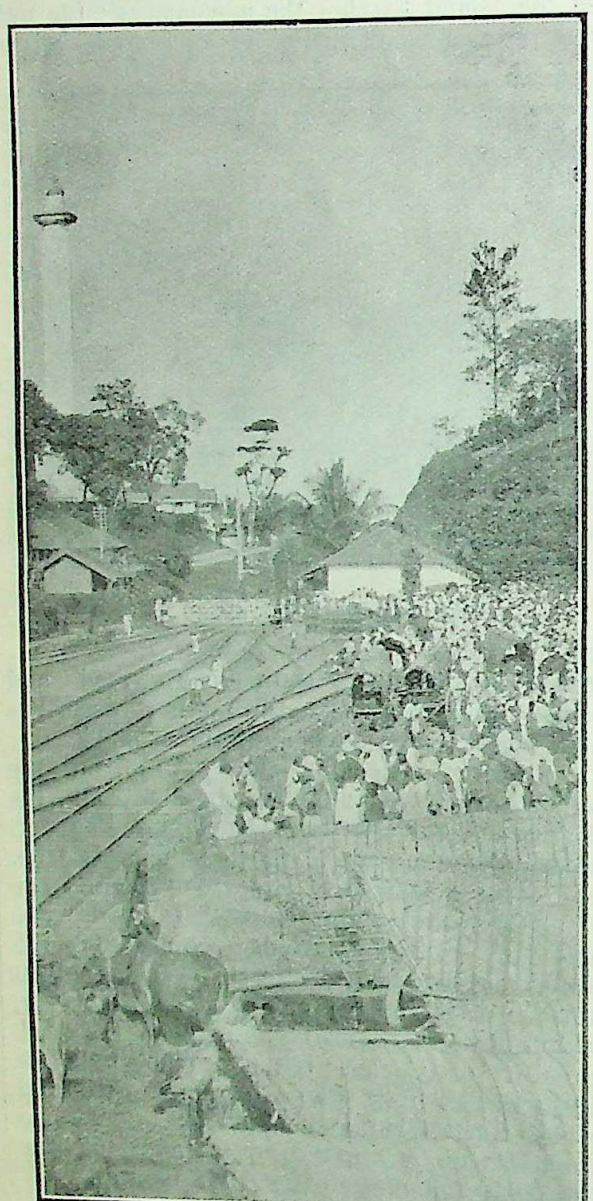
About nine-tenths of the Indians in Ceylon, in fact, live and work on plantations of one kind or another, many owned and operated by the British and some by Ceylonese. Only recently the Ceylon Legislative Council passed an ordinance fixing a minimum wage. I anticipate that under that law an Indian male adult will earn, on an average, Rs. 15 a month, a considerable part of which will be deducted for rice issued to him by the estate.

The only Indians employed on an estate who are in receipt of a higher income are

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the *kanganies* (supervisors) and *kanakapullais* (accountants). They, however, constitute a minute fraction of the total Indian force.



Sunday Market at Kudugannawa, near Kandy, where Indian labourers from tea and rubber estates go to buy their supplies.

Indian non-estate labourers who work on the roads, sweep streets, engage in conservancy work and the like, do not, as a rule, earn anything like Rs. 50 a month. The same is true of the other casual labourers. Their wage is seldom in excess of one rupee a day, more often than not it is less than that amount.

Indians employed in the harbour and in workshops are somewhat better paid. As the result of a strike that occurred a little less than two years ago the contractors employing dock labour are forced to pay the employees they engage for unloading cargo Rs. 1.60 a day and Rs. 3.20 a night. For loading they pay Rs. 1.75 by day and Rs. 3.50 by night. Except during periods of inactivity, a dock labourer would earn perhaps Rs. 50 or more per month. The number of such Indians cannot, however, be much in excess of 2,000, persons.

The number of Indians employed as mechanics in Government and private workshops who earn Rs. 50 or more a month is also exceedingly small.

A Ceylonese friend of mine who can speak with authority on this subject estimates that no more than 5,000—Indian skilled workers, including the loaders and unloaders in the harbour, are in receipt of anything like that income. The money wage of the remaining Indians, whether employed on estates or on the roads or in domestic service or performing casual labour of one form or another, falls far below that figure.

In view of these facts, if the proposal to limit the franchise to only those non-Ceylonese who are "in the receipt of an income of Rs. 50 (or more) per month", contained in the motion now before the Ceylon Legislative Council were to be accepted, it would result in keeping most of the Indians in Ceylon off the register. That, indeed, is the intention of its author, as publicly professed by him.

VI

That matter calls for hardly any speculation, for the proposal put forward is analogous to the conditions under which franchise is at present regulated. The principa existing qualifications are that in order to vote, a person must

(1) be a male adult owing allegiance to His Britannic Majesty ;

(2) be able to read and write English, Sinhalese or Tamil ;

(3) have resided for six months preceding the commencement of the preparation of the register in the electoral district to which the Register relates ;

(4) be in possession or enjoyment of a clear annual income of not less than Rs. 600, such possession or enjoyment having subsisted during the whole of a period of six

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months immediately prior to the commencement of the preparation of the Register: or

(5) have immovable property deemed to be of equivalent value.

So few Indians in Ceylon are able to fulfil these conditions that the Earl of Donoughmore and his colleagues are compelled to admit:

"At present, only a small fraction, mainly the supervisors, called Kanganies, and some of the coolies who work in the Government or Municipal Service have the necessary income qualification to vote at elections for the Legislative Council."(*)

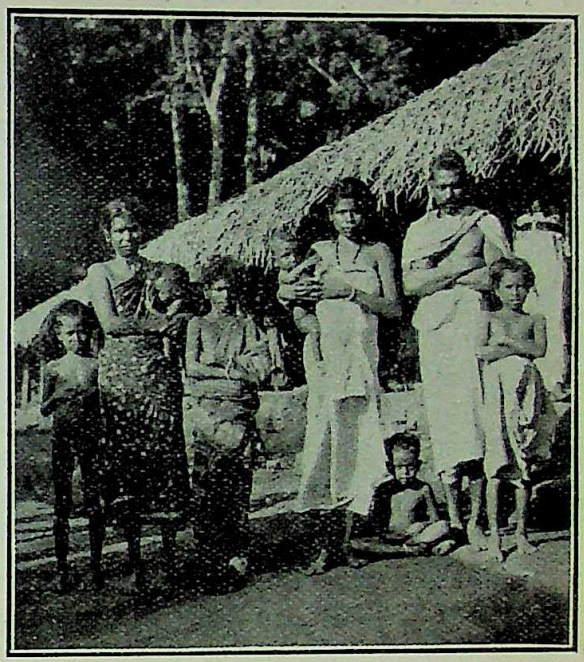
The proposal now put forward prescribes exactly the same income qualifications, with this essential difference, that only the non-Ceylonese are to be required to conform to it, whereas the existing regulations apply to the Ceylonese as much as to the non-Ceylonese. The author of the motion, in fact, seeks to secure full adult suffrage for his own people, whether they be workers or drones, rich or poor, literate or illiterate, and at the same time he tries to ensure that only a small fraction of Indians will become enfranchised. Such is his intention.

VII

Mr. Francis Molamure, the author of this motion that would, in effect, condemn the bulk of the Indians in Ceylon to political serfdom, is personally known to me. He was introduced to me several years ago when he visited London as a member of the deputation sent from Ceylon to press for constitutional reforms. That deputation sought and received my assistance. I introduced it to some of my friends in Parliament and also wrote in the press in support of its cause.

Personally Molamure is likeable. He professes Buddhism. He traces, I believe, kinship with the Indo-Aryans, one of whom—Vijaya by name, the grandson of Suppadevi, Princess of Vanga (Bengal), by a robber chief, Sinha—established his sway in Ceylon in the year of the Buddha's demise in the sixth century B. C. and founded the Sinhalese Kingdom.

Mr. Molamure, like many of his people, has come into possession of or has perhaps himself acquired a rubber plantation not far from Kandy—the last Sinhalese stronghold. Whether or not he employs Indians on his estate, I cannot say. Many of the other Sinhalese planter-politicians with whom he is associated in this anti-Indian agitation do depend, to my knowledge, upon Indian labour for working their tea or rubber plantations.



The author found these nine persons, belonging to two distinct families, occupying a single room in the "lines" on an estate.

The very first meeting at which Mr. Molamure gave public expression to his anti-Indian ideas was presided over by one of the richest Buddhist planters, Mr. D. C. Senenayeke, who, in his opening remarks, gave the anti-Indian lead. Another Buddhist planter, the Hon'ble Mr. D. S. Senenayeke, M. L. C., a younger brother of the planter in the chair, was even more vehement than these other two in advocating action politically to handicap Indians in Ceylon. Both the Senenayeke brothers, as they personally admitted to me, employ Indian labour, though neither, despite repeated promises, has given me an opportunity to see the conditions in which their Indian employees live on their estates.

The special session of the Ceylon National Congress held on September 1, at which a motion aimed at the perpetuation of the political disabilities from which our people in Ceylon at present suffer, was passed, was presided over by another wealthy Sinhalese planter, the Hon'ble Mr. W. A. De Silva, M. L. C., who likewise is an employer of

(*) *Report of the Special Commission on the (Ceylon) Constitution (1928)*, p. 97.

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Indian labour on a considerable scale. He did, indeed, show me the courtesy of taking me over two of his estates several years ago. In order to give myself the opportunity to examine at leisure the conditions in which his Indian employees lived and laboured. I paid another visit to one of the estates last year.



A group of workers on an estate owned and operated by the President of the Ceylon National Congress.

The only objection that Mr. W. A. De Silva had to the enfranchisement of Indians was stated by him with the delicacy that characterizes him, in his presidential address to the Ceylon National Congress. According to him:

"... There are certain principles that should underlie the privilege of becoming a citizen. The first of these is that one should be able to exercise his rights freely and without fear or favour. If, for instance, a person has to live in an area to which no one has a right of free access, his vote becomes a danger rather than a help to the Community. Before such a person gets his rights the restricted conditions under which he lives should be removed. In this connection we have the case of the immigrant labourer employed on Ceylon plantations. Under present conditions he lives in lines or rooms situated within an Estate and any person who comes to visit him is legally an intruder and can be prosecuted and punished. This is not a hypothetical case, as the records of our (Ceylon) Law Courts show that such prosecutions are rigidly enforced."

Mr. W. A. De Silva, it is to be noted, does not mention the word "Indian" in the passage quoted, just as his planter-colleague, Mr. Francis Molamure, refrains from mentioning it in his motion. Indians are, however, the only immigrant labourers in Ceylon, as is known to everyone who has first-hand knowledge of Ceylonese conditions.

It is interesting that a man of Mr. De Silva's intelligence, who has been engaged in planting for a generation or more, should have just discovered that the Indian workers on Ceylon estates live in the conditions which he describes. He does not say that I helped him to make that discovery; though I do not mind his failure to make any acknowledgement, since we two have been on terms of friendship for almost a quarter of a century. I do mind, however, that he has used this discovery, not as an argument to lift Indians out of those conditions—as I have been using it—but on the contrary, to reinforce his case, in the mild manner that he has until he is thoroughly roused, to keep our people in their present state of political helplessness.

It is, nevertheless, very important that admissions of this grave nature as to the conditions in which Indians live on Ceylon estates should come from a man of Mr. De Silva's position.

That statement implies that the Indians employed on Ceylon estates live virtually in conditions amounting to semi-slavery. It deserves to be carefully pondered since it comes, not from a labour leader—not from a politician of revolutionary tendencies—but from a Sinhalese Buddhist of great culture who, through self-exertion, has become a millionaire and who is regarded—and rightly regarded—as a man of solid, rather conservative views.

Four-fifths of our people in Ceylon live on estates in the conditions depicted by this highly respectable employer of Indian labour. I do not propose to dwell upon that fact in this article, which has for its theme the political status of our people in Ceylon: but I ask Indians unfamiliar with conditions in Ceylon to make a note of it.

Mr. De Silva does not say how precisely the enfranchisement of Indians who, according to him, live in these conditions of semi-slavery, is going to be prejudicial to the interests of the Community. Nor does he explain as to what he means by Community. Is it the planter-community that he has in mind?

Other Sinhalese planter-politicians who have been making such anti-Indian moves have not, however, been so chary of giving expression to their ideas on the subject as the planter-president of the Ceylon National Congress has been. From the statements that they have been making, it is clear, that they fear that if estate-Indians were given the vote they would cast that vote in favour

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their British employers or candidates recommended by their British employers.

That assumption denies these Indians even the most elementary intelligence. It is, therefore, preposterous. Supposing, for the sake of argument, that this Sinhalese fear is not unfounded, it resolves itself merely into this, that in order to spite the British planters the Sinhalese planters are determined to victimize the Indians.

VIII

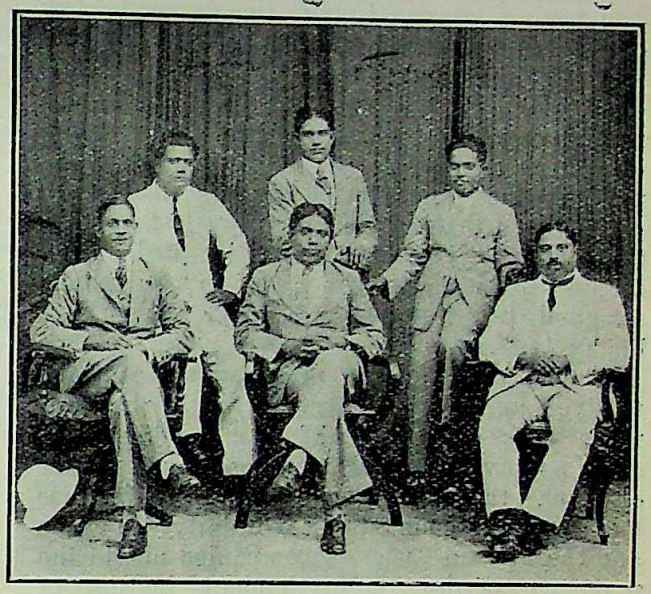
The question that needs to be asked immediately is this: Is Mr. W. A. de Silva desirous of removing the disabilities from which Indians employed on Ceylon estates—his own included—according to his own statement, suffer? Or is he in favour of preserving those disabilities and of even making them the pretext for denying the vote to those Indians—the vote that they might employ to get rid of the conditions of semi-slavery in which they admittedly are?

And what is the attitude in this matter of the other Buddhist and non-Buddhist Ceylonese planters who employ Indian labour on their estates? Are they bent upon compelling their Indian employees to live in "areas to which no one has a right of access" or are they anxious to remove conditions which condemn Indians to semi-slavery and which, according to them, make the Indian vote "a danger rather than a help to the Community?"

I put questions of this tenor to these planter-politicians through the columns of the *Times of Ceylon*, which commands the largest circulation in the Island. Addressing specifically those Sinhalese politicians "who own or operate plantations on which a considerable number of Indians live in conditions of semi-slavery", I asked them if they were

"...prepared to lead the way in freeing Indian estate employees (of their own) from these restrictions? I invite them all to set the example." (*)

Though a month has elapsed since this appeal was made no one among the planter-politicians has made any response. Before publicly prescribing that simple test "for their sincerity," I had, however, taken the precaution of discussing the matter *viva voce* with one of the Sinhalese who, at the time, was most active in making the anti-Indian moves. When "I asked him if he was prepared to wipe out from his own estates the conditions to which the President of the Ceylon National Congress—his own colleague referred," he



A group of important officials of the All-Ceylon Trade Union Congress.
Back Row : Mr. R. Wickremesinghe, Mr. P. V. Gunesekhere, Mr. M. Pereira Front Row : Mr. G. E. De Silva, Mr. A. E. Goonesinghe, Dr S. Muttiah,

"...hemmed and hawed—spoke of the complications that would arise. 'Why, people may be introduced into my estate,' he argued, 'who may steal some of my property.' When I had cornered him he finally admitted that he was not in favour of the removal of the present restrictions.

"'And what is your real reason?' I persisted.

"'Why, if the restrictions were withdrawn,' he confessed, 'the chief reason for keeping the enfranchisement away from them would be gone.'

"This is a fair sample of the motives and methods that characterize the plutocratic anti-Indian agitator in Ceylon." (*)

IX

The attitude assumed by the Sinhalese planter-politicians in this matter can only mean that they are afraid to let the public see the condions in which Indians live and work on their estates. From what I have myself seen on some of the Sinhalese-owned plantations operated by Indian labour, I know that the owners and managers have cause to fear.

I have space to cite only one instance to illustrate the irregularities that must inevitably

(*) *The Times of Ceylon* for Sept. 10, 1928, p. 7, Col. 3.

(*) *Ibid.*

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occur in places completely out of the sight of the public. Some time ago I visited the estate of a Sinhalese whose identity I do not wish to reveal. I found nine persons belonging to two separate families, and, in addition, a hen and four chickens, living in a room that could not have been more than eight or nine feet wide and ten or twelve feet deep. While I was making the photograph reproduced with this article, the Superintendent—a near relative of the owner—admitted to me that the two families had been occupying that room for the last twenty-two days. The second family had moved in, he said, because of a death in the cubicle assigned to it elsewhere, and in spite of his protests.

"Why did you let nine persons continue to live in that dark, stuffy little room for three weeks and more ?" I asked him.

No reply was forthcoming. As a matter of fact, the eldest male of the two families had been complaining bitterly to me and the friend who accompanied me, in the presence of the Superintendent, because of the overcrowding to which he and his family were being subjected. (*)

Being shrewd men, the Ceylonese planter-politicians realize that if Indian workers ceased to be voteless, they would also cease to be docile—that they would refuse to put up with any conditions in which the owners and managers sought to keep them. They also see that the enfranchisement of the labourers would necessarily break up the isolation in which they are at present made to live—that candidates and their agents would visit them to canvass their votes, and if any legal difficulties stood in the way, there would be agitation and those difficulties would have to be swept aside.

The desire to exploit Indians is, to my mind, at the back of many of the anti-Indian moves.

X

Is it not peculiar, in itself, that while these Ceylonese plutocrats are making such moves, organized labour in Ceylon is friendly to our people ?

Mr. A. E. Goonesinghe, President of the All-Ceylon Trades Union Council, raised his voice against the draft resolution aimed at politically handicapping Indians, at the meeting of the Executive Committee of the Ceylon National Congress held at Sravasti—the planter-President's palatial mansion—to consider draft resolutions to be submitted to the Special Session of the National Congress All the delegates from the labour organizations voted with him. So did the Hon'ble Mr. T. B. Jayah, M. L. C., a broad-minded Muslim educationist who, I may note in passing, has a motion standing in his name on the agenda paper of the Ceylon Legislative Council recommending that "non-Ceylonese British subjects should be placed on a footing of equality with the Ceylonese in respect of status and rights of citizenship." They carried the day.

The anti-Indian Congressmen were thus compelled to move an addendum to the franchise resolution at the Special Session of the Congress. Mr. Goonesinghe, when that motion was being discussed, condemned it. All his labour colleagues also cast their votes against it.

In view of the persistent effort that some persons were making to confuse the issue, I invited Mr. Goonesinghe to my rooms in the Grand Oriental Hotel, Colombo, and asked him to define his attitude. He told me that all the organizations with which he was connected admitted Indians freely—and on exactly the same terms as the Ceylonese—that no differentiation whatever was made by any responsible Union official between the two. Indians, he added, constituted the majority in the Docker's Union no doubt because they formed some 60 per cent of such workers. He paid a warm tribute to the loyalty they showed during the trying period of the strike. Indians and Ceylonese alike informed him that they would eat grass rather than submit to exploitation. When Indians have shown such staunchness during a crisis, how can the Ceylonese workers be down upon them ? he asked.

In Mr. Goonesinghe's view the Sinhalese planter-politicians are seeking to keep the bulk of the Indians voteless because they "are, in their heart of hearts, afraid of democracy." All that they are after, he added, "is the opportunity to be Ministers—to be big bosses." They are playing their own hand. "Kudos and not democracy is the god they worship."

XI

Racial and religious animosity, too, prompts at least one class of these anti-

(*) This incident is described at greater length in the author's article, "Indian Labour on Ceylon Tea and Rubber Estates" in the *Times of Ceylon* for November 22, 1927.

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Indian agitators. It so happens that almost all the Indians in Ceylon are Tamils—mostly Hindu Tamils—and in them the excitable Sinhalese see their traditional enemies—or at least the progeny of their ancient enemies who invaded Ceylon again and again and destroyed temples and palaces. Some Sinhalese—most of them irresponsible, no doubt—never tire of making reference to episodes of this character—episodes which took place thousands or at least hundreds, of years ago.

Allusion to this issue would not be necessary but for the fact that the Sinhalese are emotional people and parrot cries like "drive out the Indians" might excite them. A similar cry was raised in 1915. It was then directed against the Moor—or "Tambi" as he is called. He is in the Island to-day in greater numbers than ever. So are the bitter memories left behind by the riots that resulted from setting fire to the passions of the unlettered and barely literate people.

There was bloodshed in several places—martial law was proclaimed—some Britons, suddenly armed with power, committed excesses. A few Sinhalese were shot out of hand. Some others were flung into gaol and were rescued from the very jaws of death.

I, whose aid was sought and freely given in behalf of the Sinhalese who, through no fault of their own, suffered during those terrible times, view with gravity the storm that persons of the same mentality and temperament are trying to create. Their methods are the same to-day as they were thirteen years ago. They are stirring up religious prejudices and reviving historic animosities in 1928 just as they did in 1915. Only the Indian in their midst—and not the "Tambi"—is the target of their malignity, which may recoil upon them as it did during the last decade.

It seems strange to me that an organization with the prestige of the Ceylon National Congress should have permitted agitation of this kind to be carried on from its platfrom, when the Special Session called to consider the Donoughmore Commission reforms was held in Ananda College Hall. The Sinhalese publicist who sat in the President's chair was among the sufferers of the riots in 1916. So were several of his colleagues who supported him on that occasion. Yet not one of them raised his voice in protestation or deprecation. How soon lessons taught by adversity are forgotten !

XII

But for the fact that rabid harangues from ill-balanced Sinhalese might inflame passions and some of our people in Ceylon might suffer in consequence, the agitation against Indian immigration may be dismissed from Indian thoughts. It is, of course, quite possible that action may be taken to shut off or to restrict the entry of "free" Indians, that is to say, Indians who come of their own accord and without assistance from any agency in Ceylon,—into the Island, while the present system whereby the planters obtain a plenitude of labour supply through the special agents (Kanganies) they send over, from time to time, to the Madras Presidency and the contiguous Indian States may be continued. When that time comes, Indians can easily deal with the problem.

In the mean time, it is necessary for Indians to realise that Ceylon cannot—and will not at least for a long time to come—get along without certain classes of Indian workers. The planters, whether sons and daughters of the soil or Britons, need the Indian estate workers. Owners of broad acres, they can grow tea and (to a lesser extent) rubber only if they can get labourers from India to work for them.

The Sinhalese, as a rule, prefer a free life in their own villages; and even when they can be persuaded to work on plantations will more often than not insist upon living in their own rural homes where they can come and go as they please, regulate the hours of labour as it may suit their convenience or even whim, and are freely accessible to anyone who chooses to call upon them. The labourers imported from India, on the other hand, do not object to living in conditions of semi-slavery and are, moreover, docile. The planters, therefore, prefer to employ Indians, though they usually sprinkle a few Sinhalese among the Indians, just to make the simpletons from the Madras Presidency and the contiguous Indian States feel that they are not indispensable.

There is no question, however, as to the indispensability of the Indian estate labourers. If such labour had not been available, it is certain that thousands of acres now under tea and rubber would have remained the waste that they were some decades (or years) ago; and if India were, for some

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reason, to withdraw the Indian workers and refuse a further supply, they would revert to jungle. Shortage of population and the lethargic character of the Sinhalese people would make the continuance of two of the largest industries on anything like the present scale a physical impossibility.

The cutting off of the Indian labour supply would hit the British particularly hard; but the Sinhalese would also be prejudically affected. The Sinhalese planters who are now dependent upon Indian workers would find it exceedingly difficult to replace them; and even if they chose to submit to the whims and caprices of the Sinhalese, they would have to pay them more and would find planting a worrying and possibly unprofitable job.

Nor would these Sinhalese be the only sufferers. As the result of cutting off the Indian labour supply, such Sinhalese as chose to work would be able to obtain fancy wages. The middle classes would have to do entirely without domestic help and even the very wealthy would be compelled to alter their mode of life.

The depression in the tea and rubber industries that would result from the withdrawal of Indian labour would, moreover, so contract the volume of credit that it would work hardship all round

To show the indispensability of Indian labour, a British planter, Mr H. A. Webb by name, wrote to the *Ceylon Daily News* (Colombo), an organ owned by a Sinhalese and edited by a Ceylon Tamil:

"...take my own case for instance: I have a large number of Sinhalese villagers close to my estate. Is it likely that I should import outside labour if I could get the work done by those living close at hand? I should only be too pleased to work entirely with Sinhalese labour if it could be procured.

"There is no question but that many villagers who now by cultivating a small piece of ground with difficulty get enough out of it to supply them with food would do far better to take up estate work. But it means, of course, regular work under estate conditions. To stop Tamil immigration in order to provide Sinhalese with work that they are unwilling to do, can only be looked upon as the height of folly."

In order to ensure a plentiful supply of Indian labour the planters in Ceylon—Sinhalese as well as British—make regular contributions toward a fund which runs into seven figures every year. A network of agencies are maintained in southern India under the supervision of an ex-planter (a Briton). Though these agencies are constantly at work, year in, year out, it is found necessary to send agents out from individual estates to southern Indian villages to drum up recruits. Judging by the disclosures that have been made from time to time in law-courts, the methods that they employ are not always honourable. But into that and cognate matters I cannot enter in the course of this article.

It is not likely that the plutocrats of Ceylon would demand the cutting off of the supply of Indian labour and thereby deliberately shatter the arch upon which their prosperity rests. That is not the way of human nature.

XIII

The Ceylonese planter-politicians think, however, that the stay-at-home Indians do not know that Ceylonese prosperity depends, in no small measure, upon Indian labour in the Island. Or they perhaps feel that the stay-at-home Indians do not care what indignity may be heaped upon their countrymen in Ceylon or how their interests are impaired. India, in other words, is a sleeping giant, and will not protest if Ceylon—a pigmy—slaps it in the face.

If the agitation set on foot by the Sinhalese planter- politicians to condemn the bulk of the Indians in Ceylon to political serfdom succeeds, it will have the most powerful reaction. If India, with the whip hand it has over Ceylon, acquiesces in such action, what will she be able to say to countries which can very well get along without Indians? That constitutes the crux of the situation.

If India will not exert itself to protect Indians in an Island that lies at its feet, is populated by people of Indian stock, and cannot get along without Indians—how will it ever be able to safeguard the interests of Indians in lands far, far away—lands inhabited by people different in colour, race and creed—lands where Indians, economically speaking, are unimportant?

In view of the grave harm that the anti-Indian moves now being made in Ceylon might do to our people in the Island—and its still graver reaction upon the status of Indians in all parts of the world—I trust that this hostile movement in the Island will receive the closest attention and Indians will make the anti-Indian Ceylonese understand that, should they persist in their attitude, they can expect no mercy from India.

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EUROPE, ASIA AND AFRICA

By RABINDRANATH TAGORE

No report of any interview with me has as yet been published which correctly represents my views ; almost always the emphasis is put in the wrong place and the report becomes onesided.

It is undoubtedly true that the most important relation of Europe with those of us who are outside Europe is merely one of exploitation : or, in other words, its origins are materialistic. It is physical strength that is most apparent to us in her enormous empire and enormous commerce, illimitable in extent and immeasureable in appetite. Our spirit sickens in its midst; we come against barriers in the realization of ties of human kinship, and the harshness of mere physical or material fetters pains us sorely.

This feeling of unease ever grows more oppressive. There is no nation in the whole of Asia to day which does not look upon Europe with fear and suspicion. And yet, there was a time when we were fascinated by Europe, we were inspired with a new hope, we believed that the chief mission of Europe was to preach the gospel of liberty in the world ; for, we got to knowonly the ideal side of Europe through her literature and art. But slowly, Asia and Africa have become the spheres of her secular activities, where her chief pre occupation is the earning of dividends, administration of empires and extension of boundaries and commerce. In the continents of Asia and Europe her ware-houses, her administrative and business offices, her police outposts and the barracks for her soldiers have been extending, while human relationship has taken a very secondary place.

Towards those whom we exploit we always feel contempt ; or, at any rate, it certainly becomes much easier, this exploitation, if we can succeed in feeling contempt for those whom we exploit. We feel inclined to proclaim that fishes are the least sentient of all living creatures when, out angling, we pierce them with our hooks. It is the same when we come to deal with human beings. It becomes quite pleasant to milk the Orient to the top of our bent, if we can make the moral justification of exploitation and empire-building easy by relegating coloured races to the farthest and the lowest class in the grouping of humanity.

It is thus that modern Europe, scientific and puissant, has classified this wide earth into two divisions. Through the filter of this classification, whatever is finest in Europe cannot pass through to reach us in the East. In our traffic with her, we have learnt this as the biggest fact that she is efficient, terribly efficient ; efficiency, in fact, is the most potent factor in a material civilization. We may feel astounded by this efficiency ; but, if through fear, we bring to its feet our homage of respect, we should know that we are fast going down to the very bottom of misfortune ; for, it is as the barbarity of bringing sacrificial offerings to some god thirsting for blood. It is on account of this fact, and, to retain her self-respect, that the whole of Asia denies to-day the moral superiority of Europe; while, on the other hand, to withstand the ravaging inroads of Europe, she is imitating that aspect of Europe which slays, which eats raw flesh and which, by putting the blame on the victim, tries to make the process of swallowing him easier.

But there is a lack of truth in realizing Europe in this fashion. I, personally, do not believe that Europe is wholly and entirely materialistic. She has lost her faith in religion but not in humanity.

Man in his essential nature can never be solely materialistic. In Europe the ideals of human activity are truly spiritual ; for these ideals are not paralysed by shackles of scriptural injunctions, or, to put it in other words, their sanction lies in the heart of man and not in something external to him. This freedom from the changeless irrational bondage of external regulations, is a very big asset of modern European civilisation. In Europe man is pouring forth his life for knowledge, for the land of his birth and in the service of humanity, through the urge of his own innate ideals and not because some revered pundit has ordained it, nor because the scriptures or regulations of orthodoxy have indicated such

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action. It is this attitude of mind which is essentially spiritual. True spirituality gives us freedom. The freedom that Europe has achieved to-day in action, in knowledge, in literature and in art, is a freedom from the rigid idiocy of materialism. The spirit of man has, by this freedom of growth, proclaimed its right to an unfettered progress.

The fetters that we forge in the name of religion, enchain the spiritual man more securely than even ties of worldly affairs. The home of freedom in man is in the spirit of man; that spirit refuses to recognize any limit to action or to knowledge; it is courageous enough to cross over the barriers of nature and the limitations of natural instincts, it never regrets immediate loss in life and means that may or may not lead to gains in a far distant future. When the airplane goes up in the sky, we may wonder at it as the perfection of material power; but, behind this lies the human spirit strong and alive. It is this spirit of man which refused to recognise boundaries of nature as final; nature had put the fear of death in man's mind to moderate his power within the limit of safety, but man in Europe snapped his fingers at it and tore asunder the bonds; it is only then, that he earned the right to fly, a right of the gods.

But even here the titans are alive—they who are ready to rain down death from the airplane. But what I would like to point out to you is that the titans are not there all by themselves. In the civilisation of Europe there is a constant war between the gods and the titans; often the titans are victorious; but the victory is sometimes with the gods also. We should not count the result in numbers, the calculation should be based on Truth, and on the reality of the victory. It is, therefore, that the Bhagavad Gita says that Truth, even though slight, preserves us from great calamity. Manifestation of the gods is on the possitive side of Truth; on the negative side are the titans. So long as we have the least response from this positive side, there need be no fear. The war of the gods and titans is only possible where the gods exist. There can be no war where both sides are equally feeble. That strifelessness, that peace, is dark and inert; it can on no account be called spiritual.

Very often, it is easy enough for us when some one reviles us for our social evils, to point at worse evils existing in Europe. But this is merely negative; the positive, bigger thing is that in Europe these evils are not stagnant. the spiritual force in man is ever trying there to come to grips with them. Hence, while we find in Europe the Giant's fortress of Nationalism, we also find the Jack-the-Giant-Killer of Internationalism. The Giant-Killer, though small in size, is real. Even when we are loudest in our denunciation of Europe, it is her Giant's fortress that we long to build in all reverence and worship, and we insult Jack with ridicule and suspicion. The chief reason for this is that it is we who are materialistic, we who are wanting in faith and courage. As in us the gods are sleeping, when the titans come they devour all our sacrificial offerings—there is never even a hint of strife or struggle.

The germs of disease are everywhere; but man can resist them when his vital force is active and powerful. So, too, even when the worship of the blood-thirsty false gods of self-seeking is rampant on all sides, man can lift up his head to the skies, if his spiritual forces are alive. The truth of the matter is that in Europe the whole nature of man is awake; and in man there are both the materialist and the spiritualist. They alone can be entirely materialistic who are uncivilized, who are only half-men, who cripple the native majesty of the spirit before the blind repetition of unintelligent activities, who are niggardly in knowledge and palsied in action, who are ever insulting themselves by setting up meaningless ritualism in the place of true worship, who have no difficulty whatever in accepting that there is special sanctity, spiritual profit, inherent in particular places, particular ingredients, particular forms, peculiar formulas, and peculiar rites even when their significance is not known or knowable. That is why they are night and day a-tremble with fear of ghosts and ghouls, gods and false gods, in constant dread of life and of loss, terrified by the strong, frightened of the calendar and the stars, of inauspicious days and of inauspicious moments; because they are weak in spirit, they are enslaved within and enfettered in the outer world.

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DEBENDRANATH TAGORE ON SCHOOLS FOR THE MASSES

By BRAJENDRANATH BANERJI

On 17th May, 1859 the Supreme Government asked Mr. J. P. Grant, the Lieut.-Governor of Bengal, for his views on the subject of providing cheap schools for the masses, and improving and extending Vernacular education generally. Before formulating his own views, however, the Lieut.-Governor consulted not only the officials of the Education Department but also several other gentlemen, both European and Indian, who had either practical experience of village schools or took an interest in the well-being of the peasantry. Among the Indians who furnished the Lieut.-Governor with their views on the subject was Debendranath Tagore, the father of the Poet Rabindra Nath Tagore. This report, which I have discovered among the Education Dept. records of the Bengal Government, has not, to my knowledge, been published before, and is printed here for the first time :

"In reply to your letter dated 17th June last, No. 288, regarding the praticability of promoting cheap schools for the masses in Bengal, I beg leave to offer the following remarks for the consideration of His Honour the Lieut.-Governor.

I think that the best means immediately available to Government for advancing education among the general body of the people of Bengal, will be to take measures for improving the condition of the indigenous schools already in existence in most vicinities throughout the country and which I believe will be found sufficiently numerous and close to each other to serve the purpose presently in view; if any additional schools are needed in any neighbourhood it will be but matter of after consideration, that should not cause the least difficulty; "I have no doubt that the object of rendering the existing schools when placed on an improved footing available to the people generally, will be easy of accomplishment; and the most feasible plan on which the improvement of these seminaries can be effected, seems to me to be that formerly adopted in Calcutta by the School Society under the superintendence of Mr. David Hare, 1st by leading the teachers gradually to qualify themselves for their duties by proper course of self-instruction under the prospects of being surely rewarded for the labours if well guided; 2ndly, by exciting a feeling of emulation among students and encouraging them in their progress in the most fitting ways possible; 3rdly, by distribution of proper books for study as well as amusement. One additional measure appears to be necessary in the present instance, the establishment of Normal schools for the instruction of teachers employed in the different seminaries. It must be acknowledged that the indigenous schools now in existence are in need of much improvement before they can become as useful as they ought to be; indeed it is a well known fact that many of the teachers employed in them, are utterly incapble of imparting that knowledge which is to be sought of them. The education of the teachers therefore should be a main object in every attempt to improve the indigenous schools. This can be effected in two ways, first by opening Normal classes in the District Vernacular schools already set on foot and secondly by deputation of some of the masters of those vernacular schools and other competent persons as occasional or periodical inspectors to the village schools with directions on preconcerted plan to seize every opportunity during their visits of inspection to give every proper instruction to the teachers referred to. Perhaps both "these ways should be at once resorted to, and the duty of inspection should at all events be performed as frequently as it possibly can be. It is an undoubted fact also that the proper books required for the instruction of the masses, in fact, for an elementary course of instruction to any class of people, does not at present exist and yet without such books every endeavour to advance the course of education must fail. The preparation of books therefore remains another desideratum which must be immediately supplied.

The School Book Society which was I believe originally established to aid the views of the Calcutta School Society, has hitherto failed in its principal object of publishing a regular series of vernacular elementary books adapted to the wants of the people; I know of no better models for this graduated series of school books that is wanted amongst us than that afforded by many of the publications of the Scottish School Book Association and such other secular Societies in Great Britain.

I am inclined to think that none of the abovementioned measures required to bring about the necessary degree of improvement in the indigenous schools need entail any very large amount of expense on the Government. Means already opened may I think if properly economized go a great way towards the accomplishment of the above objects. Thus the vernacular and English schools that have been established may as above hinted be made the means of extending instruction to the teachers of the indigenous schools. Under proper encouragement and superintendence the teachers of the former class of seminaries may moreover be engaged in the preparation of school books. The same class of men may also economically be employed in the inspection of the village schools and so on. The charge of Government on each teacher and his pupils in the indigenous schools need not exceed I should say Rs. 135 per "annum, exclusive of course of the expenses of instructing teachers and of inspecting

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their schools which too may be lowered down much below their present scale.

I do not exactly comprehend the drift of the observation made by His Honour that there are not the same available means or agency in Bengal as in the North-Western Provinces for introducing a system similar to the 'Hulkabundee System' of Hindustan. His honour here probably refers to the means and agency afforded by the recent Revenue Settlement of the North-Western Provinces which cannot of course be available in these days in Bengal. But that both means and agency to effect the same purpose and perhaps in a more efficient way do exist in Bengal, seems to me to be indisputable. It is indeed quite evident, and this His Excellency the Governor-General in Council has himself noticed, that as regards a popular desire for education and a supply of masters the difference is all in favour of Bengal.

There are only three classes of people here who are indifferent to the education of their children.

1st. Those who are not able to read and write themselves.

2nd. Those who are too poor to go to the expense of educating their sons and daughters and—

3rd. Those who are afraid of the effects of education as regards the religious principles of their children.

With regard to female children there is a fourth class of men who consider female education either as practically unnecessary or as improper on social or moral grounds who are opposed to it from a superstitious fear of the consequences of learning upon matrimonial happiness of their daughters. But as all these obstacles raised to the instruction of females are fruits only of ignorance it must be left to time and the spread of popular education to cure people of these misgivings and errors on this subject, and I have nothing to do with this class of men here.

To give the three classes of people mentioned above an interest in the education of their male children, the only course necessary in Bengal seems to be respectively as follows:—

1st to impart a knowledge that will be extensively useful to the children in their after times; this will most speedily bring the first class of indifferent persons to think better and much higher of the means afforded for instructing their sons.

2ndly. To impart this knowledge gratuitously to those who cannot really afford to pay for it, this will obviate the second class of objections.

3rdly. To avoid every instruction in the schools which may in any way be construed as having a religious or doctrinal tendency. This will meet the objections of the third class of people referred to above. It will however necessitate the exclusion of all the Sacred Scriptures whether Christian, Mahomedan, or Brahminical from the general routine of reading in the schools, though moral instruction must remain as of paramount importance to all.

The branches of useful knowledge that should thus be communicated to the children of the masses might I think be enumerated as follows:—

Reading
Writing and
Correct Spelling
Elements of Arithmetic and of Mensuration as a branch of Arithmetic.
Rudiments of letter writing
Rudiments of account keeping agricultural or mercantile.
First principles of Science connected with agriculture.
Outlines of the law of weights of persons and of real property in this country.
Elements of Geography and History
Lessons in practical morality.

Some knowledge of these various matters should be communicated to each student though of course not to the same extent in each branch of instruction; the degree of knowledge necessarily differing according to the circumstances and opportunities of each student but the kind of instruction given to all should be the same.

If some such course of instruction as the above, be adopted in the indigenous schools in the mofussil and adopted under the patronage of Government, and measures at the same time be taken to qualify the teachers for the duty in which they are engaged, I have not the slightest doubt that everything immediately desirable for successfully advancing the course of popular education in Bengal, will have been done and so done without embarassing the finances of Government in any unreasonable or unnecessary way. That education will not fail to be desired by most people in Bengal if given on some such principles as those I have just allowed to, is in my belief a self-evident proposition. That the more wealthy people in the mofussil when they find every desirable instruction given in the schools at their villages and see nothing objectionable taught in them under the eyes too of Government will continue those means for maintaining the schools which now exist and that they may perhaps be gradually induced to raise new means for the same pupose, seems to me to be also quite clear, and I cannot but think that the agency of the Gurumoshays who now teach in village Patshalas may with very little trouble be rendered much more valuable than it is at present".*

*From Babu Debendra Nath Tagore, to E. H. Lushington, Esq., Offg. Junior Secretary to the Government of Bengal, (dated the 8th August 1859). *Education Dept. Procdgs.* Octr. 1860, No. 60.

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THE ENGLISH IN INDIA SHOULD ADOPT BENGALI AS THEIR LANGUAGE

By RAJAH RAMMOHUN ROY

I have lately discovered that there are in England some unpublished writings of Rajah Rammohun Roy, and among these has been found the following paper "On the possibility, practicability, and expediency of substituting the Bengali Language for the English." It is a humorous skit which will not fail to interest the reader.—Brajendranath Banerji]

Babu Mast Hathi. It is a great desideratum that the English Governors and their native subjects, should be able to enjoy unrestricted intercourse with one another: should we continue to accomplish this, it would be a great blessing to the subject; and it is probable that our rulers might ultimately benefit by it.

Is the scheme possible? Undoubtedly. Have we not various instances of the language of a country being changed? The Hebrew has died away, and is succeeded by Syriac. The Latin was formerly spoken in Constantinople; it has been supplanted by the Turkish. The old Pehlevi has given way to the modern Persian. In England, the Welsh was formerly universal; English is now spoken there. I could mention many others.

Babu Dana. But in these instances, if I recollect right, the nations who spoke the original languages have been swept away, and have been succeeded by others.

Babu Mast Hathi. What is all this to a good theory? Your common sense is the ruin of all grand schemes.

Babu Dana. But if it were *possible*, what do you say to the practicability?

Babu Mast Hathi. Practicability? Why, I hold the maxim to be a sound one that "what man *has* done, man may do again"; and I hold it to be at once unsound and injurious to lay down the principle that "what man *has not* done, man *cannot* do." The difference in the circumstances of the case is of very little consequence.

Babu Dana. But would such a change be expedient?

Babu Mast Hathi. Undoubtedly. Consider the superiority of the Bengali over the English. The latter is a jargon compounded of half a dozen languages; whereas the Bengali is derived immediately from the Sanskrit, one of the purest and most regularly formed languages in the world; therefore the English would benefit greatly by the change. Besides we have many works, the perusal of which would add to their stock of knowledge.

Babu Dana. It seems to me that the best way would be to translate these books into English; for I doubt whether that people would give up their own language and adopt the Bengali.

Babu M. H. They ought to do so, when we consider how inferior they are to us in caste, cleanly habits, and many other points; if they do not, it will be another proof of their ignorance and prejudice. At any rate, should they be so stupid, I have another plan which, though not quite so good, will be a step gained.

Babu Dana. What is that?

Babu M. H. To teach the English to give up their own alphabet, and write their language in the Sanskrit, Bengali or Deva-nagari letters. By selecting from these we may easily contrive, with the assistance of diacritical marks, to express every sound of the English alphabet.

Babu Dana. Such a scheme is possible certainly, since what one set of letters express, another may be invented to represent the same sounds; but do [you] think it will be practicable to induce the English to give up their old alphabet and adopt this new one?

Babu M. H. Why not? What *has been* done, *can* be done again. We have many instances. The language of the Tonga Islands has various peculiar sounds, yet these have been successfully represented by the Roman letters. Look at the old arrow heads and various other characters found in ancient inscriptions in this country: these have been supplanted by the letters now in use.

Babu Dana. But I have heard that the inhabitants of the Tonga Islands had no written character until the Roman was

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introduced: and as to the other instances, you forget that the people who used those letters have been swept away. It seems to me that the circumstances are different.

Babu M. H. There again you break in with what you call common sense. I tell you again, circumstances and facts have nothing to do with theory; and that is what I go upon.

Babu Dana. But if you did succeed, what would be the benefit?

Babu M. H. Very great indeed. The English letters are incomprehensible to all who have not spent their lives in learning them: hardly one has any fixed sound: every vowel has two or even three: and a great many of the consonants have each two: all given in the most arbitrary way, without any rule. Now I propose that the characters taken from the Sanskrit or Nagri should invariably express the same sound. Such a plan as this would greatly facilitate the reading of the vernacular languages of India by the English, which would give us a better chance of obtaining justice than we have ever had yet.

Babu Dana. Well, all I can say for your plan is that it appears as practicable as to teach the Natives of India to give up their own language or letters, and to adopt those of Europe.

Babu M. H. A thousand times more so. Are not the English in India few in number? Do not they boast how superior they are to us in everything, above all in freedom from prejudice: surely it is much easier for two or three thousand of them to adopt our language or character, than to expect sixty millions of Natives, most of whom are so poor that they work hard all day at their respective avocations, to give up that which they have used for centuries, and accept a new one.

Babu Dana. Oh Ram, Ram. Wonders will never cease in this world.

THE KARA OF ORISSA

By PROF. R. D. BANERJI M. A.

Benares

THE kings of the Kara dynasty of Orissa were absolutely unknown to the people of India 20 years ago. During this period the labours of a number of epigraphists and the French savant M. Sylvain Levi has enabled us to reconstruct the history and chronology of this dynasty of kings. The date of the dynasty was fixed by M. Levi's fortunate discovery of the reference to an embassy from Orissa to the Chinese emperor Te-tsong towards the end of the 8th century, "in 795 A. D., that is the 11th year of the period Cheng-yuan." The king who sent this embassy was called Subhakara. It was the good fortune of the writer to come across the first inscription of king Subhakara 14 years ago. In this inscription, the Neulpur plate, three generations of kings of the Kara dynasty are mentioned; (1) Kshemankara (2) Sivakara and (3) Subhakara. Since then the history of the dynasty has been much better illuminated by the fortunate discovery of two other grants, (1) the Kumuranga plate of Dandi-Mahadevi and (2) the Chaurasi plate of Sivakara. These two newly discovered inscriptions now enable us to link together the information supplied by the two plates of Dandi-Mahadevi at one time preserved in the office of the Collector of Ganjam and the grant of Tribhuvana-Mahadevi from Dhenkanal, edited by Mahamahopadhyaya Dr. Hara Prasad Sastri, C. I. E. These inscriptions show that there were two groups of dynasties of Kara kings ruling at different dates. The first group or dynasty is known from two inscriptions only; (1) the Neulpur plate of Subhakara and (2) the Chaurasi plate of Sivakara. The remaining inscriptions of this dynasty are later in date and belong to the period of second group.

The first group of Kara kings were decidedly Buddhist. The ancestor of the dynasty, Kshemankara, is called simply a lay worshipper (*Paramopasaka*). His son, Sivakara, is styled the devout worshipper of the Tathagata (*Parama Tathagata*) and

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his grandson Subhakara is styled the devout Buddhist *Parama-saugata*). Subhakara was a contemporary of the Chinese emperor Te-tsong and in Chinese records is described as one "who had a big faith in the Sovereign Law, and who followed the practice of the Sovereign Mahayana." His name is given as "the fortunate monarch who does what is pure, the lion. "From this M. Sylvain Levi guesses that the name of the king of Orissa was Subhakara Kesari. In the year 795 A. D, the Chinese Emperor, Te-tsong, received an autograph manuscript containing the last section of the *Avatamsaka* which is the section dealing with the practice and vow of the Bodhisatva Samantabhadra. M. Levi therefore guesses that the work presented to the Chinese emperor was really the *Ganda-vyuha*, "Of which the original is preserved among the Nepali collections" ? The autograph manuscript and the letter from king Subhakara was entrusted to the monk Prajna who was requested to translate it. This Prajna was an inhabitant of Ki-pin or Kapisa near Kabul, who had begun his studies in Northern India and then migrated to Nalanda where he had resided for some time. After spending eighteen years in study he settled down in the monastery of the king of Orissa to study Yoga philosophy. Then he went to China as the ambassador of the king of Orissa.[1] Though Subhakara and his ancestors were Buddhists the villages granted by him by the grant discovered at Neulpur was given to Brahmanas. The villages of Komparaka and Dandankiyoka were situated in the districts (*Vishaya*)) of Panchala and Vubhyudaya in Northern Tosali. The grant was issued in the 8th year of the reign of Subhakara.[2] The The geneology is carried one generation further in the Chaurasi plate of Sivakara II. This inscription is of great importance as it supplies many interesting pieces of informations. After the name of Sivakara I, the word *Kara*, which appears to be the family name is repeated, a feature which is to be found in some of the inscriptions of the second group of Kara kings. We know from this new inscription that Sivakara I married Jayavalidevi, from whom was born Subhakara, the contemporary of the emperor Te-tsong. From Subhakara by this queen Madhavadevi was born Sivakara II. The Chaurasi plate records the grant of the village of Vuvrada situated in Southern Tosali to a number of Brahmans in the 13th year of the reign of the king on the 12th day of the bright half of Kartika. Sivakara II and his father Subhakara are given the Imperial titles *Paramesvara-Maharajadhiraja* and *Paramabhattaraka* [3] The village of Vuvrada granted by Sivakara II was situated in the Antarudra district (*Vishaya*) which is identified by Mr. Narayana Tripathi with the *Parganah* of Antarodh in the Sadar Sub-Division of the Puri district of Orissa. The grant was issued from Subhadevi-pataka which he mistakes for Subhadeva-pataka mentioned in the Neulpur plate. The special Buddhist titles of Subhakara, his father and grandfather are not given in the Chaurasi plate even in the case of Subhakara.

The second group of Kara kings is known to us in detail from three grants of Dandi Mahadevi and the Dhenkanal plate of Tribhuvana Mahadevi. The three grants of Dandi Mahamadevi supply us with more information than the plate of Tribhuvana Mahadevi. The earliest known inscriptions of this dynasty were the two grants of Dandi Mahadevi preserved in the office of the Collector of Ganjam and edited by the late Prof. Dr. Kielhorn. Out of these two plates the first one is dated in the year 180 of an unknown era. If this date is assigned to the unknown Ganga era then it was issued in 858 A. D. The Kumuranga plate of Dandi Mahamadevi is also dated. The late Mr. H. Panday read it as 387 but it appears on the analogy of the Ganjam first plate to be 187. The Ganjam plates state that "There was a king named Unmattasimha (1.5), from whose family sprung Mangapada (1.7) and other kings. In their family there was the king Lonabhara (1.9); his son was Kusumabhara (11.13); after him ruled his younger brother-Lalitabhara (1.13 ; he was succeeded by him son Santikara (1.15), and he again by his younger brother Subhakara (1.18). When the last of these princes died, his queen ascended the throne, and afterwards her daughter Dandi Mahadevi (1.20) ruled the earth for a long time." The information supplied by the Dhankanal plate of Tribhuvana Mahadevi is exactly similar but in this plate the name of the first king is spelt as Lolabhara.

1. *Epi. Ind, Vol. XV, pp. 363-64.*
2. *Ibid, pp. 1-8.*
3. *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society Vol. XIV, 1928, pp. 292-306.*

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From these three inscriptions we learn that one Unmattasimha was regarded as the remote ancestor of this line of kings. The Ganjam plates mention a king named Mangapada after him. The Dhenkanal plate mentions Gayada and others instead of Mangapada. Evidently Prof. Kielhorn could not read the name Gayada correctly. In the family of Gayada was born Lolabhara or Lonabhara. His sons Kusumbhara and Lalitabhara succeeded him. Lalitabhara's son was Santikara according to the inscriptions of Dandi-Mahadevi. We learn from the Dhenkanal plates of Tribhuvana Mahadevi that she was the wife of Lalitabhara who is styled the Moon of the Kumuda flowers of the Kara family, Maharajadhiraja and Paramesvara. Tribhuvana Mahadevi was the daughter of a southern chief named Rajamalla, who upheld the fortunes of the Kara family at the time of a great misfortune. At that time requested by the Gosvamini Purayidevi and the assembly of great feudatories (*Muhasamantachakra*). Tribhuvana Mahadevi ascended the throne. We do not know whether Santikara was her son or not. The three grants of Dandi Mahadevi carry the genealogy of the second group of Kara kings three generations further. Santikara, the son of Lalitabhara, was succeeded by his son Subhakara II and he by one of his queens who is not named. Later on, Dandi Mahadevi, the daughter of Subhakara II ascended the throne. The date of the Kumuranga plates of Dandi Mahadevi, the year 187 of an unknown era is the latest known date of this dynasty. If applied to the little known Ganga era it would give 965 A. D. as the latest known date for Dandi Mahadevi.

The foregoing summary of the events connected with the reigns of the second groups of monarchs of the Kara dynasty shows that the Dhenkanal plate of Tribhuvana Mahadevi is the earliest known inscription of the second group. The late Mr. H. Panday attempted to connect the two dynasties by identifying Kshemankara of the Neulpur plate with Santikara of the inscriptions of Dandi Mahadevi and Subhakara with Sivakara. There are two Sivakaras in the first group of the Kara dynasty and as all other names disagree, it is not possible to identify the kings of these two groups.

Of the kings mentioned as the ancestors of Lolabhara neither Unmattasimha or Gayada are known from other inscriptions. It is absolutely impossible to identify king Gayada, the ancestor of Lolabhara, with Gayada of the Tunga family, the descendant of Salanatunga and Jagattunga. Of Lolabhara and his sons Kusumahara and Lalitabhara no details are given in any of the three inscriptions of Dandi Mahadevi. Tribhuvana Mahadevi was the widow of Lalitabhara and she has left a good deal of information in a grant discovered in Dhenkanal state. This was issued from Subhesvara-pataka, the capital of Subhakara. The kings Unmattakesari and Gayada are mentioned among the early ancestors. Then we are introduced to a chief of Southern India who had saved the Kara family when it had fallen on evil days. Tribhuvana Mahadevi was the daughter of this Rajamalla and was married to Lalitabharadeva. Evidently upon the death of her husband the queen was persuaded by the ascetic Purayidevi and the principal feudatories to ascend the throne. Her titles are Paramabhattarika-Maharajadhiraja-Paramesvari and she is styled the devout worshipper of Vishnu. The Land granted was situated in Kosala, but it is not specified in which part of that country. The village granted, Kontaspara, was situated in the district of Olasrama. The grant is dated as it was issued according to the editor in "*Samvat Lu Chu Karttika sudi di.*" These numerals have not been translated by the learned editor but as the symbol *Lu* denotes the numeral for 100 in two grants of Dandi Mahadevi it would be safer to assume that this symbol expresses the same value that it does in the Ganjam plate of Dandi Mahadevi. The late Mr. H. Panday transcribed this symbol as 300 but a comparison with the Ganjam plate shows that he is wrong. The symbol *Chu* may be taken to denote 30. With these dates as the basis, the chronology of the second group of Kara kings may be reconstructed. The inscriptions of Dandi Mahadevi do not mention Tribhuvana Mahadevi but bring forth another king named Santikara as the successor of Lalitabhara. We possess two different stone inscriptions of this Santikara, one of which is dated. This inscription was found in a cave on the top of Dhauli hill in the Puri district of Orissa. This inscription[1] records

1. This is the inscription mentioned by late Mr. H. Panday but it has not appeared in the Epigraphia Indica Vol. XV. It will be published in a subsequent volume. *Ibid., Vol. V. 1919. p. 569.*

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a private donation in the year 93. According to all inscriptions of Dandi Mahadevi Santikara was the son and successor of Lalitabhara and according to the Dhenkanal plate Tribhuvana Mahadevi was the latter's wife and successor, but as Santikara was ruling in the year 90 and Tribhavana Mahadevi in the year 130 there can not be any doubt about the fact that Tribhuvana Mahadevi had succeeded Santikara, her son or step-son, on the throne and not her husband Lalitabhara. The disturbances mentioned in the Dhankanal plate appears to to have taken place either shortly before or after the year 93. There is no reason to suppose that the year 93 belongs to a different era from the year 130 of the Dhenkanal plate. If these be referred to the Ganga era then Santikara was ruling in Central Orissa in 871 A. D. It may therefore be assumed that the disturbances caused by Satrubhanja and Ranabhanja I were the causes of the fall of the Kara or Kesari dynasty after the death of Lalitabhara and that the revival of Kara power under Rajamalla caused Netribbhanja I and his successors to retire to the south and transfer their capital from Dhritipura to Vanjulvaka. The two inscriptions of Santikara now become the oldest records of the second group of the Kara dynasty. The first of them was discovered inside the Ganesagumpha cave on Khandagiri hill, three miles to the west of Bhuvanesvara in the Puri district. It is not dated and simply mention Bhimata the son of a person named Nannata[1]. The second inscription of the reign of Santikara was found by me in a cave close to Asoka's rock inscription at Dhauli near Bhuvanesvara. The only important part of this inscription is the date. If the initial year of the so called Ganga era fell in 778 A. D. then this cave was excavated in in 871 A. D. Beyond this we do not know anything about Santikara.

The Dhenkanal plate of Tribhuvana Mahadevi proves that she came to the throne after Santikara. In the period which followed the death of her husband Lalitabhara and his son Santikara there were disturbances which were quelled by her father, Rajamalla. In the Dhenkanal plate this chief is simply called. "The mark on the forehead of the Southern region". The only kings of this name known to us are western Chalukya king Vikramaditya I [2] and the three western Ganga chiefs of that name. Out of these three Rachamalla or Rajamalla I is too early. The king referred to may be Rajamalla II whose Narasapur plates were issued in S. 825-202 A. D. [1] These identifications depend upon the probabilities of the Karas using the so-called Ganga era and that era having started from 778 A. D.[2]

The object of the inscription on the Dhenkanal plates was to record the grant of the village of Kontaspara to Bhatta Jagaddhara for the purpose of bringing down rain (*Vrishti-kama-nimittaya*).

The three inscriptions of Dandi Mahadevi prove that the statements of the Dhenkanal plates of Tribhuvana Mahadevi that "The Kara family were known only to fame", and "Who finding the earth with all her Kara kings dead and gone", are incorrect. Tribhuvana Mahadevi was succeeded by Subhakara, the younger brother of Santikara. There can not be any doubt the fact that this Subhakara was quite different from Subhakara, the contemporary of the Chinese emperor Te-tsong and the son of Sivakara and the grandson of Kshemankara. All inscriptions of Dandi Mahadevi agree in stating that Subhakara was succeeded first of all by his queen, whose name, according to certain scholars, was Gauri. Then Subhakara's daughter Dandi ascended the throne. Out of the three grants of Dandi Mahadevi, two only are dated. The earliest date is to be found in the year 180 which may be equivalent to 958 A. D. By this plate the great queen granted the village of Villagrama situated in the Eastern Division of the Baradakhanda district (*vishaya*) of the Kongoda mandala. The Purva-khanda of the Kongoda mandala is still called by that name in the Ganjam district of the Madras Presidency. The grant was issued on the 5th day of the dark half of the month of Masgasirsha of the year 180. [3]

The second Ganjam plate of Dandi Mahadevi is undated. It contains the important information that the Kongoda mandala was situated in Southern Kosala. By this plate the queen granted the village of of Garasambha in the district of Arttani on the occassion of the *Uttarayana*. [4] The third and the most recently discovered inscription of Dandi Mahadevi is the Kumuranga plate of the year 187. By this inscription

1. *Ep. Ind. Vol. XIII, p. 167. No. XVII.*
2. *Ibid, Vol. VII, App. p. 5, Note 4.*

1. *Ibid. Vol. VIII, App. II, p. 5: Epi. Carn. Vol. X. p. 25. No. 90.*
2. *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society. Vol. II, 1917, pp. 419-27.*
3. *Epi. Ind., Vol. VI. pp. 40.*
4. *Ibid. pp. 140-42.*

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the queen granted the village of Kantsaranagari in the district of Khidingabhara of the Kungada *mandala* in Southern Tosala, on the 13th day of the bright half of Jyaishtha of the year 187. [1] The Kumuranga plate informs us that the Kungada or the Kongoda *mandala* was situated in Southern Tosala where as the second Ganjam plate states that it was situated in Southern Kosala and therefore it is apparent that in Orissa Tosala Kosala were equivalent. The dated inscription of Dandi Mahadevi prove that the queen was reigning from 958 to 965 A. D., if the dates can be referred to the Ganga era. We do not know what happened to the Kara family after Dandi Mahadevi. Evidently the Bhanjas regained power and were able to regain Northern Khinjali under or in the time of Netribhanja II, the son of Vidyaharabhanja.

The discovery of M. Sylvain Levi leaves no doubt about the fact that the first group of Kara kings bore the title of Kesari, The inscriptions of the second of group of Kara kings prove that one of their ancestors was called Unmattakesari but the title is not applied to any king of the second group. We do not know whether these later Kara kings had other *virudas* or not, but kings with the name Kesari are to be met with in some inscriptions of Orissa and records of other countries. At least three inscriptions are known of a king named Uddyotakesari The earliest inscription of the reign of this prince was discovered in a ruined cave assigned to the mythical Lalatendu-kesari of the native tradition of Orissa, on Udayagiri, three miles from Bhuvanesvar in the Puri district of Orissa. According to this inscription in the 5th year of the reign of Udyotakesari the old temples and well on the Kumara hill were repaired.[2] In the Hathigumpha inscription of king Kharavela of Kalinga we have seen that the Udayagiri is called the Kumari hill. From the inscription in Lalatendukesari's we learn that the Khandagiri was called the Kumara hill. The ancient names of the Khandagiri and Udayagiri were therefore Kumara and Kumari. In the Navamuni cave, on the same hill, there is another pilgrim's record belonging to the reign of Udyotakesari. It states that in the year 18 of the reign of Udyotakesari the Acharya Kulachandra's disciple Subhachandra came to this shrine.[3] Another inscription discovered somewhere in Bhuvanesvara but now missing was incised in the 18th year of the reign of Udyotakesari, Lord of the three Kalingas. From published texts the late Dr. Kielhorn published the following summary of this inscriptions: "Janamejaya of the lunar race, his son Dirgharava, and his son Apavara who died childless: after him, Vichitravirya (another son of Janamejaya), his son Abhimanyu, his son Chandihara, and his son Uddyotakesarin, whose mother was Kolavati of the solar race." [4] Beyond this we do not know anything of Udyotakesari. If his ancestor Janamejaya is the same as Mahabhavagupta of the Soma-vamsi dynasty of Mahakosala, then, inspite of his affix *Kesarim* he can not be taken to be a descendant of the Kara dynasty.

A king of Orissa with the affix Kesari- continued to rule over some part of Orissa till the middle of the 11th century A. D. among the feudatories who combined to recover Northern Bengal for the Pala king Ramapala is mentioned Jayasimha of Dandabhukti who is said to have uprooted king Karnakesari of Utkala. The campaign for the restoration of Ramapala to Northern Bengal can not have taken place later than 1060 A. D. and therefore Jayasimha's defeat of Karnakesari must have taken place sometime earlier. Udyotakesari is called the Lord of Trikalinga in the lost Bhuvanesvar inscription but in the *Ramacharita* of Sandhyakaranandin Karnakesari is styled the Lord of Utkala,[5] evidently because by by that time the rest of the three Kalingas had been conquered by the Eastern Ganga king Vajrahasta who ascended the throne in 1038 A. D.[6] In 1078 A. D. Anantavarman Chodaganga made an end of all minor dynasties, including, perhaps, Karnakesari, who was ruling over Northern Orissa, adjoining Dandabhukti or the modern district of Midnapore, as the last representative of his dynasty, We do not know whether Karnakesari belonged to the Kara dynasty or the lunar dynasty of Udyotakesari.

1. *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, pp. 564-81.*
2. *Epi, Ind Vol. X III p. 166, No. XVI.*
3. *Ibid. pp. 165-6. No. XIV.*
4. *Ibid. Vol. V. App. p. 90, No. 668: Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. Vol. VII, 1838, pp. 558. ff., pl. XXIV.*
5. *Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. III, p. 36 : Ramacharita, II 5, Commentary.*
6. *Epi. Ind., Vol. VIII. App. I, p. 17, List No. 22.*

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INDIAN CONSTITUTIONAL PROBLEMS*

(A Review)

By POLITICUS

The paper, printing (there is not a single printing mistake), binding and general get-up of the book are quite as good as those of the best English firms of publishers, and no one handling its pages would suppose, unless he knew it, that it has been printed in India. The questions which arise for discussion and solution in view of the Statutory Commission which was then about to be, and has subsequently been appointed, have been treated in this book and the extensive knowledge and grasp of political problems displayed by the author are bound to command respectful attention among statesmen everywhere. Open the book at any page, and read through a few pages, and you will at once feel that here is a mastermind dealing with a subject of which both the theory and practice is known to him as well as anybody in whose hands the Government of the country has been entrusted. In lucidity and ease the style is a model of what it should be and would be easily mistaken for that of an Englishman. Only the point of view is somewhat different. The sobriety of the author is apparent in all that he writes, as befits one who has inside knowledge of the problems he deals with, and appreciates the difficulties which beset the path of the practical administrator. This vein in the author's make-up will appeal to all the conservative instincts of our rulers, but what will prove obnoxious to them is the other vein of large-hearted sympathy, of progressive advance, and faith in the destiny of the people, of which there is ample evidence in every page. To thoughtful men in the West, his cautious liberalism ought to make a serious appeal, but as the author says, "the chances are that the government will be unable to distinguish friends from foes." The authorities that he quotes are not generally known to our politicians, and the quotations produce a telling effect. The science, art and philosophy of government have been studied by the author from the best sources, and applied to the details of Indian administration with a mastery of principle and wealth of well-digested statistical and historical information which are unrivalled. Specially is this the case with reference to the chapters on the Army and the Native States. With regard to army questions, Sir Sivaswamy Aiyer is the greatest authority which India possesses, and he is also a specialist in almost all the subjects he treats of. Besides the preface, introduction and epilogue, the book contains the following chapters. Provincial autonomy, provincial legislatures, provincial executive, reforms in central government, defence, central legislatures, central executive, judicial appeals and the council of India, the Indian States, objections to advance. There is a well-chosen and select bibliography, and an excellent index.

There is nothing in the theory and practice of government which the author does not touch and which his touch does not illuminate and adorn. In the pages of this book one feels at once that he has come across a master-politician and a statesman of the highest order. One on this side of India cannot but enquire how many men there are in Bengal, in or outside the sphere of politics, who can be placed in the same category with Sir Sivaswamy Aiyer and the answer to the query is bound to be extremely disappointing, if not also disheartening. We give below a few extracts to conclude our review.

"No one in India can believe in this effusive solicitude of the British Government for the depressed classes as a sincere answer to the political demands of the country. It is believed, not without justice, that the various reasons put forward as arguments against any large relaxation of Imperial control are not the real reasons which weigh with the Imperial Government. The true reason is that, though the British Government admits that they hold the country as trustees for people, they are not wholly disinterested trustees. On the other hand, they are deeply interested in the maintenance of the *status quo* and in their own domination of India. "One of the first things that English Statesmen have to learn is to clear their minds of cant and not to pretend that they are the disinterested guardians of the millions of people of India."

"The idea of energizing the masses and awakening their political consciousness is one which has been carried out on a large scale by Mr. Gandhi far more successfully than by any other Indian political leader of the past. And it is perhaps his greatest achievement." "It is a good thing to appeal to the two communities [Hindus and Moslems] for a change of heart and for an amicable adjustment of differences whether political or religious. But suppose the communities are unable to come to an agreement. Have the Government no duty to the country in the matter? Is it confined merely to the suppression of breaches of the peace, to the punishment of offenders and to the issue of prohibitory orders? What should an autocratic government, like the Government of India, anxious to promote the unification of its subjects and the permanent interests of the country, have done? In the absence of any law or usage, it would have enacted laws clearly laying down the rights and duties of the commu-

* *Indian Constitutional Problems*: By Sir P. S. Sivaswamy Aiyer, K. C. S. I., C. I. E., Retired Member of the Executive Council, Madras. D. B. Taraporevala, Sons and Co., Hornby Road, Bombay, 1928. With a Preface, Bibliography, and Index. Pp. 384.

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nities in political and religious matters and such laws would have been based not upon the administrative convenience of the day, but upon a just and impartial consideration of the rights of the parties and the true interests of national progress. Having framed its laws, it would have protected the rights created thereby and enforced the corresponding obligations impartially. One may well ask what proof of constructive statesmanship has been given by the Government."

"The exploitation of differences within modest limits is an easy expedient for the maintenance of the power of a ruler and especially a foreign ruler. The methods adopted for such exploitation are too well-known to need description. Sometimes one community is patted on the back and sometimes another. Differences are dilated upon; the suggestion is made that the interests of one community are in conflict with those of another, and under the pretext of describing the facts, ideas of discord are insidiously sown or cultivated in credulous minds. The Sikhs and Pathans are told that they will never allow themselves to be ruled by the Bengali or the Madrasi, the Mahomedans are told that they will never entrust themselves to the rule of the Hindu majority; and everybody is told that they feel their interests are safer in the keeping of the British than in the hands of their own countrymen. Though the Government of India is based upon the assent and acquiescence of its subjects, it does not possess the moral authority of responsible government and it has reason to fear the consequences of an inconvenient combination among discordant sects which may force its hands to follow a policy not in consonance with that dictated by the Imperial Government." ["As Lord Curzon remarked, the consolidation of the rule does not make the task of Government easier"].

"The Imperial Government does not pay an iota of the cost of the Indian army and from this point of view, the Indian army is not an Imperial force at all. But it is imperial in every other sense, for it is controlled by the Imperial Government and can be used for any imperial purpose and despatched to any part of the world without the consent of the Indian legislature." "It was considered dangerous to allow a spirit of solidarity to grow up among the Indian troops and the expedient was resorted to of forming class companies. The Peel Commission recommended that the Native Army should be composed of different nationalities and castes, and, as a general rule, mixed promiscuously through each regiment. When it was found that military discipline and service in distant parts of the country tended to obliterate religious and caste differences and promote ties of fellowship, it was suggested that regiments should as far as possible be confined to the provinces in which they were raised, so that they might continue to retain their traditional prejudices and mutual antipathies. How to prevent the emergence of any leaders from the Indian officers and how to prevent the development of any capacity for initiative or leadership were matters of anxious concern to the military authorities. To crown all these various expedients, the Government and the military authorities have followed a systematic propaganda of the inferiority of the Indian to the Britisher by harping in season and out of season upon his incapacity for leadership, so that the Indian soldier and the Indian officer may be hypnotised into the soul-deadening conviction of his ineradicable inferiority to the European soldier and of the invincible superiority of the latter." "If the imperialist is prepared to make the theoretical concession that India has a right to learn to defend herself, he generally couples it with the mental reservation that, God willing, he will take good care that she does not."

The conclusion which the author draws from the history of the various changes introduced into the Indian army as a result of the different committees which have made recommendations from time to time is that Government is disinclined to make any real advance in the Indianization of the army, or the extension and improvement of the Territorial Force. The writer's observations on the party system, the electorate, reforms in the central and provincial governments, and the legislatures, are full of a ripe wisdom and every Indian politician should study them. The verdict of the author on the achievements of the various Indian legislatures is distinctly hopeful. "The legistatures of India have been characterised by a breadth of outlook and sympathy and a spirit of progressiveness which compare favourably with the mentality of the British parliament in the nineteenth century and even at the present time."

Want of space compels us to direct the reader to the book itself for many other passages which deserve careful and serious consideration.

WHY AMERICA AND OTHER NATIONS SHOULD SYMPATHISE WITH INDIA'S STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM

By J. T. SUNDERLAND

THOSE who claim that India's struggle to free herself from British rule is solely the domestic affair of Great Britain, with which no other nation has a right to concern itself, should do a little reading of history.

As a fact, have nations struggling to free themselves from the oppression of a foreign yoke never received sympathy or encouragement from other nations? Have we Americans never extended sympathy or aid to such struggling nations? Has Great Britain her-

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self never done the same? The fact is, the true spirit of both America and England has always been that of wide interest in liberty, and sympathy with nations and peoples in any and every part of the world who were struggling to shake off alien despotisms and gain for themselves freedom and nationhood. England's record in this respect has been very noble. Let us glance at it.

We in America can never forget the sympathy extended to us by several of England's greatest statesmen, and also by many humbler people, in our Revolutionary War. Nor can we cease to remember that in our Civil War the working people of England to a remarkable degree stood by our national government, even against their own interests, because they believed our national cause to be the cause of human freedom.

When Greece early last century went to war to throw off the yoke of Turkey, the English people took a very deep interest in the struggle. They did not for a moment think of it as a mere domestic affair of Turkey, in which they had no right to interest themselves. Lord Byron's dramatic espousal of the Greek cause attracted the attention and was the admiration of liberty-lovers in all lands.

With Italy's struggle to free herself from the yoke of Austria, England warmly sympathized, and showed her sympathy by the strong public utterances of Gladstone and public men, and also by giving shelter and aid to Italian refugees Mazzini, Garibaldi, and many others, who were driven into exile on account of their efforts to obtain their country's freedom. The enthusiasm with which Garibaldi was welcomed to England after his patriot army had won its entry into Rome was not less than that which greeted Kossouth in America after his heroic struggle for liberty in Hungary. A personal witness thus describes the great scene in London:

"I was one of the number who had the honor and pleasure of giving welcome to the brave Garibaldi when he came to London after his glorious victory in freeing his country. He was met at the railway station by tens of thousands of young and old, rich and poor, and escorted through the streets to the Duke of Sutherland's mansion. It was such a spectacle as seldom if ever has been seen in London before or since. Pen cannot describe it. When we arrived in front of the horseguards, those nearest Garibaldi's carriage unhitched the horses, and the carriage with the hero was dragged the rest of the way by thousands who delighted to do him honor. It was the enthusiasm of a liberty-loving people for the work done by that one man not only for Italy, but for the whole world a victory won for freedom over tyranny."

These facts and incidents show the noble and true England, the England that did not regard the struggle of Greece and Italy as mere domestic concerns of Turkey and Austria. If this England had always been in power, India would never have been conquered and enslaved! If this England were in power to-day, India would soon be set free.

Turn now to America. The United States, assisted as she was by other nations in obtaining her own freedom, has manifested throughout a large part of her history an earnest sympathy with nations, wherever located, who were struggling to throw off a tyrannical yoke and to establish for themselves governments based on principles of justice and liberty. Said Washington in a notable public utterance delivered the same year as his Farewell Address:

"My sympathetic feelings and my best wishes are irresistibly excited whenever in any country I see an oppressed nation unfurl the banner of freedom."

When the South American nations were engaged in their struggle to throw off the yoke of Spain and gain their independence, the sympathy for them in the United States was ardent and almost universal. Nobody thought of their struggle as a mere domestic affair of Spain in which we should not interest ourselves Ours was the first nation to recognize the new republics. This did not occur until 1822 but as early as 1816 Henry Clay urged that we should carry our national sympathy so far as forcibly to intervene in their favor.

President Monroe in his annual message to Congress in 1822 expressed in unmistakable language his own sympathy and that of the American people with Greece in her struggle for freedom. One memorable evidence of America's sympathy is seen in the fact that the eminent Boston philanthropist and educator, Dr. Samuel G. Howe, later the husband of the equally eminent Julia Ward Howe, went to Greece (as did Lord Byron in England) and rendered distinguished service to the Greek people in their war for liberty.

With the revolutionary or semi-revolutionary movement in Germany in 1848, to

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establish liberal government in that country, the United States manifested profound sympathy from the beginning. Our minister to Berlin, Mr. Donelson, was instructed to keep in close touch with the movement and give it any encouragement he could without diplomatic discourtesy or offence to the Berlin government. He was informed from Washington that an important part of his mission was—"to manifest a proper degree of sympathy (on the part of America) for the efforts of the German people to ameliorate their condition by the adoption of a form of government which should secure their liberties and promote their happiness."

He was instructed that it was the "cordial desire of the United States to be, if possible, the first to hail the birth of any new government adopted by any of the German States having for its aim the attainment of the priceless blessings of freedom."

The profound sympathy of this country with the struggle of Hungary for freedom under the leadership of Kossouth, in 1849, is well-known. President Zachary Taylor shewed his own interest and that of the American people in the struggle by appointing a special agent with authority to recognize the independence of the new State "promptly, in the event of her ability to sustain it." In his annual message (of 1849) President Taylor declared that he had thought it his duty, "in accordance with the general sentiment of the American people, who deeply sympathized with the Magyar (Hungarian) patriots, to stand prepared, upon the contingency of the establishment by her of a permanent government, to be the first to welcome Independent Hungary into the family of nations."

The feelings of the American Nation are strongly enlisted," he declared, "by the sufferings of a brave people who have made a gallant though unsuccessful effort to be free." On the failure of the Hungarian revolution Kossouth and his companions took refuge in Turkey. The American Congress passed a joint resolution (which was approved by the President, March 3, 1851) declaring that the people of the United States sincerely sympathized with the Hungarian exiles, Kossouth and his associates and concluding as follows:

"*Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled* that the President of the United States be, and hereby is, requested to authorise the employment of some of the public vessels to convey to the said United States, the said Louis Kossouth and his associates in captivity."

Accordingly an American frigate was sent to bring the exiles from Turkey. Kossouth arrived in this country in October, and his stay here was an uninterrupted triumph, exceeded only by the welcome given to Lafayette twenty-five years before. He was greeted with enthusiasm at the National Capitol by both Houses of Congress. President Fillmore received him most cordially and invited him to dinner, and Daniel Webster made the principal speech at the great Washington banquet. Said Webster:

"We acclaim the pleasure with which we welcome our honoured guest to the shores of this far land, this asylum of oppressed humanity.....Let it be borne on the winds of heaven that the sympathies of the Government of the United States and of all the people of the United States have been attracted toward a nation struggling for national independence, and toward those of her sons who have most distinguished themselves in the struggle. Let it go out, let it open the eyes of the blind, let it be everywhere proclaimed, what we of this great republic think of the principles of human liberty."

It should not be overlooked that the United States Government was the first to recognize the French Republic in 1848, and also the present French Republic inaugurated in 1870.

One more marked illustration of our hatred of tyranny and our sympathy with liberty abroad should be noticed. I refer to the historic fact that in 1867, our President and Congress compelled Napoleon III to abandon his effort to set up in Mexico an imperial government contrary to the will of the people of that country. In this case we did not stop with expressions of sympathy with Mexican freedom, but we went so far as to offer military aid in its defense.

Such are some of the notable occasions and ways in which, throughout a large part of our national history, the people of this country through our most eminent and honoured leaders have expressed our sympathy with nations and peoples struggling for freedom. I have set forth the facts in some detail so that the true tradition of America in the matter may clearly appear.

Says Dr. E. B. Greene, Professor of History in the University of Illinois.

"A study of American history shows that the well-established tradition of the Republic has been

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that of sympathy with popular Government abroad: that this sympathy has repeatedly been declared in public utterances of our official representatives; and that we have never felt ourselves bound to suppress in the formal documents of our Government, our deep interest in free institutions, and our sense of the essential unity of the cause of liberalism and self-Government throughout the world. *

Have these facts of the past no bearing on struggles for feeedom going on in the world now? Have they no bearing upon the greatest of all such struggles, that of the people of India to free themselves from a foreign yoke? If Washington and Monroe and Clay and Webster were alive to-day, would great India in her brave and just struggle for freedom and nationhood, lack friends, sympathizers and defenders in America? Who can believe it? Our fathers did not regard the struggle of any oppressed people anywhere, to shake off their yoke and obtain freedom, as the mere domestic affair of the oppressing nation. They regarded it as a matter of world concern, which ought to enlist the interest and sympathy of every liberty-loving nation and person in the world. In an address delivered before the India Society of New York in February, 1925. Mr. Oswald Garrison Villard, Editor of "The Nation," said:

"I believe that what is going on in India is of such enormous import to America and to the whole world that no American has a right to overlook it. I think the world needs nothing so much to-day as to see the Indian people set themselves with all their minds and with all their strength to the attainment of self-government. However great the odds with which they must contend. I believe that the heartfelt sympathy of Americans, yes, even those Americans who love England and as I do, should go forth to the people of India in all their aspirations."

In such words as these we hear the voice of Washington, of Jefferson, of Franklin, of the Adamses, of Patrick Henry, of Webster, of Garrison, of Channing, of Sumner, of Lincoln, of all the men who have done most to make this country illustrious and honored by the world as a leader in the cause of human freedom.

Nothing can be more clear than that the true tradition and spirit of America as manifested in all our noblest history is that expressed in the ringing lines of our honored poet, James Russell Lowell:

"Men! whose boast it is that ye
Come of fathers brave and free,
If there be on earth a slave
Are ye truly free and brave?

Is true Freedom but to break
Fetters for our own dear sake,
And, with leathern hearts, forget
That we owe mankind a debt?

No! true freedom is to share
All the chains our brothers wear,
And, with heart and hand, to be
Earnest to make others free."

* "American Interest in Popular Government Abroad," page 15. (A pamphlet published by the Committee on Public Information, Washington, D. C., 1917.)

THE TREATMENT OF LOVE IN PRE-CLASSICAL SANSKRIT LITERATURE

By Dr. SUSHIL KUMAR DE, M. A., P. R. S., D. LITT (LOND)

THE earliest Indian poems which give a passionate expression to the emotion of love are to be found in two so called Vedic ballads or Samvada hymns in the tenth Book of the *Rigveda*. The first of these (*Rgv.* x, 95) is a poem of eighteen stanzas, supposed to consist of a dialogue between Pururavas, a mortal and Urvasi, a divine maiden. This romantic story of the love of a mortal for a nymph has been retold in Indian literature, and no less a poet than Kalidasa has taken it as the theme of one of his finest dramas. But the Rigvedic hymn takes it up at that point where Urvasi who had lived with Pururavas for years on earth had vanished "like the first of dawns" and Pururavas, having found her after a long search, was pleading in vain that she might return to him. The Satapatha Brahmana

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supp es the untold details of this ancient myth and weaves fifteen out of the eighteen verses of the *Rigveda* into its brief and bold narrative: but the Rigvedic hymn, though obscure in many places and cast in the form of a dialogue, gives a fine lyric expression to the ardent but hopeless pleadings of Pururavas and the somewhat cold but no less pathetic rejoinder of Urvasi. Addressing her as his "fierce-souled spouse" he implores her to tarry a moment, and reason together for a while :

Let the gift brought by my piety
appproach thee.
Turn thou to me again ; for my heart
is troubled.

To which *la belle dame sans merci* replies:

What am I to do with this thy
saying ?
have gone from thee like the first of
Mornings.
Pururavas, return thou to thy dwelling :
I, like the wind, am difficult to capture.

Rebuking her for her inconstancy, Pururavas recalls in vivid language the days of pleasure they had passed together : but the only consolation which Urvasi deigns to give him is her promise to send him the son who will be born to them. Even when, in despair, Pururavas speaks of self-destruction and wants to throw himself from the rocks to the fierce wolves, she only replies :

Nay do not die Pururavas, nor perish :
Let not the evil-omened wolves devour
thee.
With women there can be lasting friend-
ship.
Hearts of hyena are the hearts of women !

The other passionate poem in the *Rigveda* is the dialogue of Yama and Yami in *Rgv.* x. 10. There can be no doubt that the ancient myth of the descent of the human race from the primeval twins underlies the conversation and explains Yami's attempt, fruitless so far as the hymn goes, to impel her brother Yama to accept and make fruitful her proffered love : yet the poet, with a more refined sentiment than the legend itself, is apparently uneasy regarding this primitive incest and tries to clear Yama of the guilt. In passionate words, glowing with desire, the sister endeavours to win the brother's love, persuading him that the Gods themselves desire that he should unite himself with her in order that the human race may not die out.

I, Yami, am possessed by love of Yama
That I may rest on the same couch beside
him.
I as a wife would yield me to my hus-
band
Like car-wheels let us speed in the same
task.

But Yama repulses her advances as a sin which the gods would condemn :

They stand not still, they never close their
eyelids,
Those sentinels of gods who wonder round
us.
Not we,—go quickly wanton, with another,
Which round with him like the wheels of
a chariot.

To which she replies with more passion rather reason :

Is he a brother when she has no lord ?
Is she a sister when destruction cometh ?
Forced by my love these many words
I utter—
Come near me and hold me in thy close
embrace

More and more tempestuous she grows until on his repeated refusal she bursts forth:

Alas, thou art indeed a weakling, Yama.
We find in thee no trace of heart or
spirit.
As round the tree the woodbine clings,
Another girdle-like will cling round thee—
but not I!

Here the hymn ends. This poem, as well as the one noted above, is unfortunately a torso, but a torso which indicates considerable dramatic power and forceful poetic expression. Both give expression to the yearnings of fruitless love, and both draw upon legendary popular material, which was probably not on a level with the higher ethical standard of the Rigvedic poet. Modern taste may be equally fastidious, but it is impossible to underrate the force and directness of the passion in its undisguised form and the frankness and simplicity of its expression.

As a commentary on the last passionate hymn we have a suggestive little tale in the *Maitrayani Samhita* (1,5,12) which gives, on its basis, a fine legend of the origin of day and night.

Yama had died. The gods tried to persuade

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Yami to forget him Whenever they asked her, she said "Only to-day he has died" Then the gods said: "Thus she will indeed never forget him: we will create night." For at that time there was only day and no night. The gods created night: then arose a morrow thereupon she forgot him.

But later Vedic literature is singularly devoid of such full-blooded poems as those quoted above, although the power of the sex to enthrall and disturb is fully acknowledged. The marriage-verses of the *Rigveda*, of which we have an enlarged collection in the *Atharva-Veda* XIV are of a peaceful and sociable character and consist chiefly of benedictions as well as magic spells and songs relating to marriage and the begetting of children. But more numerous and interesting are the spells in the nature of wild exorcisms and curses which refer to love, intrigues, and disturbances of married life. The two "sleeping spells" (*Rgv.* vii, 55: *Atharva* iv, 5) have been interpreted as "charms at an assignation", in which a lover, stealing to his sweetheart at night, says: "May the mother sleep, may the father sleep, may the dog sleep, may the eldest in the house sleep, may *her* relations sleep, may all the people round about sleep." We have references also to the primitive superstitious belief that by means of the picture of the beloved one can harm or obtain power over him by piercing the heart of the picture with an arrow having a barb of thorn and feather of an owl, and by reciting the following magic verses (*Atharva* V. III. 25).

May love, the disquieter, disquiet thee. With the terrible arrow of Kama do I pierce thee in the heart. The arrow, winged with longing, barbed with love. whose shaft is undeviating desire, with that, well aimed, Kama shall pierce thee in the heart.....Consumed by burning ardour, with parched mouth, do thou (woman), come to me, with thy pliant pride laid aside, mine alone, speaking sweetly and to me devoted.

This is prescribed for the man who desires to obtain the love of a woman. The woman acts in a similar way but the verse she recites is different:

Madden him, Maruts, madden him.
Madden, madden him, O Air.
Madden him, Agni, madden him.
Let him consume with love of me.
Down upon thee, from head to foot.
I draw the pangs of longing love.
Send forth desire, Ye Deities!
Let him consume with love of me.

The later *Kausika Sutra* mentions manifold kinds of love-magic and its rites, which are called *Strikarmani* or "women's rituals" and for which these Vedic songs and spells were freely utilised. In some of these magic spells which, for instance, a woman uses in the attempt to oust their rivals, language of unbridled wildness and hatred finds free expression.

There are numerous references in Vedic literature to unmarried girls who grow old, like Ghosa, in the house of their fathers and who adorn themselves in the desire of marriage or of a lover; and 'Kumari-putra' is already mentioned in the *Vajasaneyi Samhita* (XXX, 6). Although polygamy was freely allowed, the marriage-tie was not highly regarded and the position of the woman in the household was one of honour and dignity; but the existence of free love and secret lover is evidenced by the curious ritual of Varunapraghasa in which the wife of the sacrificer is questioned as to her lovers. In the famous hymn, usually known as the Gambler's Lament (*Rgv.* X, 34,4). reference seems to be made to the gambler's wife being the object of other men's intrigues, and in another hymn (X, 40, 6) mention is made of a woman resorting to her rendezvous. The word *pumscali* "running after men" is already found in the *white Yajurveda* (XXX, 22) and *Atharva-Veda* (XV, 2, 1 et seq): while *jara* in the early texts had not yet acquired a sinister sense but was applied generally to any lover. Judging from the vehemence with which women used to utter magic spells for the destruction of their rivals or co-wives, one would think that the course of free love did not run smooth even in those days. References to hetairai is seen in many passages even in the *Rigveda*: while the word *sadharani* is used not so much with reference to *uxor communis* but to a courtesan generally. Although the Vedic gods are, as a rule, sexually moral, sensuous imagery is often employed in describing them. Usas is said (i, 124, 7) to display her form, smilingly, as a loving and well-dressed woman does to her lover. Lavirate marriage, in which is found the germs of the later practice of niyoga, was allowed in the case of the widow: but the imagery used in this connexion suggests that it was more often a form of love union than the fulfilment of a social practice. In one hymn, for instance, (X,40, 2) the Asvins are questioned as to where they were by night:

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Who draws you to his house. as a widow does her husband's brother to the couch, or a woman does a man ?

Different views seems to have been entertained with regard to the character of women. While on the one hand, her good qualities are mentioned and praised, we have on the other vehement invectives against her fickleness and her impurity—a note which characterises so much of later religious and didactic literature. The general opinion appears to be intimated in the following words put into the mouth of Indra (*Rgv.* VIII, 33, 17) :

Indra declared that the mind of a woman was ungovernable and her temper fickle.

But later Samhitas go further. The *Maitrayani Samhita* (I, x, ii ; III, vi, 3) describes woman as untruth and classifies her with dice and drink as the three chief evils. In *Taittariya Samhita* (VI, v, 8, 2) a good woman is ranked even below a bad man, and the *Kathaka Samhita* (XXXI.) alludes sarcastically to her ability to obtain things from her husband by cajolery at nignt. All this paves the way to the general attitude of the Brahmana literature in which the woman occupies a decidedly lower position than she did in the age of the earlier Samhitas.

We have also in the Vedic texts a foreshadowing of the personification of love in the figure of a diety, which became so conspicuous in later literature, although we have no evidence of the worship of erotic forces or of love as the central deity of an erotic cult, which must have evolved in later times. In *Rigveda* itself Kama appears to be nothing more than an abstract personification, meaning "Desire" generally. In the famous Nasadasiya Sukta (X, 129, 4) Kama or Desire is said to have been the first movement that arose in the One after it had come to life, somewhat in the same way as Eros, the God of love, is connected by Greek mythology with the creation of the universe. This Kama or Desire, not of sexual enjoyment but of good in general, is conceived in the *Atharva Veda* as a great cosmical power superior to all the gods and sometimes identified with Agni or Fire. But in the *Atharva-Veda* itself we have other hymns in which the idea of Kama as the God of love is distinctly foreshadowed. One of the spells already quoted above mentions the arrows with which the disquieter pierces hearts, arrows which are winged with pain, barbed with longing and has desire for its shafts. He is the forerunner of the flower-arrowed God of love, whose appearance, names and personality become established in the Epics and fully familiar in later classical literature. Later on, the conception of Kama was not confined mainly to poetry and art but he became the centre of an actual cult, and festivals were held in his honour.

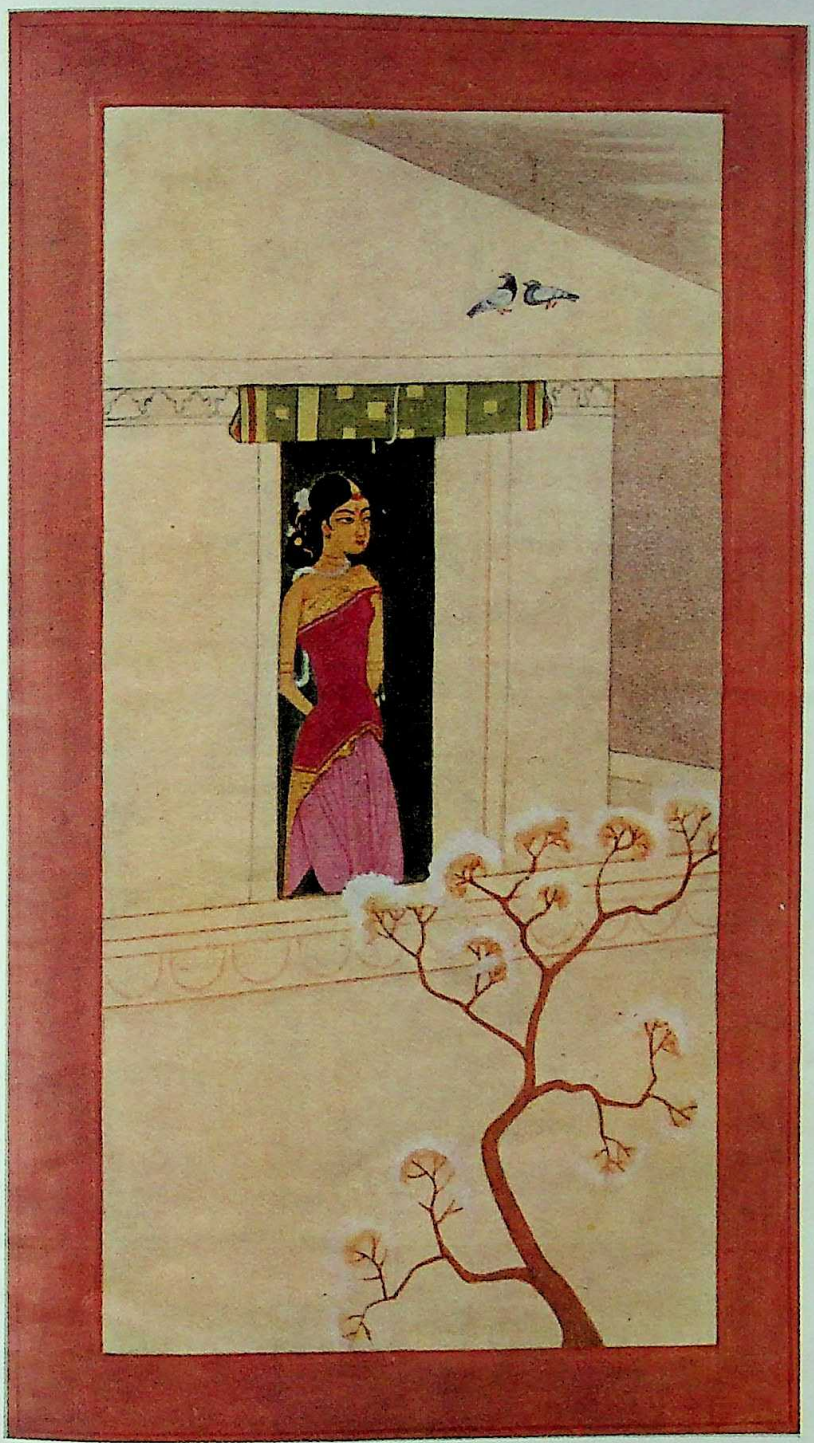
If the earlier Vedic literature is not very rich in love-poems, one would search in vain for the blossoming of such poetry in the desert of desolate theological speculation of the extensive Brahmana literature. In the *Satapatha Brahmana* the story of the love and separation of Pururavas and Urvasi is no doubt related with some fulness, and an allusion is made to the story of Dushyanta and Sakuntala : but the romantic possibilities of the love-tales were unknown or were rigidly excluded by the authors of those uninspiring documents. Eroticism also played an unmistakable part in some of the fertility rites described in the Brahmanas, but eroticism here was subservient to religious theory and practice and never came into prominence.

It would seem that in the exclusively religious literature of the Veda there was hardly any scope for poetry of this type. Neither the dialogue-hymns quoted above nor the spells and incantations can be strictly regarded as forming a part of the orthodox Vedic literature of the usual type. The tradition of ritual literature did not know what to make of these secular Rigvedic poems and could not ascribe any satisfactory ritual use for them. We must, therefore, admit that we have in these romantic Vedic dialogues the remnant of a style of literature which was essentially of the nature of folk-poetry, as dintinguished from the orthodox sacerdotal poetry of the Samhitas, but which died out in later Vedic period.

That such a profane literature in its early phase must have been contemporaneous with the religious and sacerdotal literature of the Vedas is indicated not only by the existence of hymns, spells and narratives of a secular type in the Vedas thsmselves, but also by the growth side by side, of the rich Pali literature of tales, legends and *gathas* on the one hand, and the earliest form of epic stories on the other. It is unfortunate, however, that neither Pali literature nor the epics have preserved any complete poem of the erotic type, although it can hardly be denied that the under-current of profane

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NOON-DAY EXPECTATION

By Sj. Nandalal Bose

Prabasi Press. SANTINIKETAN.

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poetry, which had love as one of its important themes and which supplied the leaven to some of the epic tales and Buddhist stories, continued down to the later Sanskrit and Prakrit poetry of Amaru and Hala.

The Buddhist view of life was hardly favourable to the development of true love poetry, and the conception of the love-god as Mara or Death is indeed typical. Even in the *Therigatha* or Palms of the notable sisters of the Buddhist order, for instance, we have little metrical memoirs or cameos of thought which are indeed interesting as conjuring up for us a dream-peagant of these little women of the antique world, bent upon a high quest with a devoted heart and indomitable resolve; but in these utterances of the Indian Marys and Magdalenes we search in vain for an expression of those human needs and emotions which are covered by the word 'love.' Mrs. Rhys Davids has remarked with great discernment that for these pale women of the past the glory of saintship was not a white light but prismatic through the circumstances and temperament of each. Here and there, we catch therefore a glimpse into the heart of the woman, but the tender emotion is rigidly excluded in the glory of spiritual attainment. Only in the poem attributed to Bhadda Kapilani we find a tender personal note; but here also spiritual comradeship alone is claimed. Before she entered the Order and earned fame as a teacher, Bhadda was the wife of Mahakassapa who became the leader of the Buddhist Order after the Buddha's death. They helped each other in donning the religious garb, they left the world together, then they parted on their several ways to the Buddha, thereafter enjoying still good comradeship in the Order. In her writings she glories in her ex-husband's virtues and in their spiritual friendship and common vision of the truth:

Son of the Buddha and his heir is he,
Great Kassapa, master of self, serene.
The vision of far, bygone days is his,
Ay, heaven and hell no secrets hold from him...
We both have seen, both he and I the woe
And pity of the world, and have gone forth
We both are arhants, with selves well tamed.
Cool are we both, ours is Nibbana now.

Elsewhere she says:

Thereafter soon I won the rank of Arhant.
Ah! well for me who held the friendship wise and good
Of glorious Kassapa.

It is a pathetic touch, however, that while she speaks in such terms of adoration of the gifts of her former husband, his much longer poems have no word concerning her.

This remarkable, again, that none of these palms of the sisters is tinged with that touch of erotic mysticism which expresses religious longings in the language of earthly passion; nor do they reveal any word of quasi-amorous self-surrender to the person or image of the Beloved Saviour, such as characterise not a little of that Christian literature for which the Song of Solomon—'I am my Beloved's and my Beloved is mine'—was the sacred archetype. This is what distinguishes the Indian Marys from their Christian sisters who gave utterance to hymns laden with passionate yearnings for a closer communion with Christ as the Beloved. The Buddha is never conceived as the Bridegroom nor is the church his Bride. Here we have no tradition of a *youthful* saviour, round which quasi-erotic ideas may have easily evolved. Filial love alone is the form wherein the Buddhist sister gave expression to her feeligs for the founder of the Order, whom she saw first perhaps late in his long life.

The only one pretty love-song which breathes freely the atmosphere of human sentiment is the one called the Question of Sakka in the *Digha Nikaya*. In all probability it is an old non-Buddhistic gatha which has curiously found its way into the canonical Sutta for it is a pure love-song which has hardly any relevancy in the context in which it occurs. Addressing the lady as the Glory-of-the-Sun which was probably her name, the Gandharva sings in passionate words:

Sweet as the breeze to one foredone with sweat,
Sweet as a cooling drink to one athirst,
So dear art thou, O presence radiant!
To me dear, as to Arhants the Truth.
As medicine bringing ease to one that's sick,
As food to starving man, so, lady, quench
As with cool waters, he who am aflame.

His impatience knows no bounds:

E'en as an elephant with heat oppressed,
Hies to some still pool, upon whose face
Petals and pollen of the lotus float,

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So would I sink within my bosom sweet.
E'en as an elephant fretted by the hook
Dashes unheeding curb and goad aside,
So I crazed by the beauty of thy form,
Know not the why and wherefore of my acts.
By thee my heart is held in bonds, and all
Bent out of course; nor can I turn me back,
No more than fish, once he hath ta'en the bait.

With great ardour he bursts forth:

Within thine arms embrace me, lady, me
With thy soft languid eyne embrace and hold
O nobly fair! This I entreat of thee.

She is the summum bonum of his life, the ripened fruit of all his merit:

Whate'er merit to the holy ones
I've wrought, be thou, O altogether fair,
The ripened fruit to fall therefrom to me.

His quest of her is likened to the quest of the Buddha for enlightenment:

As the Great Sakya seer, through ecstasy
Rapt and intent and self-possessed, doth brood
Seeking ambrosia even so do I
Pursue the quest of thee, O Glory-of-the-Sun!
As would that seer rejoice, were he to win
Ineffable Enlightenment, so I
With thee made one, O fairest, were in bliss!

And he has no other boon to ask from his God:

And if perchance a boon were granted me
By Sakka, lord of three and thirty gods,
'Tis thee I'd ask of him, lady, so strong my love!

This exquisite little love-song is like a little oasis in the immense and arid tract of Brahmanical and Buddhistic literature of many centuries; but it is also a sure indication that in the popular gathas of which this is the only surviving specimen, love must have been an important theme. If it was not favoured by the prince or the priest, it surely had an irresistible appeal to the keener and more robust perceptions of the unsophiscated people at large.

The same attitude towards love is also illustrated by the epic literature. The epic poetry with its serious and didactic bias is not rich in what may be called love-poetry in the strict sense of the term. Love as a motif runs through most of the episodic stories *e.g.* in those of Savitri, Sakuntala or Damayanti; and even the love of Rama and Sita form the main theme of one of the great epics. Later poets have glorified these themes in their immortal poems and dramas: but the earlier epic poet is mainly concerned with the narrative rather than the lyric possibilities of the subject. The only fine passage which describes the lover's pang of separation and rises about to a lyric rapture is that in the Sundara Kanda of the Ramayana where Rama, seized with grief and despair, laments and wanders through the forest in search of his lost wife; but here also the passage is mainly descriptive.

The absence of true love-poetry in the epics may also be partially explained by the position which women held in the epic society and the relation which existed between the sexes. No doubt, women enjoyed a considerable measure of freedom and respect, and the comanding position held in the household by Kausalya, Gandhari and Satyavati is in conformity with the earlier traditions of the Vedic period. Love-matches were allowed among warrior-classes, and self-choice of husband (*Svayamvara*), though not recognised in the Smritis, plays a great part in the epics. Yet after all is said, it cannot be affirmed that in the epic age woman, if not in theory, at least in practice, was recognised as the equal of man; and nothing is more significant of the practical character and the prosaic morality of the epic age than its attitude toward love and marriage. What is principally idealised in the epics is conjugal love; but the obligation of chastity was laid on the weaker sex, and practically no limits were set to the licence of man. Although fidelity to a single spouse was viewed with approval, polygamy and concubinage remained unchecked and seemed to have brought no disgrace either to man or to the gods; for woman was viewed, if not directly as a chattel, certainly as an object created for the use and enjoyment of man. The picture of the epic heaven with its epicurean and sensual gods and its glorified courtesans is truly indicative of the epic man's attitude towards love and regard for his woman. The same impression of woman's inferiority is left on the reader's mind by the otherwise extremely pathetic lament of Gandhari in the *Strivilapa-parvadhyaya*. This degradation of womanhood probably began, as we have already noted, from the age of the Brahmanas but it certainly reached its climax among certain classes in the epic age. The only exception—and the most honourable exception is the case of Dasaratha's sons whose faithfulness to their single spouses deserves all praise: for this certainly does not appear to have been the *dharma* of the princes, if it was of the people. On the other hand, the

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stronger-minded Draupadi is not the typical woman of the higher orders of this age, nor is Savitri who is merely the emdodiment of an ideal, but the helpless Sita who suffered for no fault of her own.

It must not, however, be supposed that love as a sentiment was absent or was not favoured in this age. On the other hand, it must have been one of the powerful forces moulding the ordinary man's life. It supplied the leaven to the main plot of the epics which must have had a popular legendary origin, and it is the main pivot round which move some of the romantic episodic stories which were doubtless derived in the beginning from entirely popular sources. But at the same time neither the culture of the age nor its social environment was favourable to the development of pure love-poetry in the orthodox literature of the higher classes, which was dominated in the main by a serious and didactic motive.

My Mother India

Not where the musk of happiness blows.
Not in the land where darkness and tears ever tread,
Not in the homes of unceasing smiles,
Not in far Heaven or lands of prosperity
Would I born
If I have to put on a mortal garb again!

A thousand famines may prowl
And tear my flesh,
Yet would I love to be again
In my Hindustan!

A million thieves of disease
May try to steal the fleeting health of flesh.
Or the clouds of fate may shower
Scalding drops of piercing sorrow
Yet would I there
In India, love to reappear.

Is this my love a blind sentiment
Which beholds not the pathways of reason?
Ah, no! I love India
For I learned first to love Him, and everything, there.

Some teach to seize the fickle dew-drop-Life
Sliding down the lotus leaf of Time.
Some build stubborn hopes
Around the gilded brittle body-bubble,
But India taught me to love
The soul of deathless beauty in the dew-drop or bubble,
Not their fragile frame.

Her sages taught me to find my Self
Buried beneath the ash-heaps
Of incarnations and ignorance.
Through many a land
Of power, plenty and science
My soul, garbed as an oriental
Or occidental, travelled far and wide
Seeking Itself—
At last in India to find Itself.

If mortal fires blaze all her homes and golden paddy fields,
Yet to sleep on her ashes and dream immortality
O India, I will be there!

The guns of science and matter
Have boomed on her shores,
Yet is she unconquered!
Her soul is free evermore.
Her soldier saints are away
To rout with Realization's ray
The bandits of hate, prejudice, patriotic selfishness,
And burn the walls of separation dark
Which lie 'tween children of the One, One Father.
The western brothers by force have conquered my land.
Blow, blow aloud her conch-shells all
India now invades with love to conquer their souls.

Better than Heaven or Arcadia
I love thee, O my Mother India!
And Thy love shall I give
To every brother-nation that lives.

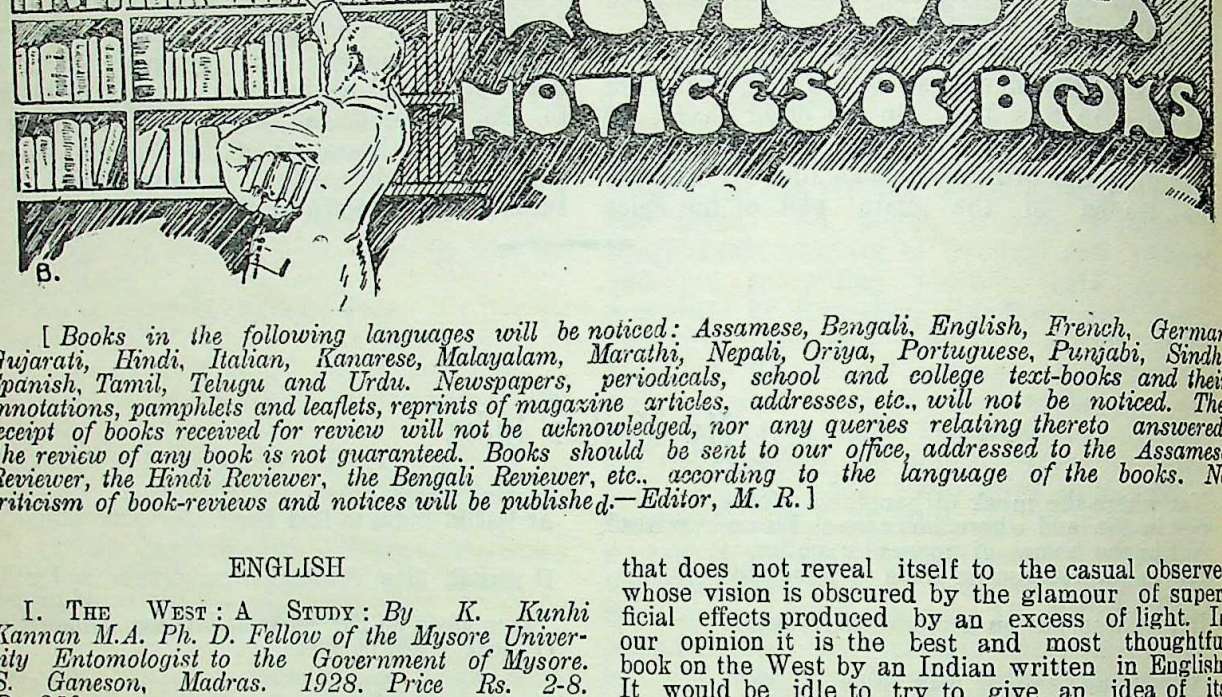
God made the earth and man made his confining countries
And their fancy-frozen bounderies.
But with the new-found Self I behold
The borderland of India expand into the world.

Hail, Mother of religions, lotus, scenic beauty and sages,
Thy wide doors are open
Welcoming God's true sons through all the ages.
Where Ganges, woods, Himalayan caves and men dream God
I am hallowed; my body touched that sod.

SWAMI YOGANANDA

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[*Books in the following languages will be noticed: Assamese, Bengali, English, French, German Gujarati, Hindi, Italian, Kanarese, Malayalam, Marathi, Nepali, Oriya, Portuguese, Punjabi, Sindhi Spanish, Tamil, Telugu and Urdu. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books and their annotations, pamphlets and leaflets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., will not be noticed. The receipt of books received for review will not be acknowledged, nor any queries relating thereto answered. The review of any book is not guaranteed. Books should be sent to our office, addressed to the Assamese Reviewer, the Hindi Reviewer, the Bengali Reviewer, etc., according to the language of the books. No criticism of book-reviews and notices will be published.—Editor, M. R.*]

ENGLISH

I. THE WEST : A STUDY : *By K. Kunhi Kannan M.A. Ph. D. Fellow of the Mysore University Entomologist to the Government of Mysore. S. Ganeson, Madras. 1928. Price Rs. 2-8. Pp. 359.*

English books published in India are generally second-rate in get-up and in intrinsic worth. This is however one of the few exceptions. The get-up is good, but the contents are of a high order of excellence. There is not a single quotation, so far as we remember in the entire book, the style is excellent, and new matter for thought is provided in almost every page of the book. The author's outlook is refreshingly original, and he has evidently travelled all over the world with his eyes wide open. He started on his tour with an equipment which is not common among Indian tourists, a mind thoroughly prepared by the best education that his country can give, and an age when the achievements of the west have ceased to dazzle without looking to their interest. The result is a book in which almost all the spheres of western activity have come under the author's searching analysis, and been tested by comparison with the standards of the East, and their limitations have been pointed out with a masterly grasp. This does not mean however that Dr. Kannan is blind to the merits of Western civilization—far from it. In fact, his views would not be worth considering if he were. It is because he has tried to judge from a fair and impartial standpoint, so far as it is possible for a foreigner to do so, that his judgments possess the weight they do. Throughout he writes in a serious vein, and his wide reading of history and cognate subjects has enabled him to take long views and base his generalizations on a bed-rock facts. It is not likely that in matters of this kind the reader will agree with all that he says. But there can be no doubt that the picture which he presents is an important aspect if not the whole, of the picture, and one that does not reveal itself to the casual observer whose vision is obscured by the glamour of superficial effects produced by an excess of light. In our opinion it is the best and most thoughtful book on the West by an Indian written in English. It would be idle to try to give an idea of its contents by a few extracts, for luminous and thought-provoking ideas abound everywhere, convincing us of the need of a fresh evaluation of values in regard to all that pertains to the occident. One or two extracts culled at random must suffice.

"The abolition of slavery has been so often paraded as a glorious achievement resulting from the highest and purest of human motives that those who have not studied the history of the question are likely to find it hard to believe that beneath all this display of exalting sentiment there lay a powerful motive of self-interest. The land-owning classes in England and the cultivating farmers in the north of the United States were the sufferers from the slavery in the plantations in the Southern States and the West Indies, which placed them in an unequal position, for they could not successfully compete with the plantation-owners who could produce cheaper. Slavery was abolished primarily to set right this inequality and therefore, far less from humanity than from economic necessity."

"East has much to learn from the West more perhaps than she has to teach...The danger of pollution is to the still standing water of the pool, not to the stream coursing along which may pass through filthy beds and yet remain pure. So does the quickened pace of the West prevent, limit or modify the operation of grave social evils. Each principle carried to excess is fast developing its own corrective...What is vital is that behind all the transformation...the one thing that remains unchanged among many things that change and are changed by it, which knows neither defeat nor failure, the creative energy, and the glory of the West [is] its *Disciplined Will.*

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"For all its close identification with self, its subordination to the furtherance of self-interest, in the higher manifestations of will there is an elevating detachment, as high as any that has been achieved in the East by self-control..... who is to say what is better—the self-control of the Indian saint or the mastery of will of Danton, The world has need of both."

Politicus.

—

SOME ASPECTS OF THE PHILOSOPHY OF L. T. HOBHOUSE: *By J. A. Nicholson (University of Illinois Studies in the Social Sciences. Vol. XIV. December, 1926. No. 4.) Published by the University of Illinois, Urbana. Pp. 86 (paper); price one dollar.*

Those who have read the Cornell Studie in Philosophy will get an idea of what this book is like. The book is an excellent exposition and criticism of Hobhouse's Philosophy. There are five chapters in the book viz.

(I) Critique of Idealism, (II) A Realistic Theory of Knowledge, (III) The Function of Reason, (IV) The Political and Social Theory and (V) Reconstruction. Hobhouse is a powerful writer. His books on Logic, Ethics and Sociology are of sterling value. His Theory of Knowledge was first published in 1896, Morals in Evolution in 1906, Social Evolution and Political Theory in 1911, The Metaphysical Theory of the State in 1918, the Rational Good in 1921, The Elements of Social Justice in 1922, and Social Development in 1924. All these books should be carefully studied. Readers will find in Nicholson's book a good introduction to Hobhouse's Philosophy.

THE THEORY OF IMAGINATION IN CLASSICAL AND MEDIAEVAL THOUGHT: *By Murray Wright Bundy, University of Illinois. Studies in Language and Literary. Vol. XII. May—Aug. 1927. Nos. 2-3), Published by the University of Illinois Press, Urbana, Super Royal 8V. (10½×7), Pp, 289 (paper): Price three dollars,*

It is a comprehensive Study of the Theory of Imagination. The study is both literary and psychological. There is no other elaborate book in the English language covering the same ground. Besides the 'Preface' there are twelve chapters in the book, viz (i) Pre-Socratic Philosophy, (ii) Plato, (iii) Aristotle, (iv) Post-Aristotelian Philosophy, (v) The Theory of Art. Quintilian. Longinus and Philostratus, (vi) Plotinus, (vii) The Lesser Neo-platonists, (viii) Neoplatonic views of Three early Christians, (ix) Mediaeval Descriptive Psychology, (x) The Psychology of the Mystics, (xi) Dante's Theory of Vision and (xii) Conclusion. There is an index also (7 pages).

In the concluding chapter (xii), the author gives a resume of the whole book.

The students of Psychology will find this book very useful.

ELEVEN LESSONS IN KARMA YOGA: *By Yogi Bhikshu. Published by the Yogi Publication Society, Chicago, U. S. A. (India Agents: The Latent Light Culture, Tinnevelly, South India). Pp. 138. Price two dollars or Rs. 6-4.*

There are some practical hints. But the exposition is vitiated by pseudo-Mysticism and forced interpretation. The price is too high.

BHAGAWAT GITA: *By Babu Radha Charan, B. A., B. Sc., L L. B, retired Dy. Coll. Published by Dr Lalit Mohan Basu. M. B. Panini Office, Allahabad. (The Sacred Books of the Hindus: Extra Volume). Pp. xxxii+591. Price Rs. 2-or 3 Shillings.*

It contains a preface (26 pages), the Sanskrit text in Devanagari character, pada-patha, word meaning, an English translation, notes and quotations from Hindu scriptures.

The preface is partly historical and partly exegetical. It is full of mistakes and misinterpretations. We may cite one example. About *Krishna*, the author writes—"His earliest reference is found in the Rig Veda, which mentions him as a hermit and son of *Vasdeva* (*Sic*) and *Devki* (sic). P. XX V. Nothing of the kind. The Rigveda knows of no *Vasudeva* and no *Devaki*.

The author's knowledge of Sanskrit is meagre and defective. In some places he has made curious mistakes. One example may be cited. In verse iv. 10 of the Gita occurs the word मन्मया: (Manmayah). It is explained to mean literally "mind—me" The author thinks that the word is made up of two words, viz. मन (man) and मया: (mayah) of which the part मन (man) means 'mind' and मया (mayah) is a case of the first. personal pronoun I'. It is needless to say that the word comes from मद् (mad) with the suffix मय (maya). The word मद् (mad) is the base of the first personal pronoun in the singular number. In composition मद् (mad) becomes मन् (man). The word मन्मया means "full of me"; it has nothing to do with mind मनस् and मया (by me).

But there are good points also in the book. The quotations from Hindu scriptures are excellent and the translation of the verses of the Gita are on the whole good.

THE PATH OF THE ELDERS: *By E. Erle Power. Published by the Theosophical Publishing House. Adyar, Madras Pp 233. Price not known.*

A popular exposition of the fundamental principles of original Buddhism called *Theravada* (The Teaching of the Elders). The subjects discussed in the book are—the Great Recognitions, the Noble Eightfold Path, The Soul, Kamma, the five Constituents, Nibbana, the Universe, Deity, and the Brotherhood.

A STUDY OF REALITY: *By G. R. Malkani, Superintendent of the Indian Institute of Philosophy, Amalner. Published by the Modern Bookstall, 155 Hornby Road, Bombay Pp. 151.*

Absolute monism is defended from the standpoint of Vedantism coloured by the modern idealistic theory of experience.

A HAND BOOK ON THE TEACHING OF HISTORY. *By H. S. Nayudu B.A., L.T, Published by Jayaraman, Pillaiyar Koil Street, Chittoor, Pp. 54+21. Price eight annas.*

Meant for teachers and students of Training Colleges.

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ADMINISTRATION REPORT OF THE LEAGUE OF NON-BRAHMIN YOUTH FOR THE YEAR 1926-27. *Illustrated.*

Non-Brahmans have awakened and are advancing. Good signs.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE 2525TH SRI VIR BIRTHDAY CELEBRATIONS *together with a Summary Report of the Jain Mittra Mandal, Delhi.*

Interesting.

THE WISDOM OF THE RISHIS: *By T. L. Vaswani. Published by the Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, Madras. Pp. 62.*

The booklet embodies the substance of some of the addresses of Mr. Vaswani.

Thoughtful and readable.

Received also the following booklets and papmhlets.

CHANGE OF SCHOOL HOURS AND THE HEALTH OF THE BOYS: *By Mayataru Haldar, M.A., B.L.*

Useful.

THE USAGE OF THE FLOWER: *By Swamy Ram Sarma.*

AWAKE, YE, YOUTH OF THE LAND: *By Radhasham Das. On the need of Physical Culture.*

AN IDEAL ALPHABET: *By N. M. Rama Ayyar.*

A TAMIL PUN OF PAUL. WIDOW PROBLEM OF 1 TIMOTHY V. 16: *By M. S. Rama Swami Aiyar.*

HIS HOLINESS MEHER BABA AND MEHERASHRAM: *By K. J. Dastur.* A Zoroastrian accepting the ideal of God-realisation.

IN THE TEMPLE OF TRUTH: *By G. Ramakantacharya B. A. Poems on Truth and Good.*

THE IMMORTAL SOUL: *By Suresh Chandra Ghosh* (In Verse).

INDIAN PHYSIOLCGIST: *Edited by Nibaran Chandra Bhattacharyya, No 1. January, 1928 (Chuckerverty, Chatterjee and Co. Calcutta). Price 8 as per copy.*

MAHESH CHANDRA GHOSE.

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BENGALI

VISVA-JANANI BHARAT-MATA (MOTHER-INDIA—THE UNIVERSAL MOTHER): *By Upendra Kumar Kar B.L. Price Re. 1-4.*

This is a reply to Miss Mayo's notorious book, written in the forceful style of the author. Though he does not altogether avoid the *tu quoque* argument, he is careful to observe that a great country like America must have been built up by great men and women, and that it is a mere travesty of justice to confine one's attention only to the seamy side of the national character. The main theme of his book is to show wherein India, and particularly his own province, Bengal, has been and still continues to be great, and what are the peculiar characteristics of our Aryan civilization and culture by virtue of which India is destined to survive, and, not only so, but contribute its quota to the building up of a new and a better world. In performing this self-imposed task the author had necessarily to assume the role of a *laudator temporis acti*, and his book is, in fact, little more than a string of testimonials. Considering the scheme of the book this was to some extent perhaps unavoidable, but our complaint against him is that he has shown little discrimination in collecting his authorities. This is a vice which he shares with the majority of vernacular writers, and demands a word of comment. The book before us contains ample evidence of the author's wide reading, and he can express his thoughts in a felicitous style. He has therefore the intellectual equipment for the production of a really good book, and with such equipment an Englishman, a Frenchman or a German would have easily turned out a book which would not be laid aside after a cursory perusal. The reason is that the writer would there write for a class of readers whose minds are scientifically trained to discriminate between different classes of evidence, and who can thus easily detect a false note. Here in India, on the other hand, we write for a class of readers who are not trained in the historic method, to whom comparative study is an unknown quantity, and who are unaccustomed to the rigid tests by which literary evidence is sifted. An atmosphere of proneness to believe, rather than that of critical analysis and a vigilant, watchful scepticism which is disposed to take nothing for granted, pervades our mental horizon. Want of a rational and scientific training, and an over-lively sense of our past greatness to compensate for its loss in the present are responsible for this attitude, which is further intensified by our general credulity. Writing for such a class of readers, we feel inclined to dispense with those exacting standards which prevail in the West and the result is that everything is grist that comes to the mill, and all testimonials, good, bad, and indifferent, possess an equal value in our eyes, and everybody who is anybody in a remote corner of India is held up as an exemplar and a world-figure. If India is to pass for great in these days of world-competition, we must learn to shed our parochialism and cultivate universal standards, which are recognised as valid, not only in our own country, but all the world over. To do so we must learn and know more of other countries, widen our horizon and angle of vision and make mightier efforts to achieve success and falsify whatever may be true in Miss Mayo's scurrilous indictment.

J. C. B.

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We have received *new editions* of Rabindranath's CHAYANIKA, KATHA-O-KAHINI and NAIVEDYA published by Visva-Bharati Granthalaya. The get-up of these books is excellent and the price seems to be moderate.

BANE JANGALE: *By Sj Jogindranath Sarkar. Published by the City Book Society, 64 College St. Calcutta. Pp. 232. Price Rs. Two. 1928.*

Sj Jogindranath Sarkar, who has fittingly been called "the children's guide to dreamland" needs no introduction at our hands. *Hashi Khushi, Majar Galpa, Pashu Pakshi* and other books of the childrens' series written by him have become favourite companions of our boys and girls and we hope this new book, which depicts several thrilling and adventurous jungle stories, will be equally—if not more—popular with them. The cover, illustrations, printing and get-up leave nothing to be desired.

P. C. S.

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TAMIL

DHARMA VASAGAM : *By Sadhu. Ke. Vadivelu Chettiar ; published by Sri Sadhu Ratna Sarguru Book Depot, Park Town. Madras. Price As 3.*

A very instructive and inspiring booklet on the ideals of life.

SARADA'S TANTRAM AND OTHER STORIES: *By R. Krishnamurthy, With a foreword by C. Rajagopalachariar : published by Saraswathi Prasuralayam. Mylapore, Madras. Pp. 161. Price As. 12.*

The evils of litigation, the selfish ambitions that mar the public life of the country, the difficulties in the way of social reform, the part that tact can play in life, the unemployment problem of the educated classes and social wrecks, of examinations and the absurd lengths to which popular beliefs in Astrology and Untouchability are taken advantage of by unenlightened or unscrupulous persons are all well-illustrated in these very interesting stories. They are worth reading.

R. G. N. Pillai

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MALAYALAM

SAHITYA-KAUTUKAM—PART III : *By Vidvan G. Sankara Kurup. Printed and published by the Yogakshemam Co : Trichur. Price as. 10.*

We had not the opportunity to notice in these columns the first two parts of this remarkably interesting literary work—Sahitya Kautukam—by Vidvan G. Sankara Kurup. The third part of it which has just come to our hand commences with two short notes of appreciation from the pen of poet Vallathol and Mr. K. M. Panikar. The book contains about twenty-five poetical pieces on different subjects, a greater number of which are composed in a variety of Dravidian metres, such as, *Keka, Kakali, Gadha, Pana* and *Annanata.* Besides a boat song there is also a short interesting drama in one act towards the end of the book which is commendable. Vidvan G. Sankara Kurup, who has already earned a name among the young poets of Kerala, will, we have no doubt, continue to retain it by his further contributions to the Malayalam poetry. We are particularly pleased to see that, unlike most of other young (and even old) poets, Mr. Kurup has taken up to write prose, too, which is both forceful and elegant, as has been shewn in his *Ekankanataka.* The book is neatly got-up.

THE MITAVADI ANNUAL ; 1927 : *Editor-in-Chief C. Krishnan, B. A., B. L. Calicut. Pp. 108 (Demi 4).*

We have great pleasure to commend this annual, though received late, to the Malayalam reading public. It contains twenty-five learned articles and twenty-one coloured and half-tone illustrations. The get-up is most attractive.

P. Anujan Achan.

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MARATHI

HINDI-SUMERI SAMSKRITI—*By Daji N. Apte of Baroda. Publishers: The Chitra Shala Press, Poona. Price Re one.*

Some twenty years ago the late Lokmanya Tilak had expounded a theory of the Arctic region being the original home of the Aryas, who thence migrated to India and settled here. This theory has found corroboration lately in the excavations made by the Archæological Department of the Government of India at Harappa and Mahenjodaro in Sind, where numerous articles have been found which go to establish closest resemblance between the Sumerian and the ancient Indian civilisation, both having a common stock of inheritance in the Vedas. Mr. Apte, taking a cue from these discoveries, has pursued his study of the Sumerian civilisation and as its result has produced this book which is brimful of interesting information. The book will be found indispensable to research students of Indian antiquities.

THE ICHALKARANJI BOOKS SERIES—

The Chief of Ichalkaranji deserves praise for having set apart a decent amount for the publication of a limited number of Marathi books of merit every year under a scheme which will be found serviceable to such authors who cannot otherwise find suitable publishers for their writings. The first instalment of books published under this scheme consists of three books. viz., (1) *Stars in the Sky* (with 12 maps) *by the late D. G. Kelkar*, a translation of Proctor's Half Hours with the Stars. This translation which is a reprint, has gone through a revision by Prof. Naik of the Fergusson College, which is a guarantee of the book being up to the mark. (2) *Manawati Jivan L. T. Parnaik.* This is also a translation of Sir Oliver Lodge's "The Survival of man," and will be read with keen interest by those who have a liking for books on Spiritualism and immortality of the soul. One should have wished to see the subject treated from the Indian point of view, abundant material for which was available in Sanskrit literature. (3) *Marathicha Samsar* or the Expanse of the Marathi Literature *by V. K. Nerurkar* is only a magnified pamphlet forcibly advocating the just demand that Marathi be made the medium of instruction in all branches of study, whether primary, secondary or collegiate.

CHANDRAKANT OR FIRST STEP TO VEDANTA IN GUJARATHI:—*By the late I. S. Desai translated into Marathi by Mr. S. R. Babarekar. Published by the Gujarathi Printing Press, Fort Bombay. Pages 575. Price Rs. Four.*

In classical Sanskrit literature Chandrakant is often mentioned as a very rare stone oozing away under the influence of the moon.

This is a very appropriate title to the book which explains several tenets of the Vedant philosophy in such an easy flow that the reader forgets that he is reading a work on an abstruse subject like philosophy and enjoys the reading quite as he enjoys novel-reading. Illustrative stories are freely given to facilitate the understanding of the subject, which is a special and charming feature of the book. No wonder that the original Gujrathi book has run into nine editions and has been translated into several Indian vernaculars. The translator has given several appropriate quotations from Dnaneshwar, Tukaram and other saint-poets of Maharashtra which will strongly appeal to Marathi readers. We shall await with interest for further volumes of the book.

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SADHANA-CHIKITSA OR SIFTING OF THE MATERIALS OF HISTORY: *By Mr. V. S. Bendre of the Bharat I. S. Mandal, Poona. Pages 314. Price Rs. 3-8.*

Historical research on modern scientific lines is still almost in its infancy in India. Naturally one often finds books written or statements made. based on some so-called historical papers discovered in the archives of some Math or temple or rescued from the cruel hands of a Bania. Thus the sources of history are vitiated and wrong impressions are created in the minds of readers simply for want of knowledge of the science of historical research on the part of the writer. Mr. Bendre has therefore rendered a great service to history by writing this book, which will give the reader a clear insight into the subject and will teach him how to appreciate, and arrange new papers, coins, &c., how to determine their dates and what importance to attach them. The author has expended an amount of labour, time and money in the preparation of this book, for which he deserves rich thanks from the Marathi-reading public.

KADAMBARIMAYA PESHWAI OR THE HISTORY OF THE PESHWAS IN THE FORM OF NOVELS: *By V. V. Hadap. Vols. 1—6. Publishers: Messrs Parachure, Puranik & Co., Bombay. Price Re. 1-8 each volume.*

Like the Mahabharat of old times, the Maratha Swarajya has been an inexhaustible source of inspiration for young Maratha poets, dramatists and novelists. Hitherto no less than about a hundred dramas and novels have been written and still they are coming. Mr. Hadap alone intends writing twenty-five novels on the history of the Peshwas and a set of the first six novels of the series now before us is a fair indication of the delicious repast that is in store for Marathi readers in the near future. Mr. Hadap deserves congratulations all the more on this enterprise, since he has made a welcome departure in this line from his old way of writing about things considered as highly objectionable in a civilised and cultured society. The novels now turned out by him form interesting and instructive reading and are unexceptionable in taste, which means a good deal in these days.

V. G. Apte.

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GUJARATI

BABA RAMNI VARTAR: *By Maganlal Mehta.*

A small book of twenty-four pages, written in the language or *patois* of the Bhils. It is an exact reproduction of the way in which these aboriginal inhabitants of Gujrat's forests talk and serves incidentally to portray the sort of religious life they lead.

SHRI DATTA PRABODHA KALPADRUM, PART IV: *By Dattatraya Bova Tambe.*

This is a continuation of the three parts noted by us before. It contains in addition the Life of Shri Jnaneswar, the great religious teacher of the Deccan.

JANJIR NE ZANKARE: *By Chapsi Redeshi. Printed at the Gurjar Prabhat Printing Press, Calcutta. Illustrated. Cloth bound Pp. 122, Price Re 1. Second edition (1927).*

Although it is Mr. Chapsy's first attempt at novel writing, the book has run into a second edition. It is written in simple language and has a high ideal in view, i. e., that every one should act according to the dictates of his or her conscience. There are instances given of Rajput chivalry and courage and altogether the attempt is an encouraging one.

KNOWLEDGE OR INFORMATION ABOUT ISLAM: *By Karim Mahammad Master: M A. LL. B. S. T. C. D. Printed at the Sharda Bijoya Printing Press, Nadiad. Paper cover, Pp. 170. Price Re. 1(1927).*

Mr. Karim Master is an experienced writer and has already shown his intimate knowledge of Gujarati literature as one of the editors of the Kabita Pravesh.

This book is written with a very laudable object, namely, to represent to the public what Islam really is and thus to remove the misunderstandings which have of late clouded its real tenets. The mischief is due to the teachings of fanatic Maulvis. Being a Mohammedan himself by religion and a great friend of the Hindus by association, Mr. Master is entirely fitted for the task. In addition he says what he has to say in chaste Gujrati, which is a special feature of this book.

He has taken parts of the chapters of the Koran and expatiated on them, so as to bring out their true meaning. We recommend every one to read the book. The work is done so intelligently and sympathetically that we are emboldened to make the above recommendations.

SRI ANAND KAVYA MAHODADHI, PART 7TH. *By Muniraj Shri Sampat Vijaya, printed at the Jasvant Sinhjee Printing Press, Sindh Cloth bound. Pp. 192+66+185+148. Price Re 1-8-0. (1926).*

This collection of old Gujarati poems falls in no way short of the prior publications. Its introductions from the pen of Mr. Mahanlal D. Desai of the times of Samaj Sundar, Joyavijoya and Kushal Labh are monuments of elaborate research.

K. M. J.

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THE GARDEN CREEPER

By SAMYUKTA DEVI

(10)

IT was nearly summer in the metropolis. The fogs of winter had cleared away. The goddess of spring could not be clearly seen here. Only by roadsides, behind old houses, in the gardens of the rich and in the back terraces of the poor, could her green mantle be seen waving in the breeze.

There was a magnificent avenue of deodars within the grounds of a girls' boarding school. Here spring reigned in all its glory. The trees were decked with masses of rich new foliage, gladdening to the eyes of the damsels, residing in the boarding house. The south wind played merrily amongst the leaves, giving rise to a joyous melody.

The girls would crowd here morning and evening. They liked to gaze at the trees, who were like so many friends to them. And more often than not, a small crowd would gather before the iron gates and try to peep within. But it was not on account of the trees.

It was a Sunday. A seller of glass bangles had arrived; he was a great favourite with the bigger girls. Whenever there was a holiday, the man would present himself with his huge basket on his head. It contained bangles of every colour, red, blue, green and pink, and of every description. Some were heavy, some fine, some plain and some corrugated. Some were strung on pieces of ribbons and others were stored in small paper boxes.

Another man too had arrived. He was a Mahomedan from Kashmere, a trader in silks. There were crowds round both men.

A girl was sitting before the glass bangle vendor, putting on some light green bangles. Another damsel suddenly rushed up to her, with a piece of fine cream-coloured silk, which she had snatched from the silk merchant, and cried "My goodness! Krishnadasi, my dear, your head has simply got turned, because people praise your fine complexion. I grant that you are a beauty; still you need not put on so many glass bangles all together on your fat wrists, like a sweeper woman. And they are light green too! Won't people just faint at your sight!"

Krishnadasi snatched away her hand in a temper, saying "All right, you need not bother about me. My wrists may not be fine and tapering like yours, still I think I may be permitted to wear some bangles."

The man cried out in dismay, "Don't pull away your hand like that, Miss. You will break the bangles. I am a poor man, and cannot afford to lose them."

The silk merchant called out to Mukti, "Come here Miss, I shall tell you which stuff suits you best."

Mukti came back with the piece of cream-coloured silk. The man threw a piece of red Benares silk, profusely embroidered with gold, round her shoulders, and cried out in ecstasy, "Really Miss, you look simply wonderful! I won't take this piece back on any account. You must wear it. If you don't want to pay me, I am ready to make a present of it to you."

A shout of laughter arose amongst the fair crowd. "Very good," they cried. "We all agree to take presents. We should like to save some money."

"No no," said Mukti. "I won't take it. I can't wear red, now. I am too old for it."

The girls nearly had fits! Mukti too old? Then others should begin to think about the other world now, because they were even older.

After a good deal of discussion, Mukti decided to buy the red silk. But the gallant merchant would not reduce the price much, when it came to actual business. At last he got up after collecting the sale proceeds and testing every one of the coins. Just at that moment, some one was heard descending the stairs with loud footsteps, and presently Miss Dutt, the dreaded Lady Superintendent, made her appearance.

"So you have begun already?" she said sharply. "Silk and satin, gold and trinkets! These are all you think about. You are incapable of serious thought of any kind!"

Mukti quickly hid the red silk under the skirt of her Sari. It glared angrily under

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the thin white cloth, but Miss Dutt did not pay any attention to it. She passed on towards the school building, saying, "Get ready, quick. You need not hold a meeting here. Don't you remember that we are to go to the Botanical Gardens to-day? I am going to tell them to get the buses ready."

As soon as the Lady Superintendent had gone, the girls made a rush for the dressing room. Some tied ribbons to their flowing hair, some put it up in large buns behind their heads, and some sported long pigtails. They put on dresses of many colours and many kinds and at last trooped to the school building, where in the drive the buses were waiting for them. They were to spend the afternoon and evening in the garden, and return after taking a drive along the riverside.

The sun cast its departing rays on the face of the fair crowd, and the wind sported through their loose hair as they strolled about in groups.

"I say, Bimala," suddenly said Mukti, "did not Miss Dutt tell us to assemble together at this time, under the big banyan tree?"

"Yes, she did" replied Bimala, "but I hope, Susie-di would allow us to walk about for a bit more. I don't want tea or anything now. It spoils everything."

Mukti ran to their young teacher Susie-di and caught one of her hands; "please Susie-di," she cried in a coaxing tone, "let us go to the riverside for a bit. Miss Dutt won't mind, if you take us."

"Don't listen to her Susie-di" cried Krishnadasi; "Miss Dutt will scold, I know she will."

Suddenly two youths were seen coming on swiftly, on bicycles, their hair tossing wildly in the breeze. "Take care Dhiren," one of them shouted. "don't run over the ladies."

Krishnadasi took a look at the boys and said, "See Mukti, is not that young man very handsome?"

"Which one?" asked Mukti, with a great show of innocence. "Oh, you mean my brother?"

Krishnadasi's temper got a bit ruffled. "Oh, is that so?" she said, "but he does not look so well, at close quarters. He is very effeminate. Just look at his curls! The other boy looks more of a man."

Meanwhile, the boys had passed on to a safe distance. "I say, Jyoti," one of them said, "Is that beauty your own sister? I think she said just now, that you are her brother or something."

"Don't be a fool," said the other. "That's Mukti, my guardian's daughter. She could not have said that I was her brother."

Two British soldiers were seen approaching twirling canes. They were making for the very place where the girls were.

There was a flutter of nervousness amongst the fair crowd. The young teacher tried her best to reassure her charges, though she herself had begun to feel a bit uncomfortable. But she put up a brave front.

Meanwhile the soldiers came on. Perhaps they meant some mischief, or perhaps they did not. But the nervousness of the girls increased every moment. They crowded close to Susie, and became ominously silent.

Suddenly both the Bengali youths cried out, "We must teach these monkeys some manners. They think they are the lords of creation."

They mounted their cycles and rode straight upon the soldiers. They had to move away perforce from the road to escape being run over. They did not feel over pleased with Jyoti and Dhiren, and one of them struck swiftly with his cane at them. It missed its mark and struck off the head of an unoffending fern. The other soldier swore loudly, and called the boys a few bad names.

But the boys had passed out of hearing by that time. They dismounted near the spot where the girls were gathered, and sat down on the grass. Jyoti took out a book from his pocket, and Dhiren began to scrutinise the tyres of his bicycle. The soldiers soon disappeared round a corner.

Dhiren began to scrape off the mud from the wheels of his machine, with a pocket knife. "What a studious chap," he muttered in an undertone, "You have gone down deep in the sea of knowledge, it seems. May I ask, if that copy of Ibsen's Doll's House, happens to be one of your text books?"

Jyoti replied without looking up from the book. "Cann't a chap read anything but text books? Don't pretend to be a greater saint than you are. Your machine has just come out of the workshop. May I know, why you seem to be super-anxious about its health?"

"I say Jyoti", said Dhiren, abruptly changing the topic, "that young lady must be a teacher, eh? Her appearance does not however with the name though."

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"Then, how do you know that she is one?" asked Jyoti.

"It is not hard to guess, if one happens to possess the average intelligence," said Dhiren. "Did not you notice how the girls crowded round her, when the soldiers approached. She is a bit older than the rest, too."

"Your power of observation is very highly developed," said Jyoti. "You are not in your best form in the college. I shall inform myself correctly about that lady from Mukti. I want to know whether you really run a close second to Mr. Sherlock Holmes."

"I accept your challenge," said Dhiren. "By the way, who is Mukti? Is she the one in navy blue?"

"Don't pretend to be a greater ass than you are," said Jyoti, "I have already said that she is the daughter of my guardian, Mr. Ganguli."

Dhiren laughed out aloud and said, "So you did, I forgot."

Meanwhile, the girls had begun to chatter again, the soldiers having disappeared from sight. They seemed to be sublimely unconscious of the presence of the young men, sitting so close to them. These intruders, too, seemed not to know that there were girls in the neighbourhood.

Krishnadasi nudged Aparna, saying, "Look, how studious Mukti's brother is. Boys are fond of their hooks, are not they? Even when out for a walk, they cannot do without books."

"He reminds me of Marius in the film of Les Miserables," said Aparna, "that chap too was immersed in his books, all the time."

"Don't you wish, you played 'Cosette' to his 'Marius'?" asked Krishnadasi slyly, pinching Aparna.

"Good heavens! don't be so silly, Susie-di will hear you" replied that young lady.

Mukti had been sitting all this while, her face turned the other way. Suddenly, she looked round and said. "You will have to change that interesting topic, my dears. Miss Dutt is coming this way, with the 2nd year girls."

"She must have heard everything," whispered Aparna, "Good lord! if she should tell her brother!"

Krishnadasi put up a brave front. "Let her," she said; "her brother cannot eat us up."

Miss Dutt came on with the other girls. The girls under Susie's care, now sat still, with faces composed, like model young ladies. Two or three took out books and bent over them.

Miss Dutt had at once spotted the boys. "You should not have chosen this place, Miss Roy," she said rather sharply, to Susie. "The big banyan tree would have afforded a better shade. What have you been doing, all these while, girls? Did you walk about? Or did you sit here talking? Remember, you will have to write an essay on it, next week."

Neither Dhiren, nor Jyoti, doubted for a moment, that the latest arrival was a teacher. Jyoti thrust his book in his pocket, and Dhiren ceased to minister to his cycle. In fact, the place they had been occupying was very soon empty. Miss Dutt regarded their departure with great complacency. It was a most direct compliment to herself. "These young teachers are no good," she thought. "No one would take them for teachers and so people take all sorts of liberties."

The evening walk became a dull affair after this. The girls trooped along silently behind Miss Dutt, who talked all the time and pointed out many ferns and bushes, giving them their Latin names. Then they had tea, under the big banyan tree. Then as it was beginning to get dark, the buses were called for and the girls packed safely in. They took a drive by the riverside and returned in good time to their boarding house.

(11)

The school hours were over, and the girls were proceeding towards the boarding house, heavily laden with books and papers, when Miss Dutt's voice was heard from the verandah of her room, "Girls, please send Krishnadasi up to me."

That young lady happening to be amongst them, none had the trouble of sending her up. Everyone cast glances of sympathy at her, for an invitation to Miss Dutt's room boded little good.

"What's up, I wonder," said one of the girls. "I suppose, she had noticed that you went barefooted to class. Did I not tell you, that you were sure to catch it?"

Krishnadasi pouted and said, "I don't think I did wrong. I am not a Mem Sahib and I cannot remain wearing shoes and stockings all the time."

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The first speaker got offended and said "very well. But see where your orthodoxy lands you."

Krishnadasi mounted the stairs to Miss Dutt's room, with angry steps. The other girls crowded to the foot of the stairs, to see the matter through. After about five minutes, Krishnadasi ran down into their midst. Her face was red with excitement and she shook with suppressed merriment.

Her companions were bewilderd. It was a strange thing to come out laughing from Miss Dutt's room. She generally had quite an opposite effect on her visitors.

Krishnadasi was mobbed, as soon as she reached the foot of the stairs. The girls rushed upon her like a wave, and engulfed her. Everybody spoke at the same time and asked the very same question.

After the excitement had subsided a bit, the girls tried to have the mystery cleared up. It transpired that Krishnadasi's father had written a letter to Miss Dutt, requesting her to let him know, how much money he owed to the establishment for his daughter's education and boarding. She was not going to continue her studies and he would arrange very soon for her removal.

The girls dragged Krishnadasi into the dressing room with merry shouts of laughter. It did not take them a moment to understand, why she was being taken home. And every one of the merry band felt a twinge of secret envy. Everyone would have liked to be in her place. But they were quite ready to be glad that it was Krishnadasi. Such good news seldom came their way.

Aparna was Krishnadasi's special friend. "Hallo Miss Innocence!" she cried giving the fortunate one a slap, "were you not feeling very anxious about your examination? You knew nothing about this other arrangement, did you?

Another pulled her by the hair, saying, "So now I know the reason why you are getting so thin. You actually weighed an ounce less, the other day."

Krishnadasi became the centre of all attention. The girls scarcely paid heed to the bells calling them to various duties. One wanted to be treated to a feast, another made a wild guess at the appearance of the bridegroom, while still another conjured up in imagination the sweet picture Krishnadasi would make, dressed in bridal finery.

Suddenly, one of the maids lifted the curtain, saying, "The Mem-Sahib sends for you, Miss Mukti."

Another trill of laughter went up. Had Mukti's father sent for her too?

'He may have," said Mukti carelessly, "but certainly not for good, as is the case elsewhere."

Miss Dutt turned round, as Mukti entered, and asked, "Some Jyotirmoy Roy has come to see you. Do you know him? He has never been here before."

Jyoti had really never come alone before. Shiveswar had brought him along, sometimes. But to-day being far too busy, he had sent the boy alone.

"I know him very well," said Mukti. "He lives with us. He has often been here, with my father."

"Oh very well, then. You may see him," said Miss Dutt, dismissing her.

Mukti proceeded to the visitor's room. "Good lord!" said Jyoti, as soon as he saw her, "You took sometime coming."

"Thank your stars, that I came at all," said the young lady. "Miss Dutt was for refusing me permission to see you. You are not on my visitor's list, you know. I had to coax her a good bit.

"Indeed!" said Jyoti, "what did you tell her? That I was a foundling, whom your father had brought up like a son?"

"No," said Mukti, "What's the use of telling her all that? I said that you were the Oriya gardener."

Jyoti shouted with laughter. "But she would never believe you, my dear girl. One look at my face is enough to refute your unkind allegations."

'Oh, don't be so proud of that face of yours," said Mukti. "Because you happen to possess a long-nose and wooly hair like a negro, you need not run away with the idea that you are a perfect Adonis. That day, you did your best to impress the girls, with your study of Ibsen and all that, but let me tell you, that you failed singularly. In fact, one of the girls said you looked like a girl and the other boy was far handsomer."

"What?" said Jyoti with mock incredulity "that fellow Dhiren, handsomer than myself So much for feminine taste! I won't tell him though. He would begin to walk on his head"

Mukti had been standing all this time. Now she drew a chair forward and sat down. "Good heavens!" she said, "are you going to talk about your looks only?"

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"I beg your pardon." said Jyoti, trying to look repentant ; "I ought to have talked about your looks. Shall I begin ?"

Mukti got up in a rage. "I think you have gone clean off your head. I wonder, what made father send you. If you don't mind, I shall go now, I have no time to waste in listening to nonsense."

Jyoti jumped up and barred her way. "Please don't go," he said. "I have yet to tell you the most important thing."

"May I know, what that is ?" asked Mukti. "Anything to do with the growth of your hair or your complexion ?"

"It's not so important as all that," said Jyoti. "Only your father asked me to tell you that he has gone home again and given up the hotel. Grand-mother, too, will be down presently. So your ladyship will have to go home to-morrow and live there for the present."

As soon as Jyoti had finished, Mukti cried out, "What a silly you are ! What's the use of telling all these to me ? Unless father writes to Miss Dutt, she won't allow me to go."

Jyoti took out a letter from his pocket, saying, "Here you are. Thank you for reminding me."

Mukti took the letter. saying, "No wonder, the boys have nicknamed you the poet. You are star-gazing all the time."

"Well, there's scarcely anything, worth looking at down here, is there ?" asked Jyoti.

A bell clanged loudly at this juncture. "Good lord," cried Mukti, "I have not done my hair yet, hope they don't catch me." With these words, she ran off. Jyoti walked out, twirling his walking stick.

As soon as Mukti's companions heard that she too was going home, they fell upon her like birds of prey. Krishnadasi was cast off and she went away to do a bit of much-needed packing.

Next day, happening to be Saturday, the girls had plenty of leisure. Mukti was selecting her clothes, as the weekly wash had just come in. Suddenly the hoot of a motor horn tore through the silence startling even the washerman's donkeys, who ran off in dismay.

Aparna ran to Mukti, crying, "Here Mukti, your brother has brought a car for you. Kindly ask him to desist from blowing his horn. This is not an institution for the deaf."

Mukti threw down the clothes and ran off to see Jyoti. Her hair blew in the wind and she twisted it up in a tight knot behind.

Jyoti was still bent upon giving them a bit of music. "Stop, for heaven's sake," cried Mukti. "Even the donkeys refuse to listen. I am coming in a minute."

Jyoti took away his hand from the horn. Mukti finished her packing at leisure, and appeared with a huge amount of luggage after about half an hour. Her companions flocked behind her. The sight of so many young ladies made Jyoti rather shy. He turned away his eyes.

As Mukti was about to get in, Krishnadasi whispered in her ear, "You too are not coming back my dear, mark my words."

Mukti gave her hair a playful tug and got in. Jyoti blew another loud blast and drove out.

(*To be continued*)

RAJPUTANA TO-DAY*

By RAMNARAYAN CHAUDHARY

RAJPUTANA to-day is not what it used to be a few centuries ago. In the middle ages, it was a land of heroes and heroines whose examples inspired millions then and whose names inspire thousands still. But the Rajputana of to-day

* As states in Rajputana publish no administration reports as a rule, the figures quoted in this article are taken from the Census reports of 1921, unless otherwise mentioned. These latter, though obtained from reliable sources, are open to correction.

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scarcely inspires anybody. Let us review the events of the past in brief and see how their cumulative effect has culminated in the present.

With their relations of subordinate co-operation with the East India Company, established under the treaties of 1818 and confirmed by the Royal Proclamation of 1857, the responsibility of the Indian Princes was transferred from the people to a foreign suzerain. Despots as they were, they never owed any constitutional responsibility to their people. But before the advent of British Rule in India the Indian Princes, engaged as they were in perpetual warfare, internecine or otherwise, stood in constant need of active cooperation on the part of their peoples. They were bound by sheer force of necessity to treat the wishes of the subjects with due regard. The right coupled with the might of revolt against tyranny or misrule too lay in the hands of the people. The imposition of British paramountcy over the Indian States, however, wrested the might as well as the right of revolt from the hands of the people. Naturally, therefore, the reponsiveness of the Princes towards their people declined as their subservience to the British Government increased. Side by side grew the helplessness of the people. Disregard of popular opinion developed into oppression on the one hand and helplessness into cowardice on the other. The British Government did and does interfere in the internal affairs of the states now and then. But it did so in reality only when its own interests were at stake, though always under the pretence of promoting good government. There has scarcely been a case of Government intervention in the unalloyed interests of the people. The worst of rulers have enjoyed immunity, while comparatively better ones have been punished, simply because the former contrived to please the imperial gods while the latter could not. Thus by depriving the Princes of their obligations and the people of their rights under the garb of protection of both, British policy in the states, ever so watchful of its own imperial interests and oblivious of its duties towards its wards, has succeeded in completely emasculating the seventy millions of Indian India.

Rajputana could not escape the effects of this policy. Her sufferings were rather heightened by the fact that racial pride, inherited by the rulers, having been debarred from all outlet against external foes, found vent in their dealings with their own people. A brief survey of existing conditions will give the reader an idea of the effects produced by the political causes enumerated above.

The system of administration in all the 21 states of Rajputana is hereditary despotism. With the exception of Bikaner, no state has a legislative council. The Bikaner Legislative assembly, which consists of 45 members has only 18 elected members, the rest being nominated and officials. Even the elected members are returned not by a direct vote of the people, but by the Municipalities, which are official-ridden bodies. The Assembly resolutions are of a purely advisory character, the power to veto them rests with the executive, and legislation can also be enacted without reference to the Assembly. In all other states there is not even a semblance of legislation by popular consent. The will of the ruler and his executive is law. No distinction is made between executive orders and legislation. Both have the same force and are promulgated by the same executive authority without any fuss or form except for their publication, in some cases, in the State Gazette, where there is any. A circular or an order issued under the signature of a Maharaja or his secretary treats a certain act as an offence, determines punishment for the same and empowers anybody, judicial or otherwise, to exercise that power. Executive orders are issued taking away certain powers from civil and criminal courts and entrusting them to executive officers.

Local self-government of a tangible character is non-existent. Municipalities there are in most of the capital towns and a few others, but they are almost all official or nominated bodies. Out of the few that have an elected element, the Kotah Municipal Board is the only one that has an elected majority or a non-official chairman, the latter privilege having been lately withdrawn by the State. There are no local boards in any of the states in Rajputana. There are no village Punchayets except in Kotah and Bikaner, where too the powers of the Panchayets are very restricted and ultimate authority in all matters rests with the state executive.

There is no law in any state of Rajputana

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guaranteeing to the citizen liberty of speech, liberty of the press, liberty of association and security of person and property. No court can issue writs of Habeas Corpus to protect the bodies of persons detained or deported without trial. Even as a matter of fact, these rights of citizenship do not exist anywhere. With the single exception of Jodhpur, there is no political association and save in Bijolia (Mewar) there is no trade union. Even these two bodies have had to pass through the ordeal of repression and are allowed to discuss only economic and social questions. Public meetings of a political nature and public organs dealing with politics are things unknown in Rajputana. Instances of arbitrary expulsion or confinement, proscription of newspapers and confiscation of property are not very rare. In a majority of the states, there are serious statutory restrictions on these elementary rights of humanity. But more potent than anything else to gag personal freedom is the atmosphere of general intimidation and indirect official pressure obtaining in the states. A few instances will better illustrate things as they are.

Act No. 2 of 1909 of the Jodhpur State provides :—

Section 7. Any subject of Marwar, knowing that any other person has received seditious pamphlets or prohibited newspapers or periodicals hostile to the British Government or the Marwar Durbar or any matter likely to cause disturbance of peace, must report the same to the nearest magistrate or police officer.

Section 8. No subject of Marwar shall harbour or give shelter to any person whom he knows to be a notorious seditionist.

Section 9. No subject of Marwar shall receive or keep in possession or distribute or help in distributing seditious writings or prohibited newspapers or periodicals hostile to the British Government or the Marwar Durbar or correspond or associate with notorious seditionists.

The Jodhpur Press Act of 1923 provides :

Section 2. Illustration. A cyclostyle is a printing press.

(e) Proscribed foreign publications include publications that have been proscribed by the Government of India or any of its local Governments or by any Indian State having a personal salute of 11 guns.

Section 3. No person shall within the Marwar territory keep in his possesion any press for the printing of books, papers or newspapers, except with the permission of Mahkma Khas.

Section 5. No newspaper or book or paper shall be printed or published by any person or press within the Marwar territory except with the previous sanction of the Mahakma Khus.

Section 6. No seditious or obscene literature or matter relating to state politics or such matters as are calculated to incite anarchical outrages or to acts of violence or to tamper with the loyalty of the army or the navy or to excite racial, class or religious animosities shall be printed or published within the Marwar territory by any person.

Section 9. No printing press or publisher in Marwar shall exchange its or his publications with any foreign publication.

The Alwar State seditious meetings and publications (amended) Act outdoes all. It runs thus :—

"A meeting of more than five persons shall be presumed to be a public meeting within the meaning of this Act until the contrary is proved. No public meeting shall be held for the discussion of any subject likely to cause a disturbance or of any political subject or for the exhibition or distribution of any written or printed matter relating to any such subjects. At any public meeting no such subjects shall be discussed or preached which are likely to do anything which may be contrary to the interest of Alwar State, its government, its sovereign or against the interests of His Majesty the King Emperor of India, his government or against the interests of any other ruling prince of India. No person shall concern himself or conspire in convening or organising or otherwise knowingly take part in the public meeting. No one may write, print or publish or circulate any article or document inside the state or outside it which has a tendency, indirect or direct, against the interests of His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar and his Royal family or his government or His Majesty the King-Emperor of India or any other ruling prince of India. His Highness' Government, when necessary, shall proscribe the newspapers and books, etc., on the ground that they contain seditious matter. No person may subscribe to or import or hold in his possession any such article.

Such persons, whenever found, shall be punished with imprisonment for five years, or fine amounting to two thousand rupees. The offenders, if necessary, may be ordered to quit the state."

The minority administration of Jaipur, presided over by the British, issued this order against the writer of this article on 11th February, 1925 :—

"Whereas it appears from information received by the Durbar that one Ramnarayan Chaudhary, Editor of the Tarun Rajasthan, is stirring up discontent in Shekhavati and engaging in a campaign of agitation likely to endanger the public peace, it is hereby ordered that he be directed to remove himself from the territory of Jaipur state within 12 hours from the date of these orders and be prohibited in the future from entering any portion of Jaipur territory without the permission of the Durbar."

It is noteworthy that there is no time limit for the order and that the victim of the order is a bonafide citizen of Jaipur having his home, relatives and ancestral property in the State. In Bikaner no written orders or statutory restrictions are issued

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against inconvenient activities. Official ingenuity manages to suppress them through vebal, through by no means ineffective, orders conveyed by subordinate police officers.

Slavery

Despite repudiations by the representatives of the Government of India and the Indian Princes to the League of Nations, slavery does exist in Rajputana. The number of slaves in this group of states is 161735. They are known as Chakars, Golas, Darogas and Huzuries and found in the palace of every Rajput prince and the house of every Rajput Jagirdar or feudatory. Men, women and children are openly exchanged as presents and articles of dowry and at times even sold, though secretly. They are allotted the hardest and meanest tasks and given the coarsest food and clothing or the castings-off of their masters. The latter have absolute authority over their persons and chastity, and regulate their marriages and divorces to their own convenience. Personal violence and outrages on modesty are not an uncommon fate of these unfortunate beings. Escapes are not easy. Legal formalities do not stand in the way of a state restoring a slave to his original master in another state. The difficulties of extradition presented by the British Indian Courts are overcome without much trouble by charges, often got up, of theft and other kindred offences against the refugees. The system of slavery prevailing in Rajputana is not only sanctioned by universal custom, but even sanctified by law in some states. Jodhpur provided such a legal sanction till as late as February 1926, while Kotah still retains it, inasmuch as no slave of a feudatory can be employed in the public services of that state without the consent of the master, and slaves of Bundi are ordained to be delivered to Kotah and vice versa without a prima facie case.

"Begar."

Begar or modern slavery, in the words of Mr. C. F. Andrews, is another curse of Rajputana. Under this system labour can be exacted with little or no payment by any official of a state from certain communities at all times and from others on certain specified occasions. The communities doomed to perpetual *begar* are generally the depressed classes known as Balais, Bhanbhis, Bhils, Chamars, etc. Their number in Rajputana is 1803626, i.e., over 18 per cent. of the total population. They are generally requisitioned for clearing and building roads, bringing big game to bay, cutting grass for state stores, carrying loads for petty officials and doing all sorts of labour for encamped officers. *Begar* is exacted in the acutest form and attended with the greatest hardship to its victims on the occasions of viceregal visits in the states. When the Viceroy's special train passes through Rajputana, the rail-road is lined by the human beings caught under the system of forced labour. They are posted at each telegraph pillar on both sides of the railway line with torches in hand and their backs towards the train. They have to wait from hours before sunset till the time the Viceroy passes off. As his visits usually occur in winter, which is very severe in Rajputana, the poor people suffer badly from exposure and some deaths from pneumonia are reported almost every year. Several states have lately legalised forced labour, though determined the wages. In most places, food is laid down as the wage and in some states remuneration in cash is fixed. But it is always inadequate in theory and often denied in practice.

Artizans, cultivators and other manual labourers are also required to render unpaid or ill-paid service of a compulsory nature to the states and their employees. Supplies and transport too are covered by the system. The Jagir areas are its hot-beds.

Factory labour is very scarce in Rajputana, but the little that there is, is no better off. There is no factory law. There are no provisions for education, old age pensions, compensations and maternity benefits for workers. Women and children are freely employed in all sorts of labour. The hours of daily work range from 12 to 15. In the 224 industries, only 19175 persons are employed. Out of them 895 are women and 1021 are children under 14.

Agricultural Conditions

About 87 per cent of the population of Rajputana reside in the villages. Out of 9844384

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ersons, 6561623 are peasants and agricultural abourers. They depend absolutely on the pro-uce of the land, which varies with the degree nd punctuation of rain-fall. Most of the oil being sandy yields only one scanty arvest. Irrigated lands yielding two crops orm a very small fraction of the whole area. carcity and famine are, therefore, chronic. here are no supplementary industries worth e name. To add to the cruelty of the ituation, assessment of revenue is heavy. ormerly it used to be a share in the roduce ranging from one-fourth to two-fifths f the gross output. Most of the states have nce changed the levy from kind to cash. ut the Jagir areas, which occupy a very onsiderable extent, retain the system of ssessment in kind. This is very vexatious, nd often oppressive, as it admits of a umber of petty tyrannies. Even in the halsa or purely state territories, where evenue is levied in cash, the demand from e peasantry is, with rare exceptions, xorbitant. Few states have any revenue ode. Assessment can be and is renewed and creased at the sweet will of the powers hat be. Nor is land revenue the only ate call upon the slender purse of the ultivator. There are a number of additional esses, which sometimes present amusing nd ingenious methods of exploitation. For ample, in the Jodhpur State, the number such cesses reaches upto a hundred. xcept Kotah, no state has established -operative credit societies or agricultural nks. The consequence is that the peasantry heavily indebted to usurers. Chronic verty, want of sanitation and medical elief, ignorance and disease have conspired reduce his vitality to its minium and a ngle epidemic sweeps away thousands at time. The following figures for variation population will speak for themselves :— 1891:—12171749; 1911:—10530432; 1921:— 44384.

Shikar (hunting) rules and reserved forests e another source of hardship to the peasant, ho may not kill the jungly marauders eming in the neighbourhood of his cultiva-n under state protection, even though they ay work havoc with the crops and at times en take away cattle and human lives.

Criminal Tribes

Over a million persons, including Gujars ho are cattle-lifters, are doomed to be riminals from the cradle to the grave. They are treated as convicts without trial and have to report their movements to the police, whose treatment is hardly humane. No opportunities are afforded to civilize them.

Condition of Women

Purdah is rife among the Rajputs, Charans, Kayasthas, Muslim and other official classes. Education of women is poor. Out of a total population of 9844384 only 18851 women, i. e., less than 2 per cent. are literate. Child marriages are in vogue and widowhood is the fate of a large number. The following figures will show the gravity of the situation :—

Women :—4659493, Married :—2129155, Widows :—883289.

That is, to day about 9 per cent of the total population, over 20 per cent of the female population and over 41 per cent of the total number of married women are widows. The number of young widows is as follows :—

Below 5 years of age	416
From 5 to 10 years of age	2681
„ 10 to 15 „	7786
„ 15 to 20 „	14321
„ 20 to 25 „	26570
„ 25 to 30 „	43220

Polygamy is prevalent among the ruling classes and there is hardly a Maharaja and few Jagirdars content with a single wife or woman. The late Maharaja of Jaipur had more than 3000 women in his palace, of whom more than 2000 are still confined with in its four-walls under the benign British regency!

Education

Female education has already been dealt with. The condition of education as a whole will be illustrated by the following figures :

	No. of literates.	Percentage to population
Rajputana	331725	3.3
Alwar	22500	3.1
Bikaner	23844	3.6
Jodhpur	66910	3.6
Jaipur	82128	3.5

According to more recent figures the percentage of literates in Alwar has increased by .1 and in Jodhpur decreased by 6. If this state of variation be taken to be the average, the percentage for the whole of Rajputna comes down to 3.

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The ratio of expenditure on education and royalty to the total revenues is even more illuminating. Let us take the professedly advanced states :—

State.	Expenditure on royalty.	Expenditure on education.
Bikaner.	11 per cent.	1.5 p. c.
Jodhpur.	16 per cen.	3. p. c.
Alwar.	50 per cent.	1 p. c.

The extent of primary education is according, to latest available figures, one school for 7011 persons or 31 square miles or 17 villages in Alwar ;
„ 12116 persons or 230 square miles or 27 villages in Jodhpur ;
„ 10307 persons or 364 square miles or 33 villages in Bikaner.

Private education is discouraged in several states. Alwar and Jaipur have standing orders forbidding the opening of all private schools without the permission of the state, while Jodhpur has placed prohibitive restrictions on non-official educational institutions.

Medical Relief

There are no lightings, no roads, no sanitary arrangements and no hospitals or dispensaries in villages proper in any Rajputana state. People die in thousands every year for want of medical help. Good hospitals are provided only in the capitals and dispensaries in some important towns. The latest figures will tell their own story :—

	Jodhpur	Alwar	Bikaner
No. of medical Institutions.	27	10	14
Ratio to persons.	1 to 75000	1 to 70115	1 to 47120
Ratio to Sq. miles.	1 to 1400	1 to 314	1 to 1665
Ratio to villages and towns.	1 to 81	1 to 177	1 to 154.
Expenditure on medical relief in ratio total revenue,	2.25. p.c.	.3 p.c.	1.4 p.c.
Royal expenditure in ratio to total revenue.	16. 50 p.c.		11 p.c.

Popular Awakening

These are the material conditions to which despotic rule protected by foreign arms has reduced Rajputana to-day. They were bound to cause discontent. The last decade has seen universal unrest and in some states of an acute nature. The people are no longer in helpless resignation. The adage 'there is no remedy against Raj and Ram' has no more force. The worm has turned. The loyalty of the subject has suffered a rude shock. The slumber of the masses is gone, though their suffering is yet largely unmitigated. The classes have begun to voice their feelings. Public criticism of the administration has been frequent and at times violent. Protests against infringement of civic rights have been attended with externments and imprisonments. Resistance to tyranny in rural areas has been more intensive, though at times crude. Refusal of taxes has been resorted to on a large scale and force has been freely employed to curb the 'revolt'. There have been wholesale arrests and firing has taken place in Alwar, Bundi, Mewar and Sirohee. Women have had their share in the joys and sorrows of the renaissance. A number of public organs, public bodies and public workers, small but determined, has sprung up with devotion to the cause of the uplift of Rajasthan. Those that have faith are convinced that her future will be brighter than her past. Let all her children join to make it a part of the new heaven that India is to be.

Dr. TSEMON HSU AT SANTINIKETAN

By N. C. GANGULY

IT was a pleasant function at which a warm welcome was accorded at Santiniketan to Dr. Hsu, the Chinese poet, scholar and travellar and late of the Peking University, on behalf of the staff and students of the Visva-Bharati Sammilani under the presidency of Rabindranath Tagore. The event has a deep cultural importance and no less international significance, for rarely are such men met with from distant corners of the globe. Dr. Hsu, like a modern Hiuen-Tsiang, has come to India to see "the greatest of men and the greatest of mountains," as he put it, and to visit the Visva-Bharati establishment, which is taking the place of a growing Taxila in the India

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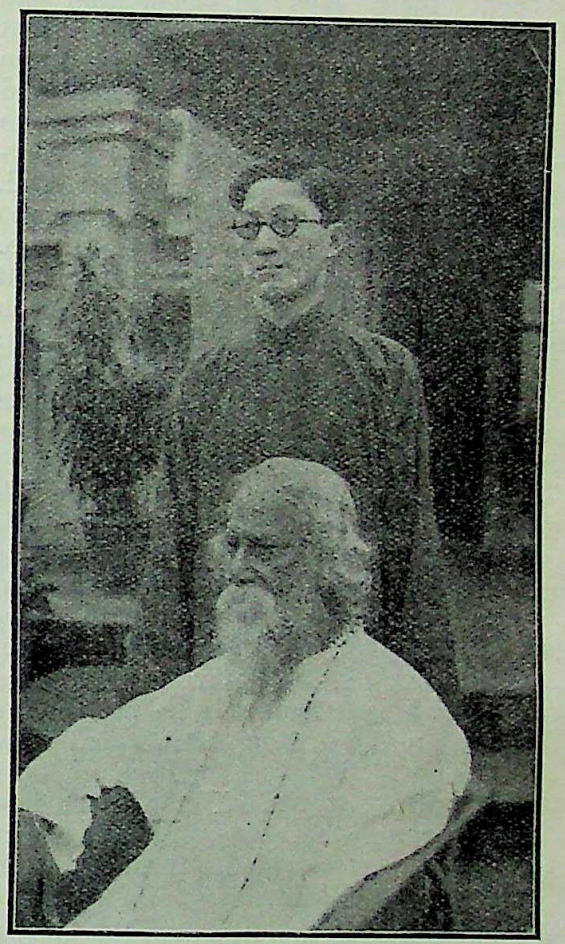
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to-day. He was the guest of the Presi-
nt. In the meeting for his reception he was
sibly moved, when Pandit Bidhu Sekhar
stri greeted him and Dr. Tagore at the
or of the Kala-Bhavan (Arts Department)
true Hindu fashion, first by putting on
eir forehead the fragrant sandal-paste and
en garlanding them with white flowers
ung together.

The large hall was fittingly decorated by
e students under the guidance of the well-
own painters, Professors Nanda Lal Bose
d Surendra Nath Kar. The whole atmos-
ere was thoroughly Indian, breathing the
irit of the ancient hermitage universities,
der the brilliant electric lights and on the
ite alpana-painted floor. Lotuses from a
ighbouring pond—symbolic of spiritual
uberance—increased the decorative motif
the hall, while sonorous music in Nothern
d Southern styles by the girl students
der the able direction of Mr. D. N. Tagore
livened the occasion. Tea, and light
freshment on lotus leaves were served by the
l students and each guest was presented
th a full-blown lotus flower on its long
lk.

Dr. Hsu was seated at the head of the
ll with the poet and Pandit Bidhu Sekhar
stri, the Principal of the research depart-
nt. After the first song Rabindranath
lcomed him heartily in a short and
ching speech. He made personal refer-
ces to the Chinese poet's invaluable help
ring the time the Indian party was on tour
China. His words were full of affection
the rising poet, scholar and traveller
China, who could fortunately come from
ch a great distance to spend a few days
Santiniketan. That a lasting friendship has
wn up between the great poet of India and
young and rising poet of China was
dent from every word, and Rabindranath
pressed his deep appreciation of the
lture of that most ancient country and its
ple. Their kindness and hospitality made
a ever-enduring impression on him. He
essed the fact that he went to China not
a Nobel prize-holder, but on a truly poetic
ssion with a really poetic message seeking
ernational amity and friendship, re-inter-
ting and re-establishing the age-long
itri formulated by the sages Confucius and
ddha.

"Political ambassadors are sent out
day," said the Indian poet, "by the nations
the world to distant countries; their
object is gain; their business is self-interest.
But no nation sends out poet-ambassadors.
I went to China on no political mission.
My message was of friendliness between
India and China. You accepted me most
cordially as a friend and I am sincerely
grateful for that." Incidentally he added that
the despatch of Indian troops to China
some months ago by the British was against
the wishes of the Indian people, and he



Dr. Tsemon Hsu and the Poet Rabindra-
nath Tagore, at Santiniketan.

personally, disliked it thoroughly. In the
olden days they overleaped mighty obstacles in
order to make friends with others. It is a
pity that nations fight one another when
communication has become so easy in
modern times.

"There has been close and intimate
connection between India and China from
very ancient times. I wanted to revive
it again in a fresh way. This freindly rela-
tion was somehow broken for some time.
Those, who had established it in the past

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had never been politicians with armed soldiers behind them. Those Indians of yore over-leaped the strong walls of the Himalayas with all the wealth of their mighty spiritual realisations in response to the most human call of finding and founding cultural connections of abiding interest and value.

"I saw caves at many places in your country, and in these caves the great Chinese sages spent their days in meditation and spiritual exercise. There it seemed just as if the memories of my past lives came back to me—just as if these very sages and recluses were reborn in the spirit within me and urged me on to my mission as a poet-ambassador to your vast and ancient land. I shall ever remember the spontaneous and natural welcome accorded to me. Particularly about you, I recollect very well the day you first came to me. Your approach was so natural, so friendly. I wished then that the love received from you and your people might some day be shown to you when we should be able to welcome you in our midst. You are here now with us all. You are able to see for yourself the work I am doing in this Ashram, the life that is led by us all. On behalf of the whole Ashram I welcome you most cordially. In this Ashram where I live, I try to create things not simply as a poet in the poetic way. You saw me in your country as a poet only, which was only a part of my life, though quite an important and large portion. You will find me here more fully in and through my works. You will see how the poet is trying to realise his dreams in the shape of things created through effort and striving.

"We have invited the whole world to this Ashram; we want them here as honoured guests and it is my earnest desire that you will kindly carry this message of friendship to your country when you return from India."

Dr. Hsu was deeply impressed by the words of the poet and, after another song by the boys, made a suitable reply, which was charged not only with personal reminiscences and friendship, but with sincere appreciation of the ancient history of the two countries of India and China. It was clear to all that the young scholar and poet had carefully studied and understood the meaning of that history in its old settings as well as in forms of modern thought. In him this age-long chain of relation symbolised one of the greatest facts in human history. He vividly pointed out how Indian messengers of friendship bore to distant China their great ideal and lived and spent their holy lives in meditation in the quiet recesses of the country where they preached the message learned in this land. Addressing Rabindranath Dr. Hsu said: "For long we did not hear that voice of India. It was Mr. Elmherst who gave us the news of your proposed visit to China. We anxiously looked forward to the day of your arrival. We have in our country a sacred peak where many recluses spent their days in spiritual exercise. One day very early in the morning I looked to the East from this mountain peak. Dark clouds were then hanging in the Eastern sky, but slowly the rays of light burst forth and the sun rose in his wonderful glory, having pierced asunder the thickly gathered darkness. I thought that morning that you would come exactly in this way—just like this you would appear in the darkening scene of China's national life. This thought of mine, so full of hope and joy, was expressed in one of my poems of that time.

"Then I remember your actual arrival. At the port, from a distance, I espied your straight, peaceful, sage appearance. I felt that the darkness had given way and the sun had risen above the horizon. We accepted you as one of our own. Personally I felt as if I had regained a dear relative of my own. I called you my grand-father and reciprocated fully the love of a grand-father which you showed to me. But I was not satisfied then with only having you in our own country for a short time. I longed for the day when I might be able to see you in your own country at your home amidst your works. In the past, pilgrims used to come to India to see the land of the great Buddha. From this country too religious preachers went to China carrying the message of Buddha. Our pilgrims brought their offering of loving faith in the days gone by. The new message of peace of the modern age was borne by you to our ancient country. I have likewise come as a pilgrim of the new age to place before you my humble offering of deep reverence. I am now making this offering in person to you and to all of this Ashram, so that you may kindly accept it from me. I shall always look

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ack with pride to my sojourn here and eep it ever fresh in my memory."

After the meeting many thronged round Dr. Hsu and made many curious enquiries for a pretty long time. Great interest was evidently roused by his talk. He was also much pleased to find so many people interested in China and the Far Eastern problems.

THE SPIRIT OF WOMANHOOD IN ROERICH'S ART

By FRANCES R. GRANT

"WOMAN above all is destined to bring into the world the joy of the near future."

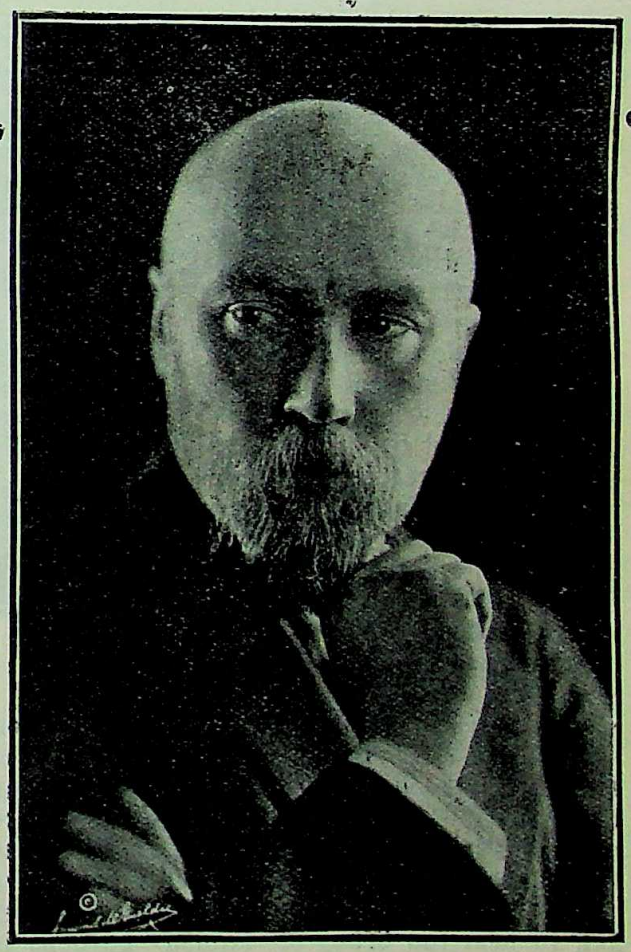
With these words, in his "Joy of Art" Nicholas Roerich, one of the most towering artistic figures of our day, several years ago pronounced his apostolate of the spiritual destiny of woman.

It was not even necessary for Roerich to translate this feeling and this doctrine into the medium of words. For he had done this long since in his painting: into his art he had transmitted this faith in womanhood, and had revealed his ardent and profound prevision of the place of woman in the coming evolutionary change.

If, as a certain writer has said, George Meredith will ever be beloved of woman because he liberated her, then Roerich will be ever revered of woman because he summoned her to a ritual of spirit. Thus he has more than liberated her; he has extolled and exalted her. He has seen her as an advocate of the new spiritual destiny of humanity; and counted her as the ally of a specific force leading the world onwardly in its cosmic evolution.

To know Roerich's stirring evocation to woman, one needs but study the paintings which he has created, or look at the various sets of his career. Of the 3000 paintings completed by this seemingly never-ceasing creative inspiration, it would be impossible here to cite all works, but let us glance at some of the later works. These have fortunately been made permanently available to lovers of art through the foundation of the Roerich Museum in New York devoted to the art of the master and, incidentally, one of the few such museums in the entire history of art.

Perhaps one may first turn to his series of panels "Dreams of Wisdom" to affirm this tribute which he pays to the mystic powers of women. These twelve panels were finished in London—and the Roerich Museum in



Nicholas Roerich

America has two, "Song of the Waterfall", and "Song of the Morning". In both of these, as in "The Language of the Birds" of the

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same period, one at once ascertains Roerich's belief in woman as the ally, the confidante if one will, of nature. All of these works have within them something of the pristine clearness of the East, and the women seem akin to oriental women. The women seem like no one woman, but are the symbol of all women. One is reminded of the legends of Krishna and the Gopis—woman as the dedicated and joyous worshipper. In the "Song of the Waterfall." the woman stands at the foot of a waterfall and beneath her feet are a cluster of water-lilies from which she has plucked one in "Song of the Morning" she is caressing a gazelle, while in the "Language of the Birds" she seems to catch the whispers of the perroquet at her shoulder. In these works, is the feeling of woman merging with nature; there is a one-ness and a harmony between them, an understanding which translates itself in the emotions of the woman and the tenderness of her gestures toward the things of nature.

Another painting completed about the same time as the series is "Daughters of Earth." Here Roerich has made incarnate those lines of Genesis which suggest the tremendous and heroic generative forebears of the earth and the spirit. This picture—called by critics the 'Black Opal' because in colour and design it suggests the ever changing, elusive and radiant quality of the opal—seems of a world new-born, before it was sombred by the conceptions of too-human man. Before a rocky cave which looms up in crystal green splendour, sit the four Daughters of Earth. They quietly await, because they know that within them dwells all the future race; earth is their field of glory because they have chosen it, they willingly have sought this portion to be the mothers to men and to bear the brunt of human burdens in upward trend of life.

And the 'Sons of Heavens'—they who will father these sons of earth? At first one does not see them, but gradually within the flaming parapet of clouds, from out the agitated movement of the heavens suddenly emerge the forms looking out and downwards; heroic radiant brothers of compassion. It is a painting universal—this cosmic union of the earth and heaven.

It is singular that America should have produced from Roerich's creation also "The Messenger." Here is the annunciation, re-lived. But this is an annunciation that will come to all women. The painting is of an interior. Purple figured hangings envelope the house as in a veil. A woman, softly, quietly, expectantly stands at a door which she has opened to the knock of the Messenger. And He is standing upon the threshhold without. Behind him through the door lies the dawning landscape, white and flooded in silence. Life is not yet astir, and only his steps leading, one marks, far off into those realms whence he came. He is a distant traveller, and his message? Perhaps the annunciation to womanhood that dawn is rising and that her hour is come.

Dream of the Orient By Nicholas Roerich

Again, in his recent series of 'Himalayan paintings sent back but lately from Asia, and perhaps the summit of his art thus far, there are several paintings which embody this gospel of woman's ascendancy. One of these works, Roerich has entitled "She who leads" in "His Country Series."

This work is painted in sight of the Himalayas—the Everest rising up majestically through its veil of clouds. Dawn is over the earth and mountains, heavens and

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"The walk of Kuan Yin" By Nicholas Roerich

floating seas of mist are roseate in the glow of the first sun-light, the ritual of nature. Before the curtain of this moving pageantry, setting for the play of men, two figures stand out in relief. A light-robed woman—she who stands for all woman-kind—poises lightly upon the crest of a precipice. Her radiant beauty recalls Kuan Yen that beloved deity of the East, goddess of Mercy. Cautiously making his way over the impending glacier, a man, a pilgrim, feels his trails upon the narrow ledge, touching the garment of Her, as if in want of help. The woman reclines towards him, in a gesture combining at once benignity and tenderness, it is the helping gesture of the attendant guide.

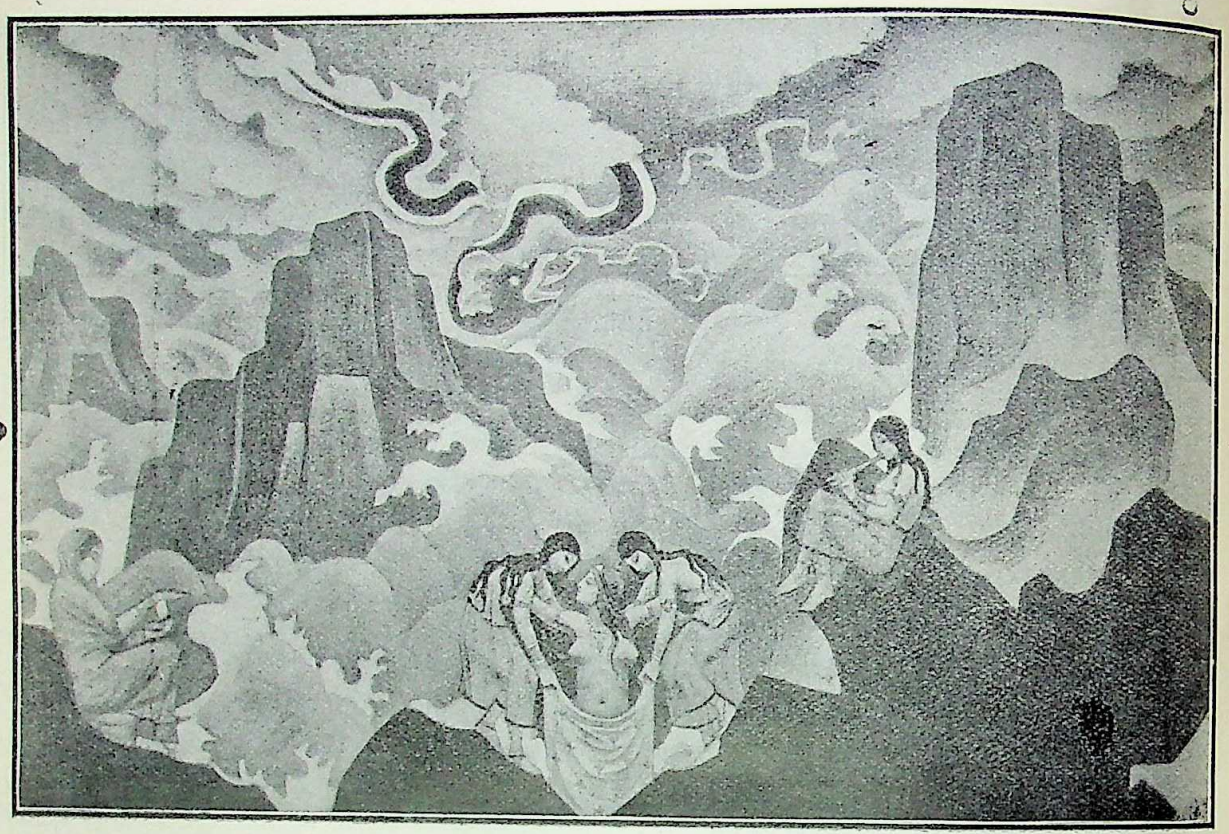
In beauty of colour, of design, the painting again is evidence of the creative mastery of Roerich, as artist. In its philosophy, it bears witness to Roerich's all-containment as personality, as philosopher. If one may translate his work into their suggested word, may one not say that Roerich sees here woman as the constant helper of the evolutionary forces of life?

Another of these Himalayan paintings, which in its new way, hails victory to woman, is his "Serpent." A sea is here, leaping upward waves on waves which meet the surging sky as in a great rhythmic agitation of the world. From out the depths of the sea emerges the mother of mysteries with her attending daughters. The forms evoke the memory of the world. Behind them spread over the sky is the wisdom dragon of the East. Here is a merging world, where elements and men link in a harmonious symphony. Is this Lakshmi or is it Aphrodite who emerges, wisdom-wise? It may be either, it may be both, for they are one; and East and West become no longer divisible, they are linked through the power of womanhood.

In the same series is his "Remember." Again we see Everest no longer roseate, but blue—the blue of full morning, sunlit. The plateaux give way to gorges, which rise

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"The Serpent" ("Banners of the East" Series) By Nicholas Roerich

again into the higher terrestrial summit. And in the foreground is a rider setting out upon his white horse, mission bound. He has paused and looked back toward the starting point. There, two women stand bidding him god-speed, perchance, but in their glance he spells the remembering challenge to victory.

Again in "Star of the Mother of the World"—Roerich indicates his belief in the leading star of womanhood. Here is deep green night upon the desert, full-starred. Over the picture lies the silence of an approaching revelation. Upon the trails, across those sandy dunes ride four in a cameled caravan. The night of the Magi repeats itself, as it will ever repeat itself—but now it is the Star of the Mother which beckons the pilgrims on their way. Shall that Star of the Mother—for so the East calls Venus which is now hastening earth-wards, be the lodestar beckoning onward to a new night of joyous tiding?

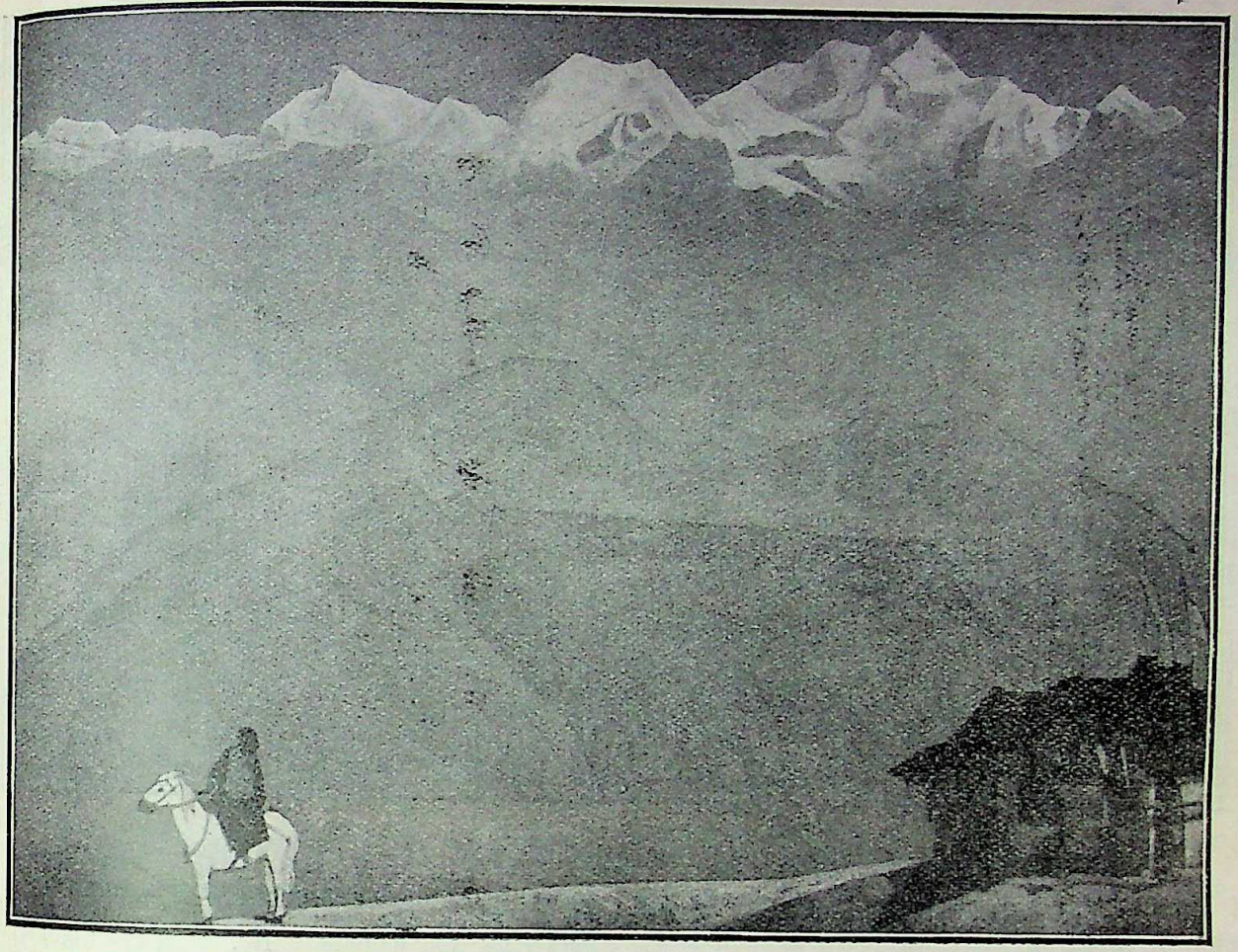
As a final, as the most convincing word, one may say, which Roerich imparts upon the belief in womankind—must be mentioned the two paintings "Mother of Tourfan" and "Mother of the World." The former is the Mother and child from perhaps the earliest conception known, found in the frescoes of Tourfan. In this conception of the Holy Mother sprung on the soil of the East, one may go back centuries, even eons; here is the Holy Mother as early man of all nationalities conceived her—all-beneficent, all-giving.

Of Roerich's "Mother of the World" one may say as had been said of Roerich's paintings before—its beauty can hardly be transmuted into words. Here is the Mother of all living men; here is the mother of a world's spirit.—In a world-beyond world, canopied by heaven and the stars, sits she whose image has been worshipped as Isis, as Ishtar and come down the ages, the Holy Mother of all religions. Roerich has enveloped the entire painting in a blue as of the Eastern night. Infinite eternity are in the depths of this creation; boundlessness of earth is here. This figure of Benevolence broods over the cosmos, ever-compassioned, ever-watchful—mother of all the Sons of men.

To those who have seen this in the Roerich Museum, it is a revelation how this

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"Remember"—("His Country" Series) By Nicholas Roerich

painting summons the deepest spirit of women. Many stand long and silently before it: many even weep before its vista, held by its suggestion of the silences which intone their symphony to the ear and the spirit of the one who hearkens.

And, so, Roerich—as perhaps the outstanding figure in the artistic and cultural world of today—pronounces unequivocally his belief in the life of womankind, and in her mission. He reiterates in his work that dedicated belief of the East—which beholds the rising star of the Mother of the World approaching the world and enveloping it in her embrace of benevolence.

In the history of culture, Roerich is an unique figure—and his championship of womanhood comes from a voice which has long led the educational cohorts of a score of countries. There is in his art a ceaseless flood of activity. A surging of creative power which endlessly seems to inspire and to invoke, a feeling of a coming apotheosis of spirit.

"When we speak of brotherhood, of love of harmony", says Roerich, "we are not repeating absurd, unbefitting, old-fashioned words, but words pertaining to the immediate practice of life. A miracle is being performed in the midst of life, in the midst of action, amidst intense harmony. The visions of night are being transformed not into fables but into the phenomena of happy communication with the paths of the Blessed.

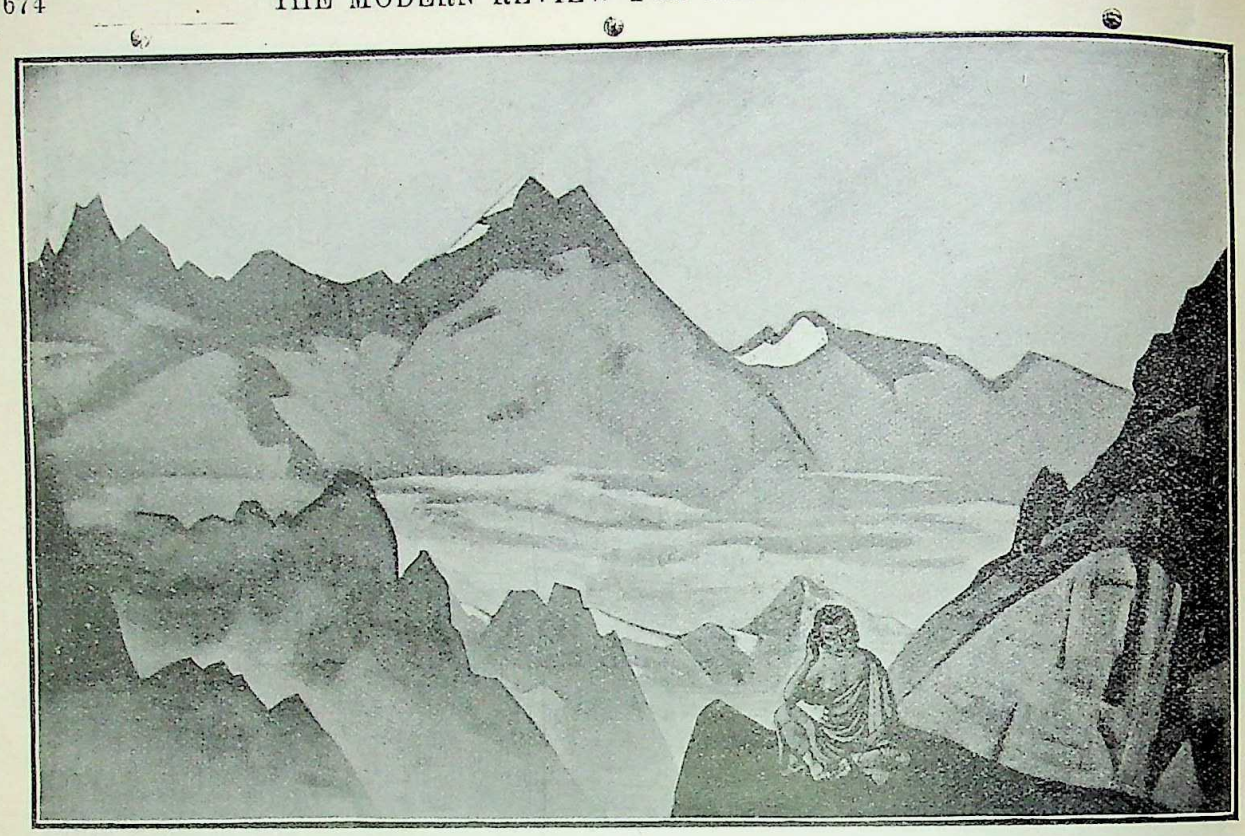
"The window open into the darkness will bring us the voices of the night, but the call of love will bring the answer of the Beloved, A new world is coming."

Several years ago when Roerich exhibited his works in London, the critics of England and of Scandinavia entitled him the prophetic painter, because in his pre-war paintings, completed when the world still basked in a silence of satisfaction, Roerich saw conflagration ahead, doom was over the grey world.

But now Roerich perceives a miracle. He is not frightened by the agitation of life, by the unrest, by the chaos—he sees victory. His call is loud and clear—on to the coming

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"Milaraspa"—One who Hearkned ("Banners of the East" Series) By Nicholas Roerich

of a new day, a day when the new sun will rise over an earth refreshed and full of awaiting!

This essential beauty Roerich sees in the woman of India. As he recently said, "Many things may be changed in India but I would greatly regret the disappearance of one thing—the delicate Sari, full of its tender shells, and which seems to glide along as a sacred cloud. From palace to village, I recall this flowing veil and the woman bearing her water. Is it not from this source that shall come the new rejuvenation of India?"*

And passing through India, Roerich ever beholds the Hindu women in the light of her potent influence: he writes:

On the banks of the Ganges, a woman quickly telling her rhythms, perform her morning pranayama on the shore. In the evening she may again be there sending down upon the stream of the sacred river a garland of torches as prayers for her children. So that these fire-flies of a woman's soul, prayer-inspired, flit for long upon the dark surface of the waters."

Or again:

'On the fields are standing, in circles the figures of white ceramic horses. For what are these resplendent mounts? Upon them, the spirits of women are said to go galloping through the night. Backs which are doubled during day in the household tasks, during the night are made erect in flight. Shall one say it is a goat's leap to the gathering of witches. No. It is the flight of the Valkyries—the virgins of the air pursuing a beautiful and wondrous future."……

"Each day of woman's hand moulds the sand at the entrance of the house into a special design. This is the symbol that within the house all is well. There is neither sickness, death or discord. If there is no happiness in the house then the hand of the woman become stilled. A seeming shield of beauty is placed by the hand of the woman upon the benevolent hour of the house. And little girls in school are being taught a variety of designs for the signs of happiness. An inexplicable beauty lives in this custom of India."

Roerich's universe of which Andreiev wrote that it was the "realm where the eternal word of God and man came forth speaking enternal love and eternal wisdom"—Roerich's world is ever illumined by the Star of the Mother—the star of the East. For him the time is soon coming when the morning stars shall sing together the harmonies of their celestial song.

It is a world of which Mary Siegrst well wrote—

"—There are those who say
They too have touched those shores and seen
What they have seen and heard
What they have heard—
And all alike are dumb who try to tell of them,
And these shores travellers say are phantom ways
While those front high upon reality."

* Quotations are from "Himalaya", Monograph on Roerich's art; Pub., 1926, Brentano's, New York.

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ENAMELLING IN ANCIENT INDIA

By KEDARNATH CHATTERJI

"ENAMELLING is the master art-craft of the world, and enamels of Jaipur in Rajputana rank before all others, and are of matchless perfection."*

So wrote G. C. M. Birdwood (later, Sir George Birdwood) in 1880. Today, although like a whole host of other Indian art-crafts, it is almost extinct, enamelling can yet rank with the very first in a world competition.

There can be no doubt about the fact that this art attained a very high standard of perfection in this country and that, until very recently, the methods of technique followed was very much Indian in nature. Latterly western methods and materials have been introduced and, as is usual in this country, the master craftsmen not being taught to improve on their time-honoured methods in the light of modern science, the new-comers are wiping out the established houses. The traditional art and skill of the Indian enameller is thus perishing for ever, the cheap and shoddy exterminating the costly but the exquisite. This is not the place to describe this particular Indian art-craft in detail. Those interested may be referred to the following:—

Jeypore Enamels—By Lieut. Col. S. S. Jacob, R. E. and Surgeon-Major T. H. Hendley.—W. Griggs, London, 1886.

The Industrial Arts of India—G. C. M. Birdwood.

The Arts and Crafts of India and Ceylon. Ananda Coomaraswamy. T. N. Foulis. London. And the various articles on jewellery and enamel that appeared from time to time in the *Journal of Indian Art.*

It is proposed in this article to go into the history of this art with regard to the question as to how long it has been known in India.

Hendley considers that it was probably introduced by the "Turanians" (Scythians) and gives the basis of his deduction as follows—

"Labarte in his *Hand-book of the Arts of the Middle Ages*, endeavours to prove that the art of enamelling, originated in Phœnicia, and thence found its way into Persia where it was known in the reign of Chosroes (A. D 531 to 579). The Greeks and Indians in their turn, he thinks, acquired the art from the Persians. He, however, mentions that Mons. Panthier in his *Histoire de la Chine* quotes a document, in which it is stated that a merchant of Youechi, or Scythia, introduced into China, in the reign of Thaiwouli (A. D. 422 to 451) the art of making glass of different colours.

"We may therefore, justly conclude that enamelling, which is only a branch of the art of vitrification, was known at an early period, if it did not originate, in Scythia, the home of the Turanians. In the Boulak Museum, at Cairo, some of the jewels of the Queen Aahhotep (wife of Aahmes I, of the 18th dynasty) who lived about B. C. 1700, are ornamented with blue glass and a species of cloisonne enamel. These facts seem to indicate a Turanian origin of the art, and there are many points connected with its practice in India which would appear to confirm the theory. It is remarkable that the best enamellers in Europe have been the Etruscan Florentines, and in modern India the Sikhs, both, it is thought, of Turanian descent."—T. H. Hendley in the *Journal of Indian Art*, No. 2 (1883) article on "Enamel-Minakari".

Birdwood is of the same opinion, although he does not give any reasons beyond the following:—

"It is probably a Turanian art. It was introduced into China, according to the Chinese, by the Yeuechi, and was carried as early, if not earlier, into India.—G. C. M. Birdwood in *The Industrial Arts of India*" New Edition (1880). Page 167, article on "Enamels".

Coomaraswamy is content with saying:—

"Enamelling is essentially a Northern Indian art, and in origin probably not Indian at all". Ananda Coomaraswamy in "*The Arts and Crafts of India and Ceylon*", *1913, p. 15g.*

Baden-Powel in *Punjab Manufactures* gives it as his opinion that the art came from Kabul to the Punjab.

Apart from the above, so far as I know, no opinion has been given on the ancient history of this art in India.

So far as is known today Rajah Man Singh's staff of state is the oldest piece of enamel in India, of which the history is known, dating back to the time of the Emperor Akbar. (Hendley, *Jeypore Enamels.*)

But it is stated that Rajah Man Singh brought his artisans from Lahore. (Hendley, *Ibid*). Therefore it is probable that the art

*"*The Industrial Arts of India.* By G. C. M. Birdwood, C. S. I., M. D. (Edin.) The above quotation is the opening paragraph of the article on enamels.

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had been flourishing there some time prior to that date. Even then, however, we do not get much beyond the post-Mahommedan invasion period. And, therefore, Hendley's theory about the Scythian period (*i.e.*, about the 1st century of the Christian era) being the time of introduction of this art seems to be the earliest date that the history of enamelling in India can lay claim to, and that, at the best, by a wide stretch of imagination.

Philologically we are worse off, if any thing. The common Indian term denoting enamelling is "Minakari", a word of Persian origin, so I am told. We do not possess any word of distinct Sanskritic origin that can be said to mean enamel or the art of enamelling.

Summed up, it seems as if India came to know of this art through the agency of the Muhammadan invaders or, at the earliest, through that of the Scythians.

Therefore, the earliest date that could be ascribed to the beginnings of this art in India, in the opinion of authorities on the subject, would be sometime during the first century A. D.

Now let us go a little deeper into the circumstantial evidence on the matter, for Birdwood and Hendley have theorised on assumptions based on similar evidence, and later writers have either followed them, or been content with the expression of non-committal opinions.

All who are familiar with the technical methods of enamelling know how closely that art is related to that of glass-making specially with its finer branches, such as ornamental glass-ware, imitation gems, decorated beads, etc. The following extract from the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* is given for the information of such as are not :

"Enamel (formerly "amel" derived through the Fr. amail, esmal, esmail, from a Latin word smaltum, first found in a 9th century life of Leo IV.), a term, strictly speaking, given to the hard vitreous compound, which is "fused" upon the surface of metallic objects either for the purpose of decoration or utility. *This compound is a form of glass* made of silica, minium and potash which is stained by the chemical combination of various metallic oxides whilst in a melted condition in the crucible". (*Ency Brit.* 11th ed. vol. IX. P. 362. Article on Enamel).

Needless to say that, although there are many kinds of true enamel of which the composition varies from what is given above (silica, minium and potash) they all fall within the definition of glass, in as much as they are all composed of metallic silicates and borates, mutually dissolved, forming congealed solutions with all typical physical characteristics of substance termed amorphous vitreous bodies.

Therefore, enamelling may be taken to be a highly specialised branch of glass-making now so developed as to form a separate industry. It is probably for the reasons given above, that we find that the history of enamel is tied up with that of glass. In this way all countries or peoples who can claim an indigenous origin for the art of enamelling can almost without exception, as far as is known till now, claim an equally ancient—usually more—history for their knowledge of of glass-making. Egypt, Assyria, Phoenicia, Greece, Rome, none are exceptions to the rule.

Conversely, all countries and nations that have an ancient and long continued history of the art of glass-making can also, almost without exception, lay claim to that of the art of enamelling, in some form or other,

It is not possible here to quote chapter and verse in support of the above statements, but those interested can verify the same by looking up Perrot and Chipiez's *History of Art* in various ancient civilisations and similiar other treatises.

A comparison of the histories of enamel and glass in various countries as given in monographs on the subjects, such as "glass" by Edward Dillon (Connoisseurs' Library, Methuen) and Cunynghame's 'Enamel' etc., will amply bear out my inference.

Therefore, I think it would not be very illogical on my part to deduce from what has been said before, that all such nations as had attained a high standard of proficiency and skill in the art of glass-making were very likely to have discovered that of enamelling for themselves. I do not claim that such discovery would necessarily mean specialized knowledge or very skilled craftsmanship later on. But it would certainly indicate the knowledge of the rudiments of the craft.

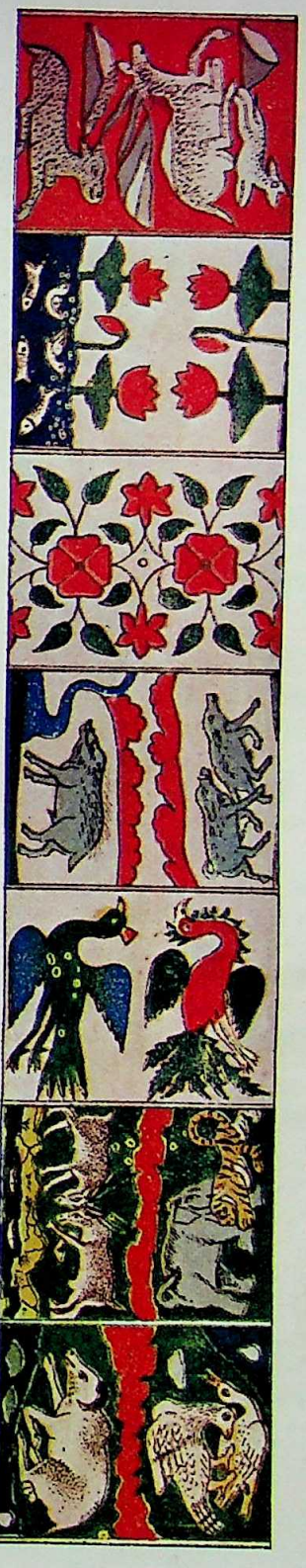
Now, as far as the glass industry is concerned, there can be no doubt that it was known and practised in India for a long time prior to the Scythian incursions, as references can be got from reputed ancient texts of Ayurvedic works, Arthasastra, Sukraniti, Amarakosha, Pliny, Periplus, etc.

The extent of the progress made can

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PORTIONS OF RAJA MAN SINGH'S ROYAL STAFF

Prabasi Press.

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be gauged from the fact that Pliny records that imitation precious stones were made in India in his time, (Pliny xxxvii, 20.) It would, therefore, seem quite probable that Indian glass craftsmen of those days possessed sufficient technical knowledge to enable them to discover and work out the rudiments of enamelling.

So far for assumption. Now to turn to facts, that is, to the question as to whether there is any tangible proof that they did know anything about enamelling in those days.

Books on the subject of scientific and technical knowledge in Ancient India do not give any reference to this subject. Neither do translations of Arthasastra, etc. Lexicographers have no word of which the meaning can be definitely said to be enamelling.

Having failed in this search I decided to examine the various processes, etc., described in the Arthasastra in the chapters on "The duties of Superintendent of gold in the goldsmith's office" and "The duties of the state goldsmith in the high road", to see if any process similar to that of enamelling are described therein.

In the course of the search I came across the following passages in विशिखायाम सौवर्णिक प्रचार: Chapter.

घन सुषिरे वा रूपे सुवर्णमृन्मालुका हिंगुलक कल्को वा तप्तोऽवतिष्ठते। दृढ़वास्तुके वा रूपे वालुकामिश्रं जतुगान्धार पंकोवा तप्तोवतिष्ठते। तयोस्तापनमवध्वसनं विशुद्धि। सपरिभाण्डे वा रूपे लवणमुल्कया कटुशर्करया तप्तमवतिष्ठते। तस्य क्वाथनम् शुद्धि।

Bhattaswami's commentary on these passages is as follows:—

घनसुषिरे घनश्च तत् सुषिरश्च घनसुषिरं तस्मिन्, रूपे कटकाद्याभरणे, न सुवर्ण मृत्सुवर्ण मालुका च धातुविशेष: हिंगुलककल्क: जातिहिंगुलककल्क: तप्त: प्रताप्यप्रक्षिप्तन्मध्ये वतिष्ठते गाढ़ वास्तुके घनघटितपीठवन्धे रूपे लंकरणे वालुका मिश्रं पूर्वोक्तसुवर्णवालुकासहितं जतुगान्धारपङ्कस्सीपदकस्तप्तोवतिष्ठत इति। शोधनमाह तयोरिति तयोर्घनसुषिरवास्तुकविषयोस्तापं दाह: अपध्वसनं ताधानं विशुद्धि: शोधनोपाय: सपरिभाण्डो ( ) वा रूपे वेष्टितमणिबन्धे लवणम्प्रतीतमुल्कया ज्वालयाकटुकशर्करोपेत: तं कटुकशर्करया मृदुपाषाणजात्या सह तप्तमवतिष्ठते। तस्य शुद्धिर्वदराम्लोदकेन सह क्वाथनं विकारान्तरमाह,—

Shamsatry (*Kaut. Arthasastra*, second edition, Mysore) translates the above as follows,

"In a compact and hollow piece (*Ghana Sushire rūpe*) small particles of gold-like mud (*Suvarna mṛnvalukah*) or bit of vermilion (*hingulaka-kalkah*) are so heated as to make them firmly adhere inside. Even in a compact piece (*ḍrdhavastuke rūpe*), the wax-like mud of Gandhara mixed with the particles of gold-like sand is so heated as to adhere to the piece. These two kinds of impurities are got rid of by hammering the pieces when red-hot.

In an ornament or a coin (*Sapari-bhande vā rūpe*) salt mixed with hard sand (*Kaṭuśarkara*) is so heated in flame as to make it firmly adhere to (the ornament or coin). This (salt and sand) can be got rid of by boiling (*Kvāthana.*")

A foot-note gives the meaning of *Kvāthana* as boiling in the acid of the jujube fruit. The translation is inaccurate in my opinion, the learned translator being probably hampered through want of technical knowledge of the subject matter. A paraphrase in the light of the commentary is given below.

"In massive and hollow (scooped out in places ?) ornaments (such as in hollow bangles —comm.), "earth-gold" sand (or powder) and the regulus of cinnabar ore, subjected to heat, firmly adhere inside. On compact solid ornaments, sand mixture with lead paste (जतुगान्धारपङ्क- minium paste ?) subjected to heat will firmly adhere. For those burning (तांप=दाह:- comm.) and hammering is purification. On ornaments like solid bracelets, a mixture of a salt-like substance (लवणम्प्रतीतम्- comm-natron ?) and sand from soft stones, when raised to an incandescent heat (उल्कया=ज्यालया—comm) firmly adhere. For this kind, prolonged boiling in a decoction of acid jujube fruits—and decomposition thereby (विकारान्तर- comm.)—is purification."

Therefore the translation should be as follows:—

"In the case of massive hollow ornaments a mixture of 'earth-gold' powder and cinnabar regulus firmly adheres inside the hollow, if subjected to heat. A (particular) sand mixture, together with a leaden paste, firmly adheres to compact and massive ornaments, when subjected to heat. The purification (i.e., separation of the adherent impurities) in such cases consists of burning and then hammering. On ornaments like (jewel set ?) bracelets, a mixture of salts and soft sand-

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stone powder firmly adheres when heated to incandescence. For such the process of purification is by prolonged boiling in the decoction of acid jujube fruits."

To those who are acquainted with the technology of enamelling the above processes would be apparent as being that of enamelling, and that for reasons as given below.

First of all certain terms used in the text have to be discussed.

सुवर्णमृन्मालुका। Shamsastry translated this as "gold-like mud". The commentator says clearly that "it is not gold, it is earth gold sand", a metalliferrous substance." I think it is most likely decomposed pyritiferous shale, since pyrites was known as स्वर्णमाक्षिक on account of its Goldlike lustre. In any case, it is a sandy earth containing metallic bases.

हिंगुलककलक। Literally, Cinnabar regulus. It would be a bituminous residue with the gangue, containing decomposed pyrites and alkali from wood ash used in the smelting (Arthasastra, Ch XII Conducting mining operations and manufacture), or it may be a mixture of ferrous salts, alum, borax, salt, etc., used in 'killing' mercury (Hindu Chemisty-P. C. Roy. Vol I. p. 40), together with the quartz and pyrites of the gangue.

जतुगान्धारपङ्क—Shamsastry translates this as "the wax-like mud of Gandhara". The Commentator gives स्सीपदक: which Jayaswal and Banerji-Sastri consider to be सीसपंक Now a certain variety of lead ore is still known as Surma Kandahari (i.e., of Gandhar) in Punjab (Baden-Powell, Econ. Prod. of the Punjab, p. 103).

Further, the substance known as Silajatu in the Indian markets is a basic mixture of Sulphates, Carbonates, etc., of Aluminium, Iron, etc., with Silica, lime, etc, as impurities. In view of the commentary, probably *Jatugandhar* means some decomposed lead ore.

Now for the reasons for considering these processes as being enamelling.

1. The ingredients of the applications.

(a) "Earth Gold" sand and cinnabar regulus. It is a vitrifiable mixture of sand, metallic salts (from pyrites and the regulus) and alkalis from the shale, the wood ash and the regulus. This view is made more probable in view of the directions given for its disintegration in the purifying processes (See below).

(b) "Sand mixture" and leaden paste, probably containing the gangue of galena ore as well. This is an ideal enamel mixture. If *Jatu-Gandhar* be impure *Silajatu*, even then the mixture is eminently vitrifiable.

(c) "Lavana Pratita" (may be natron or any other basic salt) and sand from soft sandstone (containing Silica together with alumina, lime and other alkalis from decomposed felspar). This also is a very common vitrifiable mixture.

2. The process of application. In every case the application is made to adhere by heat. Shamsastry uses the following words—"so heated as to make them firmly adhere" and "so heated in flame as to make it firmly adhere." Hendley in his introduction to "*Jeypore Enamels*", in describing the process of enamelling, says:

"The colours are placed in depressions hollowed out of the metal to receive them and *'are made to adhere by fire*,"

It is, therefore, evident that the process is that of firing enamels and vitreous glazes. Specially in the third kind of application the term used is *Ulkaya* which means firing to a tremendous (literally meteoric-incandescent) heat This precludes any other process excepting true enamelling, as that temperature would ignite and destroy molten adhesives like pitch, wax, lac, etc

3. The purification of the coated ornaments.

There are two processes given. Firstly by burning and then hammering. Shamshastry has translated this as, "impurities are got rid of by hammering the pieces when red hot." Hammering while red hot (i.e, when the metal is in a malleable state) would do the reverse, that is, a good part of the impurities would be driven into and intimately mixed with the precious metal. But if the article be burnt, then the vitreous coat would be loosened, and rapid cooling would further enhance the action, due to the difference in the coefficients of expansion and contraction between gold and the vitreous coats. Further burning without annealing would render the enamel coat highly brittle due to internal stresses. All these would mean that the loosened and brittle coat would fly off into bits on hammering.

This very process, therefore, is an indication of the vitreous nature of the application. The second process, that is "Kvathana," *is*

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still in use in Rajputana. The enamellers even now use a dip made by the decoction of acid fruits, mainly jujube. (*Jeypore Enamels*—Jacob and Hendley. P. 4.) The enamelled article is given a short dip in the acid solution, which decomposes the rough top layer, leaving an even surface underneath.

To sum up, although there may be some doubts about the first two processes, the third one in which a mixture of salts with sand, alumina, alkalis, etc., are made to adhere on to a metallic surface by firing to a terrific heat, cannot be anything but enamelling, as the identical process is still in use to-day in the art of enamelling. Further, if any other evidence were necessary, the use of the acid fruit decoction (still practised in India by enamellers) places it beyond doubt.

Then comes the question of the term used to denote enamelling. The present-day name in Upper India is *Mina* or *Minakari*, a term derived from Persian sources, according to philologists. There is no recognised Sanskrit word to denote the process of enamelling.

In the fourteenth chapter of the Arthasastra ('The duties of the State Goldsmith on the High Road") we find the following processes given as being those of a Goldsmith's craft :—

The processes are *Ghana*, *Ghana susira Samyuhyo*, *Avalepya*. *Samghatya* and *Vasitakam*. Of these *Avalepya* has been translated by Shamsastry as being amalgamation. But the word amalgam means a mercurial alloy, that is, a metallic mixture of mercury with some other metal. Therefore amalgamation would mean the use of mercury. This is indicated in the *Vasitakam* process by the commentator, who explains *Avalepyam* by "*Tanupatra Yojanam,*" i.e., the adding or joining of fine leaves (or flowers). The current meaning of *Avalepya* is an application of some unctuous substance, Now we have seen that the vitreous coat of enamel was applied in the form of "*Panka*", which means a fine mud or paste. Therefore the process of *Avalepya* might have derived its name from the application of this mud.

Again, the commentator says "*Tanu patra Yojanam.*" "*Tanu*" means, fine, delicate, etc. and has the derived meaning of beauty (as in the case of women). So if "*Tanu patra*" means fine, delicate (beautiful flowers), enamelling would again be indicated, specially as all other methods of adding flowers or leaves to the ornament are separately named, such as joining (*Samyuhya*) soldering (*Samghatya*) colouring and gilding (*Vasitakam*), etc.

Therefore, *Avalepya* probably means enamelling. Finally, to come to visual representation. The Ajanta paintings show a great number of ornaments which have beautifully shaped green, blue and red stones of huge dimensions. If this green or red stones were really precious stones, then it must be said that emeralds and rubies of unheard of huge size were quite common then, and that lapidaries of those days were able to beautifully shape and cut the same in a manner that would be considered almost impossible even today. But we see rough-cut precious stones in the diadem of the Queen in the dressing scene, and in plenty of other places. This would mean that the lapidary's art was not so very advanced then.

The problem would be solved by assuming that those blue, green and red portions indicate enamelling and not precious stones.

K. RANGA RAO

By E. SUBBU KRISHNAIYA

RAI Saheb K. Ranga Rao, the pioneer social reformer in the West Coast of the Madras Presidency, was born on the 29th day of June, 1859, in Mangalore in a poor and highly respected orthodox Saraswat Brahmin family. His father Devappayya was a clerk in one of the local firms and as such he was highly respected by his employers for his simplicity, piety, honesty and devotion to work. Mr. Ranga Rao was brought up in a strictly orthodox way and he had the advantage of hearing the Ramayana and the Bhakta-Vijayam read to him in his own house, which helped him to a

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very great extent in imbibing the spirit of *Bhakti* early in life. As was usually the case with the orthodox Hindus of those days, Mr. Ranga Rao was married when he was quite young. But it is remarkable how this young boy, brought up under orthodox influences, could cultivate a taste for the spiritual worship of one God and began to attend the prayer meetings of the local Upasana Samaj which subsequently developed into a full-fledged Brahmo Samaj under the zealous leadership of the late Mr. U. Raghunadhiah, who became later on his relative and for whom he had profound respect, and, in fact, he was his guide, friend and philosopher all through his life until the latter gentleman passed away in 1921.

On account of his poor circumstances he had to study privately under very trying and pitiable conditions and pass the Matriculation examination. As he had to shoulder the responsibility of maintaining a big family, he had to give up the idea of further continuing his course for the University degree. Mr. Ranga Rao had to work as a copyist, drawing a daily wages of 2½ annas and afterwards as a teacher getting only Rs. 6 a month to start with, before he had passed the pleadership examination in 1885, and taken to the practice of law. Mr. Ranga Rao tried to improve his worldly prospects by passing the Law Examination of the Bombay University and with this end in view, even remitted the examination fees and was preparing to go to Bombay to sit for the examination. But God's plans for him were otherwise and he was not destined to go to Bombay and appear at the Examination Hall, on account of the sickness of two of his sons in the family at the same time. "God's ways are not ours" and when He wanted our hero to excel in the field of philanthropy and be a benefactor to the down-trodden classes, how could it be possible for a poor and helpless man like our friend to work against His will !

He was practically the first in his community to give higher education to his grown-up daughters. At a time when there was no special college for girls, Mr. Ranga Rao used to send his daughters to the local Government College, to study along with the boys, even at the risk of being jeered at by his caste and other orthodox people. It is needless to mention that the girls were put to much trouble and petty persecution, which, be it said to their credit, they bore patiently and courageously, with the result that they happened to be the exemplars to their sisters of their own community in the matter of prosecuting higher studies under great obstacles. Mr. Rango Rao, like a true hero, braved all these persecutions and had the satisfaction of seeing all his three daughters highly educated and accomplished. Mrs. Radhabai Subba Royan, the talented wife of Han'ble Dr. P. Subba Rayan, the chief minister to the Government of Madras, is not only a graduate of the Madras University but also enjoys the unique distinction of being elected for the first time, among ladies, as a member of the Syndicate of that august body. Her younger sister, Miss Shanta Bai passed her M. A. examination with honors and was subsequently appointed as a Professor in the Queen Mary's College. She recently returned from England where she had been to prosecute higher studies on study leave. She is also a member of the Academic Council of the Madras University. The eldest daughter, Mrs. Lalitabai Subba Rao, though not a graduate, is a highly cultured lady taking interest in all movements that are calculated to advance the cause of her own sex, besides being a first nominated Lady Councillor of the Mangalore Municipality.

Mr. Ranga Rao interested himself in the matter of marriage reform. His three daughters were kept unmarried even after they had attained their nubile age, which was quite contrary to the custom even among the present-day orthodox Brahmins. Besides he had given his second daughter to a non-Brahmin, an act which is not contemplated even by the present-day Soutn Indian social reformers of the advanced type, as they consider that this step is too radical a move for any sane man to undertake, under the prevailing social conditions in Southern India. This was one of the most notable inter-caste marriages that had taken place in the Madras Presidency.

Mr. Ranga Rao was an enthusiastic advocate of the re-marriage of widows himself actively helping in bringing about a number of such marriages, in his life-time, some of them being within his own family circle and himself acting as the minister or *acharya* in many such functions. Lately, he started a branch of the Vidhava Vivaha Sahaik Sabha of Lahore at Mangalore of which he was the President until his death.

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He was widely known throughout the country as a foremost worker in Southern India to ameliorate the condition of the Depressed Classes, for doing which he even gave up his practice and solely devoted himself to the service of the down-trodden classes, whose condition in the Malabar coast is most miserable. He heard in the year 1897, with great joy from one of his clients, that a Panchama boy had passed the Primary School examination. He got further information about him and finally secured him as a teacher in the school which was opened by him in the same year. Practically he was the first man, in the whole Madras Presidency, probably with the exception of the Southern India Brahmo Samaj at Madras, Theosophical Society at Adyar and a number of Christian missionaries, to conceive the idea of trying to uplift these "untouchables" but who are really "unapproachables, unshadowables and unseeables", in the words of the late Sir Narayan Chandavarkar of Bombay. It was a tremendously uphill task to collect the boys of these classes, who had no settled habitations, just as we find in other parts of the country.

These unfortunate people are human beings only in name. Otherwise they are treated even worse than dogs and pigs. In fact, they were actually called by such names as pig's tail, dog's nose, &c., and they were not allowed to be given the names of Rama, Krishna, &c., which was the exclusive privilege of the so-called higher classes. Once the teacher in the service of Mr. Ranga Rao was brutally beaten by the arrogant caste people for using the umbrella which was presented to him by Mr. Ranga Rao, so that he might protect himself from the heavy rains, which generally continues in these parts continuously for three months. Since Mr. Ranga Rao started his school, various persons and bodies have sprung up throughout the region as the benefactors of these classes, but doing precious little, besides advertising themselves. Therefore, it is no wonder, Mr. Ranga Rao's school, which was kept up steadily and continuously as an independent Institution for ten years, became a nucleus of a branch of the All-India Depressed Classes Mission at Mangalore on the suggestion of Mr. V. R. Shinde of Bombay, its General Secretary. Mr. Ranga Rao had to struggle very hard for raising the necessary funds to equip the institution with funds and at times he used to feel mental agony at the meagre support he had received from the educated people, who were very eloquent with their sympathy on public platforms, but very close-fisted in the matter of giving money. Once he even remarked to the present writer that haphazard efforts at improving the Panchamas by the various indigenous bodies by merely starting ill-equipped primary schools would only result in indirectly strengthening the work of the Christian Missionary, as those who tasted the benefits of education would not remain contented with what they got but would like to continue further and aspire after better a life, which they could have only by joining the Christian Missions. Especially, in the Malabar coast where the Basel German Missionaries have been doing wonderful work with the aid of their Industrial Settlements, and Work-shops, these lower classes were the foremost to take advantage of those



K. Ranga Rao

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institutions by joining the Christian fold, and at the same time finding work in those institutions. Again, this method of work must have suggested to Mr. Ranga Rao, the idea of starting a Weaving and Industrial Department in his Mission as a branch of his ameliorative activities, which has since developed into a very useful work-shop, where the public place orders for supply of furniture, &c, on reasonable rates.

Mr Ranga Rao was the first man in India who conceived the idea of a colony for these Depressed Classes and he had succeeded in starting seven colonies, of which four were situated within two miles from Mangalore, having obtained free gift of land from the Government. This kind of work has since been recognised by the Government, as, being one of the effective methods of improving the condition of the Depressed Classes In fact, the Labour Department has been starting colonies for these people wherever possible and the Government is willing to encourage the public bodies who are willing to undertake similar work in behalf of the Depressed Classes. Mr. Ranga Rao was again the first man who conceived the idea of starting a Boarding House for the children of the Depressed Classes, he having first felt the difficulty of securing the continued attendance of the boys in his school, as they had to come from long distances. So he started the idea of feeding them during the mid-day, to begin with, and later on he provided a regular Boarding House for the deserving boys as an annexe to his school. There are new about 28 boys for whom the Government pays a monthly grant of Rs. 170. From the latest published report of the Mission, which is now conducted by the Servants of India Society, with the assistance of a local committee, of which among others, the Trustees of the Mangalore Brahmo Samaj are the life members of the mission, we find that the mission has a permanent endowment of the value of Rs. 8050 and the receipts during the year were Rs. 8794-13-11 and expenditure Rs. 8711-0-11. The Mission maintains, besides one higher elementary school, a Boarding House, an Industrial Institution and seven colonies, besides giving Medical Relief to the people and encouraging higher education among the boys by giving them scholarships.

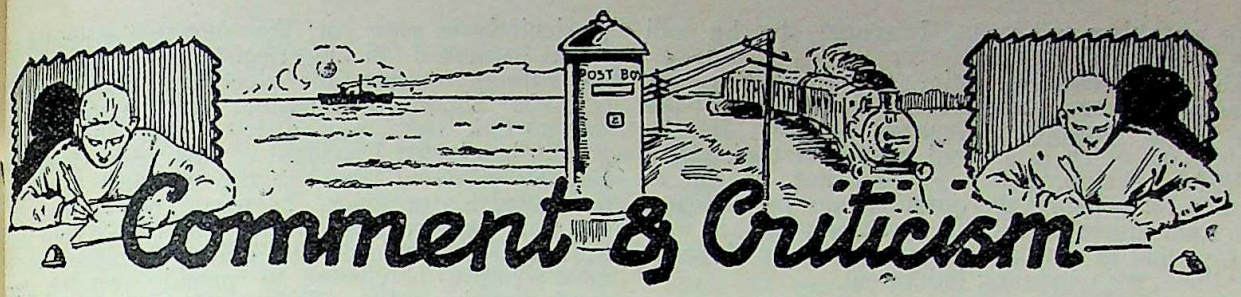
There is a co-operative credit society also attached to the mission. As if to give a finishing touch to his lifelong work among the Depressed Classes, he specifically mentioned in his will that his dead-body should be touched and carried by the Panchamas, which of course was done by the courtesy of his bereaved children. The Depressed Classes have verily lost a sincere friend, well-wisher and benefactor of their community, by the death of Mr. Ranga Rao and the Mangalore Depressed Classes Mission stands as a living monument to his self-sacrificing labours in the cause of the amelioration of the Depressed Classes. If there are only half a dozen good Centres of activity among the Depressed classes managed by indigenous agencies and supported by the public, certainly Mr. Ranga Rao's mission deserves to be counted as one, and it occupies very easily a prominent place among them.

I have already incidentaly mentioned his connection with the Mangalore Brahmo Samaj. He was its minister, secretary and later on its President and continued to take all through his life a living interest in its work not only at Mangalore but throughout India and was anxious to propagate its principles in an effective manner. He was one of those few earnest-minded men in the Brahmo Samaj who wanted to see that it is better organised and its work more enthusiastically carried on by a band of well-trained and capable missionaries. With this object in view, he submitted a scheme of mission organisation to the Calcutta Sadharan Brahmo Samaj, which it is hoped will be taken up by its leaders for their consideration and some thing will be done in connection with the centenary celebrations.

The Government of Madras recognised his services in connection with his work among the Depressed Classes and dubbed him with a title of Rai Saheb. Religion had been the main source of inspiration in his life, as it has been the case with many a social and philanthropic worker in all parts of the world. He was a regular worshipper and he had a hankering for the realization of higher spiritual truths. He entered, a few months before his death, the order of Sannyasins and assumed the name of Swami Iswarananda. Quite in an unexpected way, he passed away on the 30th January, 1928. Mangalore has lost in him a g ood and worthy citizen, the Brahmo Somaj, a good worker, and mother India, a noble son and the Depressed Classes, their only hope and main-stay on earth, so far as the West Coast of Madras is concerned. May God grant him peace!

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Comment & Criticism

[This section is intended for the correction of inaccuracies, errors of fact, clearly erroneous views, misrepresentations, etc., in the original contributions, and editorials published in this Review or in other papers criticizing it. As various opinions may reasonably be held on the same subject, this section is not meant for the airing of such differences of opinion. As, owing to the kindness of our numerous contributors, we are always hard pressed for space, critics are requested to be good enough always to be brief and to see that whatever they write is strictly to the point. Generally, no criticism of reviews and notices of books is published. Writers are requested not to exceed the limit of five hundred words.—Editor, The Modern Review.]

Indian Name for Mount Everest

In the October number of the *Modern Review* Mr. Satya Bhusan Sen has given his reasons in support of the opinion that Mount Eeverest was not known to the Hindus and had no Hindu name. His reasons are (1) that the Survey of India has definitely proved that the peak that Hermann Schlagint-weit saw was not Mount Everest, and (2) that according to the Royal Geographical Society of London Gauri-Sankar is not a name of Everest. With regard to the first reason Mr. Sen does not say when and how it was so proved. It is however incomprehensible how the Survey of India could ascertain what peak Schlagint-weit was looking at which he was told was Gauri-Sankar. On the other hand, what is beyond doubt is that with the materials furnished by him the position of this peak was fixed in German maps, and it coincides with the position of the Survey of India's Everest. The theory of the comparatively small group of British people who must appropriate the credit of the discovery of this peak and of naming it for their Government and its officers, is that the peak seen by Schlagint-weit and its neighbouring peak for which the Hindus had a name (Gauri-Sankar), while the highest peak, close by, was left unnamed by them—probably to enable the future conquerors of India to claim the credit of its discovery "and to have the satisfaction of its being called by a British name. Apart from the plain reference to be drawn from the fact of identity of the positions of Schlagint-weit's peak and Everest, the theory cannot possibly appeal to most people. We also find that Mr. Sen himself exludes the Nepalese from the charge of ignorance of Everest, and it is no one's case that they have any name other than Gauri-Sankar for it. With regard to the second reason, if an opinion of the Royal Geographical Society of London, in such a matter, has the effect of an unchallengable decree, there is an end of the matter, and the controversy is useless. Otherwise so far as the Society means to say that Everest had no Hindu name, their opinion is of little value. The Society is concerned with the existence and position of such objects, and not whether before its existence came to their knowledge others knew of it and had a name for it. The formerly little known hill village of "Kalon" or "Kalapahar" in the District of Garhwal (U. P.) is now the well-known cantonment called "Lansdowne." I do not speak that any transaction of the Royal Geographical Society will shew that this place ever had a Hindu name. The chief work of the Society is to record the discoveries and nomenclatures of which it receives reports, mostly from its nationals. It does not matter for geographical purposes what a place is called. But it is natural for the Society to have a preference for the name given to it by its own Government or by its countrymen. So far as the Society alleges that Gauri-Sankar is another peak, why is not such an important peak which is often mixed up with its famous neighbour, shown on British maps, and assuming that originally a mistake some how crept into the geographical literature of Germany, it is likely that people with such a high reputation for carefulness and accuracy in their intellectual sphere of activity as the Germans have, will allow the mistake to continue for nearly three quarters of a century. In my previous letter I have already pointed out the strong similarity between "Gauri-Sankar" and the Tibetan name of Everest (Jo-mo-kankar). And is not Everest practically a double-peak, for which the double name Gauri-Sankar is so appropriate?

The British authorities consisting of an explorer, a writer who is familiar with Nepal, geographers and educationalists, whom I cited in my last letter are obviously not possessed by anti-British and Pro-Indian perversity that they identify Gauri-Sunkar of the Hindus with Everest of the Survey of India. The identity of the two is now so extensively recognized that there are not many qualified persons who dispute it. But racial bias even in such matters, is hard to die, and it does influence some British people who dispute it still.

I hope Mr. Sen will be satisfied that the weight of evidence is strongly in favour of Everest having been known by the Hindus, and of its having been called Gaur-Sankar by them. But if he is still not satisfied there is a simple solution. I would suggest his disregarding the opinion of a body of men sitting in London, and of going to places in the neighbourhood of Kathmandu from where Everest is visible, and asking the villagers

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there what they call it, and I expect that he will then be satisfied.

The writer has no claim to competency for dealing with such questions and the value of the view he is supporting depends entirely on the grounds on which it is based, thanks of the readers of *Modern Review*. including the writer, is due to Mr. Sen for bringing the question into prominence. It is unfortunate that it is foreigners alone who take interest in such questions and try to investigate them, we remaining indifferent.

C. C. DAS.

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Indian Leaders and International Contacts

In your notes in the Modern Review for August, 1928 under the heading "Indians Leaders and International Contacts" You approved of the idea of Indian leaders joining the British Parliamentary union meeting. Pandit Motilal Nehru, Dewan Chaman Lal, Sj Tulsi Chandra Goswami and another member of the Central Legislature were elected delegates. At that time there was a strong opposition from the Press and public that the leaders should not leave India at this critical time particularly in view of the fact that a resolution might be moved in the Legislative Assembly at its autumn session for electing a committee to help the Simon Commission. At that time there was no talk from any quarter that the Panditji was to be elected President of this years Congress. But he declared that if the political condition demanded his presence, he would not leave India. But still you suggest in the aforesaid note that the Panditji resigned his office "because he is most likely to be elected to preside over the next session of the Indian National Congress" You are perfectly entitled to think that some gentleman other than the Panditji should preside over this years congress, but I think you do the Panditji great injustice by saying what you did in the note above mentioned.

Further is not the meeting of the British Empire Parliamentary union going to be held some time in September? and is it not possible for the Panditji to come back in time to preside over the congress after attending the meeting of the Parliamentary union? Then why this ascribing of motives especially from one who is regarded as an impartial journalist?

SUDHAMOY PRAMANIK

THE MEANING OF "NIRVANA"

BY NANDA LAL SINHA, M. A., B. L.

THE words "Sunya" and "Nirvana" of Buddhism caused not a little confusion in the minds of the earlier generation of western students of Eastern Philosophy. Naturally they failed, with the scanty material at their disposal, to grasp the spirit and the postulates of the teachings of the Buddha, and were easily misled by the metaphorical language in which some of the highest concepts of Indian thought are usually clothed. It is to be noted that the Buddha himself refused to be drawn into any discourse on the nature of "Nirvana." No wonder, Western scholars put too literal a construction on the word, and interpreted it to mean "extinction" or "annihilation." So that "Nirvana", which is really equivalent to emancipation came to be regarded as the extinction of the soul like the flickering out of a lamp. This is the view of the matter which was taken by Oldenberg and Childers, among others. Even Dr. Rhys Davids was at one time of the opinion that "Buddhism does not acknowledge the existence of a soul as a thing distinct from the parts and powers of man which are dissolved at death, and the Nirvana of Budddhism is simply Extinction" (*Ency. Brit.*, Ninth Ed., 1876, p. 434). Further researches, however, enabled him to realise his mistake and to correct it; and accordingly to vol. iv of the eleventh edition (1910) of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, which, with the addition of a few supplementary volumes, has been sold successively as its 12th and 13th editions, he has contributed a very excellent account of Buddhism, where "Nirvana" is no longer a mere negation, but a negation of the causes of human imperfection, and is, in other words, fullness and serentity of soul. He has written therein:—

"To have realized the Truths, and traversed the Path; to have broken the Bonds, put an end to the Intoxications, and got rid of the Hindrances, is to have attained the Ideal, the Fruit, as it is called, of Arahatship. One might fill columns with the praises, many of them among the most beautiful passages in Pali poetry and prose, lavished on this condition of mind, the state of the man

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made perfect according to the Buddhist faith. Many are the pet names, the poetic epithets, bestowed upon it—the harbour of refuge, the cool cave, the island amidst the floods, the place of bliss, emancipation, liberation, safety, the supreme, the transcendent, the uncreated, the tranquil, the home of peace, the calm, the end of suffering, the medicine for all evil, the unshaken, the ambrosia, the immaterial, the imperishable, the abiding, the farther shore, the unending, the bliss of effort, the supreme joy, the ineffable, the detachment, the holy city, and many others. Perhaps the most frequent in the Buddhist text is Arahatship, "the state of him who is worthy"; and the one exclusively used in Europe is Nirvana, the "dying out"; that is, the dying out in the heart of the hell fire of the three cardinal sins—sensuality, ill-will and stupidity.

"The choice of this term by European writers, a choice made long before any of the Buddhist canonical texts had been published or translated, has had a most unfortunate result. Those writers did not share, could not be expected to share, the exuberant optimism of the early Buddhists; themselves giving up this world as hopeless, and looking for salvation in the next, they naturally thought the Buddhists must do the same, and in the absence of any authentic scriptures to correct the mistake, they interpreted Nirvana, in terms of their own belief, as a state to be reached after death. As such they supposed the "dying out" must mean the dying out of a "soul"; and endless were the discussions as to whether this meant eternal trance, or absolute annihilation, of the "soul". It is now thirty years since the right interpretation, founded on the canonical texts, has been given, but outside the ranks of Pali scholars the old blunder is still often repeated. It should be added that the belief in salvation in this world in this life, has appealed so strongly to Indian sympathies that from the time of the rise of Buddhism down to the present day it has been adopted as a part of general Indian belief, and *Jivanmukti*, salvation during this life, has become a commonplace in the religious language of India." (Encyclopaedia Britannica, 11th Edition Vol. iv. p. 745.)

Lord Haldane, in his article in the *Hibbert Journal* for July, 1928, has also left no room for any misconception on the subject. Says he: "The soul in which the desire for evil had become extinguished had conquered evil, and was free from all interference with its peace. Of evil it was void, and tranquillity had entered in. The 'void' thus became the description of holiness. The final truth is attained in the primal unity, in which all distinctions, even of individual persons, disappear. The individual self in human experience is not a final reality. It tends to vanish. This vanishing is the object to be aimed at. When it is attained, the contentless 'Nirvana' of Buddhism comes." And, again :—"God is not separate from man but immanent in the self, and yet absolute. The world contemplated by mind is the creation of mind, as in the great modern systems of idealism in the West. Immortality does not mean a continuation of the individual self in space and time. It signifies eternal life, which, once attained, reduces to unimportance the events of human existence, including death. Such eternal life is a positive truth, inasmuch as in our experience it signifies deliverance. Nirvana is, therefore, no mere annihilation. It is rather a transcending of the incidents of an earthly career" (pp. 596-7.)

Credit is no less due to our distinguished countryman, Professor Radhakrishnan of the Calcutta University, for his scholarly exposition of the doctrine of "Nirvana" in his *Indian Philosophy*, vol. i. It is extremely to be regretted, however, that much of the value of his work should be lost through inaccurate references. The learned professor has done an unintended injustice to Mrs. Rhys Davids by citing her as the author of the opinion that "the Nirvana of Buddhism is simply Extinction" (*Indian Philosophy*, vol. i. p. 452). The writer of the article on Buddhism in (the ninth edition of) the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* is not Mrs. Rhys Davids, but her husband, Dr. Rhys Davids. Again, the professor has not mentioned to which edition of the *Eneyclopaedia Britannica* he refers; but, as has been pointed out above, the opinion which first appeared in the ninth edition, was rejected by the writer in the eleventh edition. When any work is referred to without mentioning the edition meant, the latest edition is usually understood to be meant. Professor Radhakrishnan's reference to the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* without mention of the edition referred to is, therefore, misleading and wanting in scholarly accuracy. Another such erroneous reference will be found at page 542 vol. i. of the Professor's work, where a verse bearing on the compassionateness of God is said to have been quoted by Madhusudana Sarasvati in his commentary on Gita, iv, 8; whereas the verse is actually to be found in the commentary of Sridhara on the same text (and not in the commentary of Madhusudan). We sincerely hope that Professor Radhakrishnan will revise all his references and give to his readers such as do not mislead.

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ARYA BHAVAN

By C. F. ANDREWS

ONE of the most difficult problems to be solved in England is the question of the residence of Indian visitors who come over from time to time and wish to keep up their vegetarian habits, which are a matter of principle to them.

Hitherto this problem has been extremely difficult, and many who have come over have suffered very severely on account of this difficulty of finding food suitable to their principles.



GUESTS TAKING TEA IN THE GARDEN
Sir Atul Chatterjee is seen passing sweets. Mr. Khaitan receiving and talking to guests.

In the autobiography of Mahatma Gandhi it is made very clear how great were the difficulties which he himself had to undergo in order to maintain his principles. Others who have come to England since his time have found hardships not much less severe than his. It is true that there are many more vegetarian restaurants in London than there used to be, but it is extremely difficult to find a house in which vegetarian food can be properly prepared. If rooms are taken on the understanding that vegetarian dishes will be provided, the food is then given in a very unpalatable form and health immediately suffers. In a great number of cases Hindus whose principles were very strict in this matter before they came to the West, found themselves very gradually letting go their fixed principles not because of any change in their convictions, but rather on account of the hardship involved in carrying them out.

It was an exceedingly happy thought of Mr. Ghanshyamdas Birla, when he came over to England in the year 1927, to make, as far as he possibly could, provision for the needs of those of his own fellow-countrymen who had their strict principles with regard to vegetarian diet and could not find suitable arrangements in London for carrying out those principles to the full. Before he left England in 1927 he made arrangements and took the first steps whereby a house in a very healthy part of London should be occupied and fitted out for Indian residents on the understanding that all who came there into residence should strictly abide by the vegetarian and temperance principles which Mr. Birla himself holds so strongly.

Along with Mr. Ghanshyamdas Birla, Mr. Ramgopal Mohta has been acting as founder. These two friends, who are also relatives, have between them purchased the property and entrusted the house at 30 Belsize Park called "Arya Bhavan" to a Board of Trustees of which Mr Birla, Mr. Ramgopal Mohta, Seth Jamnalal Bajaj of Wardha and Sir Atul Chatterjee are the members.

Mr. Ramgopal Mohts himself has given half a lakh of rupees towards the the object. The rest of the cost, which amounts to nearly £10,000, has been provided by Mr. Ghanshyamdas Birla himself.

Since Mr. Birla's visit to England last year as the Employers' Delegate to the Tenth International Labour Conference of Geneva, his scheme, which I have outlined above, has been carried into effect by Mr. K. M. Banthiya and Mr. Devi Prasad Khaitan, who have personally given every possible attention to every detail in it and spent much time and energy in carrying out Mr. Birla's own wishes. In everything, they have consulted Mr. Birla himself, and the house is now not only made ready for occupation, but also fully occupied day by day by visitors such as merchants and others who have found it the greatest possible convenience

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in carrying out any work in England without any interference with their strict religious principles as Hindus.

It has been not only a great pleasure, but also a matter of health and power of continuous and strenuous work for me to be allowed to be in residence with my friends in this house and to take part in its life. Whenever I have been passing through London, or staying in London, I have had the great privilege of coming to "Arya Bhavan" as a welcome guest and making my home there



Mr. D. P. Khaitan requests Sir Atul Chatterjee to perform the opening cermony, and Sir Atul replies.

in every sense of the word. I am thus able to write not only from fact, but actually from my own daily personal experience concerning the extraordinary value of such a house in London when used for the purposes which Mr. Ghanshyamdas Birla intended it.

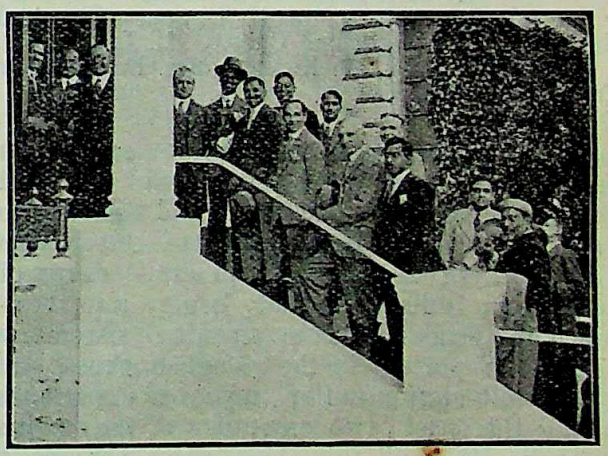
In order to carry out Mr. Birla's scheme successfully he appointed a Managing Committee consisting of the following members :— Mr Henry S. L. Polak, Chairman, Mrs. N. C. Sen, Vice-Chairman, Mr. K. B. Mavlankar, Mr. R. J. Udani, Dr. R. P. Paranjpye Mr. S. Mallick, Mr. K. P. Kotval, Dr. K. Pardy. Mr. K. M. Banthiya, Secretary. This Committee has met regularly and is very keenly carrying out the wishes of the founders in order to make the Institution as successful as possible. The house now contains actually accommodation for 10 guests and has been furnished with all the necessary conveniences for intending visitors who may wish to come there after application has been made. It is intended in the course of time to erect a small temple in the grounds at the back of the house for private worship of the guests, and the authorities have been approached for the necessary permission in this direction. The rules regulating the house for boarders and visitors are of a very simple character. The first two lay down the principles of the house which can never be departed from on any account.

1. Arya Bhavan is intended to be a strictly vegetarian lodge from which are excluded even eggs and fish.

2. No alcohol, intoxicants or narcotic drugs are permitted on the premises.

The 3rd rule states that the conduct and management of the house shall be left entirely in the hands of the Committee of Management appointed by the Trustees, and that this committee may add to their number from time to time with the consent of the Trustees.

Other rules states that preference shall be given to visitors from India, but whenever room is available students also can be admitted for such time and on such condition as the committee may decide. Visitors from India will ordinarily not to be allowed to stay for more than four months without special permission from the Committee of



SIR. ATUL. CHATTERJEE DECLARING THE PREMISES OPEN.
Standing from left to right. Mr. K. M. Banthiya Mr. D. P. Khaitan. Sir. Atul Chatterjee. Mr. Hy. S. L. Polak. Mr. Sukhanan Chetty. M. L. A. Mr. Lalchand Hirachand. Mr. Subboo. Mr. Devi Prassad Sinha. Mr. S. N. Mallick.

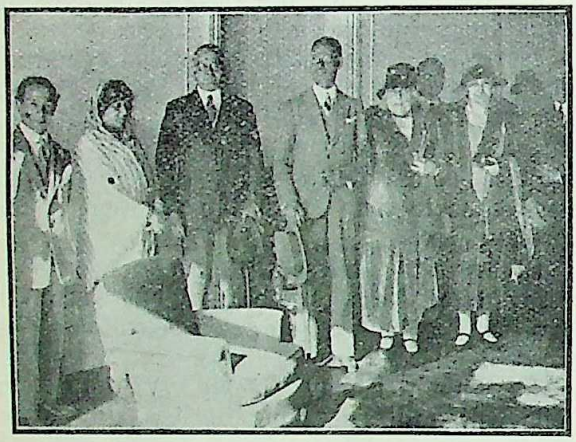
Management, and it is therefore stated that these visitors should as far as possible make their application for residence addressed to Mr. K. M. Banthiya, Hon. Secretary, Arya Bhavan, 30, Belsize Park, N.W.3. at least two months before the date of arrival in England.

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The ceremony of opening the house was performed on June 25th. when Sir Atul Chatterjee, High Commissioner for India, opened the house in the name of the founder. Photographs of the opening ceremony and a picture of the house itself are included with this article and will be of interest to those in India who have read news in the press of the intention of this Institution.

The day was a delightfully fine one and the ceremony itself was tremendously successful. Mr. Khaitan made the speech on behalf of the guests, who thanked Sir Atul Chatterjee for his presence and gave the warmest welcome from India to those who were working in England in the cause of those from India who had come into residence in England. The opening ceremony was well reported in the English Press, and I have felt anxious after my own experience during the past two months of the value of "Arya Bhavan" to make known personally in India how great a privilege has now been given in England to those who wish to come to England and to keep up their strict vegetarian and temperance principles.



AETER THE OPENING CEREMONY. GUESTS IN THE DRAWING ROOM

Second from left : Mrs. N. C. Sen. Sir Atul Chatterjee. Mr. Sukhanam Chetty, M. L. A. Mrs. S. D. Sassoon. Mr. D. P. Khaitan. Mrs. D. Sassoon. Mr. S. J. Gubbay.

I can assure them that within the house itself everything is being done which can possibly be done to provide good, simple and pure food of vegetarian character, which as far as possible, is cooked in Indian style and has all that will satisfy their simple Indian taste in the way of vegetables, curries and cereals. *Puri* is provided at each meal as well as rice dishes and an abundance of fruit is given which makes the meal as wholesome as possible.

One of the advantages of the Arya Bhavan as the centre of this new venture, is the fact that it stands on one of the highest parts of London above many of the fogs and mists which are often very thick along the sides of the River Thames in the lower area. It also is conveniently situated in a street which has very little through traffic for motors and heavy lorries. Thus it is extremely quiet compared with other streets in London. Furthermore, it certainly has much more sunshine in the somewhat sunless land of England than more low lying quarters. For instance, I have gone through the city where there was a dark misty atmosphere up to Belsize Park, and have found there sunshine instead of shadow. The house is also very conveniently situated as far as the underground railway is concerned. It lies between the two stations of Swiss Cottage on the Metropolitan and Belsize Park on the Hampstead tube. It is quite easy to get to the city from either station and the journey to Charing Cross from



VISITORS RESIDING IN ARYA BHAVAN.

Sitting from left:—Mr. D. P. Khaitan, Delegate, International Labour Conference. Mrs. Walchand Hirachand, Mrs. D. P. Khaitan. Rev. Mr. C. F. Andrews.

Sitting 2nd row:—Mr. K. M .Banthiya, Secretary "Arya Bhavan". Mr. Lalchand Heve. Mr. B. L. Sharoff.

Standing:—The Indian Brahmin Cook Mr. Sukhram, Mr. Gadgil, Dr. I. S. Gupta, M. B. B. S., D. T. M. H. Mr. Kishonlal Goink, Proprietor, Akola Cotton Mills.

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Belsize Park does not occupy more than a quarter of an hour in the tube. It is also possible to get to the Bank and Mansion House in the same period of time.

It is not possible to speak too highly about such an arrangement for Indian visitors as this. The need was so great that it almost seems surprising that nothing had been effectively done to fulfil such a want before, but now that it has been fulfilled, it is already quite clear that every use will be made of it, and it is likely that the same principle will be further extended and other residential houses will be chosen in the same neighbourhood in order to provide for those who cannot get accommodation owing to want of space in Arya Bhavan.

My own good wishes go with the founders and with the Hon'ble Secretary, Mr. K. M. Banthiya, and with Mr. Deviprasad Khaitan who have been so splendidly carrying out the founder's design, and Mr. and Mrs. Polak have also given most valuable assistance. Considering how short a time the house has been prepared for occupation, it is quite remarkable to see how quickly full use has been made of it. It is also equally interesting to be able to state that the kindest feeling, goodwill and sympathy between the members who are in residence have been fully manifested, and not a single hitch has yet occurred in any of the arrangements, which has been due more than to any other cause to the strenuous work of Mr. K. M. Banthiya.

DR. SUNDERLAND'S BOOK ON INDIA'S RIGHT TO FREEDOM

"INDIA in Bondage. Her Right to Freedom," by the Reverend Dr. J. T. Sunderland, will be available to the public in the course of a week or so.

The Argument of the book, in the Author's words, is printed below.

THE ARGUMENT OF THE BOOK

The central contentions of the book are:

1. That no nation has a right to rule another; therefore Great Britain has no right to rule India.

2. That British rule in India in unjust, tyrannical and highly evil in its effects on the Indian people (as that of any foreign government must be).

3. That for a great civilized nation, anywhere in the world, to be held in forced bondage by another nation, as India is held in forced bondage by Britain, is a crime against humanity and a menace to the world's freedom and peace, and therefore should be condemned by all nations.

4. That the Indian people, who ruled themselves for 3,000 years, making their nation one of the greatest and most influential in the world, are abundantly competent to rule themselves to-day.

5. That if in any respect they are incompetent to rule themselves now, the British are responsible,—it is the result of Britain's crime of conquering them and holding them in bondage; therefore the remedy is the cessation of the bondage and their restoration to freedom.

6. That the Indian people can rule themselves far better than the British (or any other transient foreigners) can; and for the following four reasons:

(1) The Indian people are the equals in natural intellectual ability and in moral character of the British or any European nation.

(2) They are possessors of a civilization and of a culture far older and in some respects higher than that of Great Britain or any other western nation.

(3) India is the own country of the Indian people, in which they have always lived, their knowledge of India—its civilizations, its institutions and its needs—is incomparably greater than that possessed by the British or any other foreign transients; which means that they can rule India with vastly greater intelligence than the British or any other foreigners can possibly do it.

(4) The fact that India is the own country of the Indian people makes it inevitable that, if they ruled the country, they would do it primarily in the interest of India, primarily for the benefit of India, as every

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country in the world ought to be ruled in the interest of its own people and not that of foreigners; whereas, the British, because they are foreign and their interests are foreign, in the very nature of things have always ruled India, are ruling it to-day, and so long as they hold it in forced bondage always must rule it, primarily for the benefit, not of India, but of their own foreign nation, Great Britain; which has always been, and as long as it lasts must continue to be, an unparalleled wrong and disaster to the Indian people.

The grounds for these contentions are stated in detail in the body of the work.

The book contains the following chapters, besides a Bibliography:—

1. Foreword.
2. A visit to India: what British Rule means.
3. America's Interest, "in India".
4. What Eminent Americans say about subject India
5. If other Nations should be free, why not India?
6. Is Britain ruling India "for India's good"?
7. British arrogance and India's humiliation.
8. "Babu English". Rudyard Kipling Insults.
9. The kind of justice Britain gives India.
10. The kind of "Peace" Britain has given India.
11. India's opium curse; who are Responsible?
12. India's drink curse; who are Responsible?
13. The emasculating influence of foreign Rule.
14. Crushing out the genius of a great and gifted Nation.
15. India and Japan. Why Japan is in advance of India.
16. Democracies and republics in India.
17. Caste in India: should it bar Home Rule?
18. India's Illiteracy: should it bar Self-rule?
19. India's "many Languages and Races." Should these bar Home Rule?
20. India's Grave Social Evils: should they bar Home Rule?
21. Hindu and Mohammedan Riots: should they bar Self-Rule?
22. If the British were gone, would India "Run with Blood?
23. The kind of Military Protection Britain gives to India.
24. Could India, free, protect herself?
25. Are the British "or any other foreigners" fit to rule India?
26. British Rule in India compared with that of the Moghul Emperors.
27. Is British Rule in India "Efficient"?
28. Are the people of India competent to rule themselves?
29. Testimonies of eminent Englishmen as to the competence of the Indian people to rule themselves.
30. How Parliament guards the interests of India.
31. The Truth about the Amritsar Massacre.
32. Why India Rejected "dyarchy."
33. The great delusion: Britain's claim that she is "educating India for Self Rule."
34. The Great Farce: Britain's claim that India is her "Sacred Trust."
35. How India in bondage injures England.
36. How India in bondage menaces the World.
37. When is India to have Self-Rule?
38. Conclusion.
39. Books on India Recommended for further reading.

Eminent Indians like the late Lala Lajpat Rai, Rabindranath Tagore and M. A. Ansari, having read the book in manuscript, have expressed high appreciation of its contents. Extracts from their letters are given below.

LALA LAJPAT RAI—

I know of no other American who has given so much time and attention to the study of Indian problems as Dr. Sunderland has done. And what is more, he has done it so thoroughly as to entitle him to be considered an authority on all phases of these problems—religious, social, economic and political. His studies have extended over a very long time and include trips to India. His views on Indian question, are absolutely impartial and progressive, and free from bias. I am looking forward to the publicaton of his forthcoming book on India with great hope. All Indians have nothing but admiration for his straight-forward truthfulness.

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RABINDRANATH TAGORE—

The Rev. Dr. Sunderland became personally known to me during his visits to India and my visits to America and won from the first my deep regard. I have greatly admired his courage, earnestness and sincerity in taking up in this book the cause of the Indian people, who are still in subjection under British Rule. Such a knight-errant on behalf of those who have been rendered defenceless, makes the name of the West still respected in India in spite of that domination from the West which has robbed her of freedom and left behind a rankling sense of injustice. The facts, which the Rev. Dr. Sunderland has set down in his book, are impressive. They corroborate the great saying of Abraham Lincoln, which he quotes on the title page,—"No nation is good enough to rule over another nation." Let me express my gratitude to the author for his chivalry in devoting so many years of his life to the cause of Indian freedom. His love of humanity, which knows no geographical boundaries or racial differences, should be a lesson to all of us who seek to share his ideals and carry on his work.

Dr. M. A. ANSARI—

Dr. Sunderland's book, besides containing a very unusual wealth of details, possesses also a remarkably comprehensive and synthetic outlook, and therefore should be welcomed by all who wish to understand the real nature of India's difficulties and the only remedy for her misfortunes.

Dr. Sunderland has been a friend of India for many years, he has travelled extensively in the country, and lived and moved among most of the different peoples that constitute the nation. He has studied almost all the literature on his subject. But what makes his book most valuable is, I believe, his remarkably clear perspective. Dr. Sunderland's sympathy is for the nation as a whole, and with its problems as a whole. Special or exclusive interest in any of its particular problems does not lead him to exaggerate its significance. The cry of the intelligentsia of India for free political growth and the silent struggle of the masses against drink, opium and economic exploitation alike receive their true measures of consideration.

Apart from its merits as a work of true scholarship and undeniably scientific value, what must endear Dr. Sunderland's volume to every one of its readers in this country is the author's deep affection for India and the Indian people, which is evident in every page. His affection, however, does not make him partial or unjust, nor has the ghastly tale of all the wrongs that man can inflict on man shaken his faith in humanity. Let his Indian readers, and all his readers, learn this lesson from him.

American and European readers of this book should congratulate themselves on having at last found a work to tell them all that they wish to learn about India. There is hardly a fact or a generalization in the book which is open to challenge. No author could have studied his subject better, or written with greater authority than Dr. Sunderland has done.

PROBLEMS BEFORE THE INDIAN TRADE UNION CONGRESS

BY KISHORILAL GHOSH

THE 9th session of the All-India Trade Union Congress will be held at Jheria—the famous coal-centre and will commence its sittings on the 18th December. That the volume of business of the congress is increasing by leaps and bounds is indicated by the fact that it will continue for three instead of two days unlike the previous sessions and the sittings will conclude on the 20th December. In the Indian National Congress it is the President-elect who delivers his address to mark his assumption of office for the year. But in the Trade Union Congress the address of the session is delivered by the

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retiring president. It is indeed unfortunate to a degree that Mr. C. F. Andrews, who was twice elected to be the President of the Trade Union Congress, at its fifth and eighth sessions, would not be able, owing to his unavoidable absence from India, to deliver his address, as also he was unable for a similar reason to do so on the previous occasion. His weighty utterances this year would be particularly missed because the year 1928 is momentous in the history of the Indian Trade Union movement. Some of the biggest strikes and lock-outs occurred this year and Labour, though only very partially organised, has yet made itself felt to such an extent as to force the Government under the pressure of Big Business to introduce two Bills in the Assembly, viz., the Trades Disputes' Bill and the Public Safety (Bolsheviks' Removal) Bill. The first was re-actionary to a degree, while the second was frankly repressive in character.

It is not intended nor is it possible within the space available to discuss the problems the congress will be called upon to deal with at Jheria. I shall attempt only to indicate briely the nature of the problems rather than discuss the problems themselves. The Indian Trade Union movement, though it is the youngest in the world, has by reason of its potentialities taken a position in the Trade Union world far more important than it is entitled to by virtue of its actual strength. Already two of the biggest International Labour Organisations with different view-points are trying their level best to secure the Indian organisation as an affiliated constituent. The question as to whether the Indian Trade Union Congress should affiliate itself to the Second International at Amsterdam or the Third International at Moscow came up for discussion at its 8th. session last year at Cawnpore. The consensus of opinion was against committing the Indian movement to either side. At a meeting of the Executive Council held at Delhi in February last the question cropped up again and Mr. N. M. Joshi, the General Secretary, was directed to address letters to both the organisations conveying to them the view of the Council to the effect that unless the two organisations were amalgamated into one powerful body, the Indian Trade union Congress would remain as it is. Mr. Andrews in a recent statement based on the results of personal enquiry has further strengthened the decisions of the congress and its executive, though there may be many within the congress who may not accept *in toto* the reasons on which his conclusions are based. " . . I found," says Mr. Andrews, that what I had expressed to be the basic character of the Third International, namely, the insistence on a revolution of violence to accomplish the end which Labour had in view, was entirely correct. Not only were violent methods regarded as imperative in the long run, but a practical policy amounting to violence was carried on almost in every country, even while preparations were being made for a revolution."

Those who have had ccasion to come in touch with Mr. Andrews know how scrupulously fair-minded he is and when he brings such a serious charge against the Third International, we may take it that Mr. Andrews is fully satisfied with the data on which his conclusions are based. But as far as we in India are aware Mr. Andrews did not, during his present travel, visit many countries of Europe. His visit is mainly confined to Britain. He does not mention whether he visited Russia or which of the countries in Europe he visited, where, as he says "a practical policy amounting to violence was carried on." On the other hand, he himself refers to the "bitter struggle" between the Third International's supporters and "the *more conservative* Trades unions" which sided with the Second International. Force, violence and bloodshed, may I submit, are not the monopolies of the Third International. Those who remember how for a few white men killed at Nanking, the whole town was subjected to six hours' bombardment by British and American ships of war, how the British Press commented with approval on the wholesale executions of Chinese workers suspected of communist tendencies ordered by the Nationalists and how feeble were the protests of the second International and the "more conservative national Trades unions", like the British Trades union congress, would be inclined to think that violence, force, bloodshed and intrigues should be condemned with equal vigour, by whomsoever practised.

With regard however to Mr. Andrew's reason as to why the Indian movement should not affiliate itself to Amsterdam, very few trade unionists would differ with him. He found that the Second International and its supporters in Great Britain were by no means free from the cult of Imperialism and racial discrimination. The Trade

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unionist to whom "workers of the world unite" is but a counsel of perfection instead of an article of faith, who has not yet been able to break down the barriers of caste, of race, of creed or of religion, who supports the idea of one nation constituting itself the trustee of another, is a contradiction in terms and the wider berth is given to a body consisting of such units the better for the movement which does so.

But even greater in importance than the question of affiliating itself to Amsterdam or to Moscow is the problem of organisation. The vast natural resources of India, though yet but partially developed, have given this country the 8th. place amongst the industrial nations of the world. Even at this imperfectly developed stage at least five million industrial workers are waiting to be organised. In Bengal, for instance, the jute workers alone number 360,000, which along with the metal, textile, leather, printing workers etc., would bring the total easily up to half a million. The task of organising the workers will become easier if and when intellectual labour takes its stand by the side of the manual workers. It is commonly said that the lot of the clerk, the schoolmaster and, shall I say, the journalist, is much more miserable than that of the manual worker whose earning, as often as not, is on a par with his standard of living and not unoften is equal to, if not larger, than many of those who live by their brains and so those intellectuals who devote themselves to organising the workers should pay more attention to the problem confronting those who by reason of their habits, refinement and culture have a standard of living far higher than they are able to conform to with their small earnings.

Those who say this to disparage the trade union movement labour under a serious misconception as to the aims of the movement. The Trade Union movement originated in the need and utility of collective bargaining with a view to improve the working conditions of those who have to work under a master. This includes all kinds of labour. But the social no less than cultural affiliations of those who live by their brains being more akin to those who live on the labour of others than to those who work with their muscles to produce the requirements of the world—the lower middle class called petty bourgeosie—generally holds itself aloof from the workers. The manual workers have grit, stamina, energy and are impulsive, while the intellectual workers have foresight, patience, prudence and perseverance. As long as at least there is no system of compulsory primary education, intellectual workers are bound to lead their comrades who live by the muscle, till there is complete fusion between the two sets of workers.

So to carry out a well thought-out scheme for organisation the first thing necessary is sustained propaganda. The aims and ideals of the movement should be as often discussed amongst intellectual workers as familiarised to their manual comrades. There should be research institutes for the study of economics with a view to analyse the working of every industry, the productive capacity of the worker, the market value of what he produces, the cost of what he produces and the proportion his wages bear to the cost and the market value of the product. There should be a comparative study of the productive capacities of the workers of different countries, the cost of living in those countries and the standard of living as well as the wages paid. The underlying unity of interests of all workers, whether in the different sections of the same industries, or of the different industries in the same country or of the same industry in the different countries, should be brought home to the workers. The movement should have its organs not only for expounding the principles it stands for but also in voicing forth its needs and opinions on current matters.

Men and money are the two things required to carry out propaganda which would prepare the ground for organisation. Men more than money are required, because honest men gifted with intelligence, energy, perseverance and enthusiasm will not find it difficult to raise money from the workers who would by their number make up for the smallness of individual contributions. But money, even if available, without men with requisite qualities would be squandered away or wasted. The Trade Union Congress will be called upon at Jheria to devise ways and means to train up suitable workers to take up the task of organisation and also to establish suitable media for the exposition of the basic principles of the movement. The Indian public at large, including the workers, have very hazy notions about the movement and what it stands for. On the

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other hand there is organised hostility to the movement and very clear attempts to give it a bad name at the very outset and to nip it in the bud.

Organisation and exposition at home, detachment but not isolation abroad—this is what the congress will be called upon to give practical shape to.

RAJA RAM MOHUN ROY'S POLITICS

[*Extracts from the Author's Forthcoming Biography of the Raja to appear in the "Builders of India" series*].

By N. C. GANGULI

THE Select Committee of the House of Commons, re-appointed in June 1831, after its first pannelling in February, took up now the question of the renewal of the Company's charter. The Raja was consequently invited to appear before it and to give his evidence. He declined the request, the reason of which is not known as yet. Probably his experience of the ethics of Imperialism had taught him to be exceedingly careful with government officials. In successive "communications" he gave to them his opinions and suggestions on the various problems of Indian administration with reference to revenue, judiciary, land, ryots and the condition of the country, which duly appeared in the Blue Books and were also published by him separately. Like all his writings; they reveal a thorough command of materials, careful mastery of the principles involved and an unparalelled stock of information, together with a foresight that is really marvellous.

Mr. Ramananda Chatterjee, in his "Ram Mohon Roy and Modern India" says, in appreciation of the Raja's political pronouncements, that he "laid the foundation of all the principal modern movements for the elevation of the people" A review of his communications to the Board of Control amply bears out the truth of this remark. This group of the political writings of the Raja comprised six papers in all; even the Appendix is extremely useful. The first communication was under date August 19th 1831 on the *Revenue System of India*, in two parts, viz. Answers to questions and New Proposals. The Raja espoused the cause of "the rack-rented ryot or cultivator." He pointed out "such is the melancholy condition of the agricultural labourers, that it always gives me the greatest pain to allude to it." He proposed that rent should not be raised any more, and stipulated a reduction of revenue from the Zemindar ensuring a corresponding reduction in the payment made by the ryot, for rents were so exorbitant that the ryots were in a continuous state of misery. The consequent decrease in revenue could be met from taxation of luxuries and things which are not necessaries of life, and the employment of low-salaried Indian collectors instead of highly paid Europeans. He also advocated in this connection the settlement of a few model land-lords from England, but not drawn from the lower classes so as to counter-act the drain by an inflow of capital. He wanted the resources of the country and of the cultivators to be improved by superior methods of cultivation and the proper mode of treating labour. He indicated clearly "the overwhelming poverty throughout the country" and the drain of wealth from India, that is, "from Indian Revenues expended in England" and "the aggregate of tribute, public and private so withdrawn from India." In an appendix he pleaded for "the indefeasible rights of the ryot in the soil" as a fact of Imperial utility.

His remarks on the *Judicial System* bear the date 19th Sept, 1831. This document is an equally important one, illustrating the Raja's political thought just as the former shows his economic ideas. His advocacy of the use of the English language finds prominence here as well. "Its gradual introduction in the courts would prove ulti-

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mately beneficial by promoting the study of English." He recommended higher judicial posts for Indians and pointed out that the European judges, for lack of knowledge of the language, manners and customs of the people, are not generally expected to discharge judicial duties satisfactorily independent of native assistance. The panchayet-jury system was recommended by him to be adopted with qualified Indian jurors. In his opinion it was not difficult "to find, with proper management, qualified persons among natives for any duty that may be assigned to them." The power of the issuing of the writ of Habeas Corpus was also demanded by him for the Sudder Dewani Court. The separation of judicial and executive functions, over which so many Indian politicians have expended their energy and eloquence in vain, was first of all shown by him to be a national necessity as against "an incompatible and injurious union of offices." He was also the first man to put his finger on a serious defect in the Civil Service, viz, that of giving the highest responsibilities to callow youths from England simply because of their belonging to "the heaven-born service", as it is called in India to-day. It was against ordinary common sense and it needed no further comment. The age 24-25 was considered suitable by him.

His *Queries respecting the Condition of India* was issued on Sept. 18, 1831. The principles followed in these were based on solid facts and statistics and they revealed the essentially practical side of his mind. He was no less of an economist than a politician and reformer that he was. The depth of his analysis will strike anyone even to-day, as much as the extensive field of data covered by him. His political thought rose to its highest in the three demands made in these Communications to the India Committee, and still remain for India, after a hard and continuous struggle for a century, the eternally longed-for "consecration of a poet's dream." Indeed he saw truth as a poet does in all its beauty, glory and perfection in every sphere of life, including even economics and politics, for truth for him was the texture of life, and of the universe. No Indian politician has as yet outstripped him in the length and depth of his vision, and his three demands for his country are classical formulations of national rights. First, he wanted both the educated and uneducated classes to be closely associated with the government of the country as a whole, by throwing open high places in administrative service to the former, and by establishing a militia force for the latter. With reference to the former, he plainly states

"That the only course of policy which can ensure their attachment to any form of government would be that of making them eligible to gradual promotion according to their respective abilities and merits to situations of trust and responsibility in the State"

He was aware of the "undue advantages" possessed by Europeans over Indians in "entertaining a notion of European superiority" over the Indians. But there were also Indians who would "consider it derogatory to accept of the trifling public situations which natives are allowed to hold under the British Government". So much for the intellectual classes, who had not as yet been properly appreciated by the Government in England, whatever might be the protestations in parliamentary speeches from responsible men. For the people at large, his recommendation was the formation of a militia force in which they could serve, and and thus relieve the large standing army. "The saving that might be effected by this liberal and generous policy through the substituting of a militia force for a great part of the present standing army, would be much greater than any gain that could be realised by any system of increasing land-revenue that human ingenuity could devise." But a foreign government had to be always suspicious, as it is even now, and the advice of the greatest Indian of modern times fell on deaf ears. He was right in thinking that the common people should be made to love the Government for the future good of both; for after all, as the Persian sage Sadi said, "to an upright prince his people is an army",

His second and most comprehensive scheme was that for local autonomy, which was put by him in the least offensive way, yet not without the usual sting of plain speaking. In such matters, as those of peace and war, it may be necessary that "the local Government should act on its own discretion and responsibility according to existing circumstances, notwithstanding the opinion of the government in England. But in matters of legislation—judical and revenue matters—the local government might still remonstrate against then to the home autho-

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rities." He adds further, in the light of the then prevailing conditions, that "it would not confer upon them (the people) any political power" but would "give them an interest in the government and inspire them with greater attachment to it." Even at the present day the problem of autonomy is a moot-point of crucial importance, and great leaders like Dadabhai Naoroji, Surendranath Banerjee, G. K. Gokhale spent their lives for it without much effect.

At the end of March 1832 the Third Reform Bill was carried through the House of Commons. The Raja was eagerly awaiting the result ever since it had been introduced by Lord John Russell in March 1831 when the reformer was nearing England. The Second Bill after the dissolution of Parliament was rejected by the Lords in October of the same year. The whole of England was in a state of feverish excitement over it and on the verge of a civil war ; Ram Mohun shared this excitement with the people to the fullest, as if he were an Englishman ; for the very love of freedom was ingrained in his nature. He wrote to Miss Kiddell of Bristol on the prospect of the Third Reform Bill in the Upper House, with considerable warmth of feeling natural to him. He spoke of it as "the cause of Reform, on the success of which the welfare of England, nay of the whole world, depends". Miss Collet says, "he felt that it was no mere British business, but that it vitally affected the fortunes of mankind and in no place more than in India." He saw in it the hope for a new world—a reformed world, in which his own country had a stake and a share. He also saw in its failure the defeat of truth and freedom and thus a country, where such a thing could happen was not in his mind a fit object of love. Anything, in order to be loved, must be lovable in itself. He was moved to such an extent that he designated the struggle, in a letter to Mrs. Woodford, as "between liberty and oppression throughout the world, between justice and injustice, between right and wrong" and in his letter to Mr. Rathbone he added: "As I publicly avowed that in the event of the Reform Bill being defeated, I would renounce my connection with the country" (i.e. England). For, according to him, "the nation can no longer be a prey of the few who used to fill their purses at the expense of—nay, to the ruin of—the people." This principle of moral separation—"non-cooperation" in the language of Mahatma Gandhi—was Ram Mohun's moral equivalent for the application of force against inequity. He repeated this idea most emphatically in another connection with reference to the affairs of India so loved by him. It was not simply a stray thought with him, on the contrary it was a principle necessitated by circumstances on ethical grounds. On the evidence of Miss Aikin's letter to Dr. Channing, the Raja felt deeply and keenly on the questions of trial by jury and the *settlement* of British Capitalists in India. And he expressed himself unequivocally on these demands- "It is his business here", says Miss Aikin, "to ask two boons for his countrymen—should he fail in obtaining these, he speaks of ending his days in America", which was then idealised as the home of freedom. Yet Mahatma Gandhi unfortunately characterised the originator of the very principle of non-co-operation as a dwarf when compared with previous religious reformers, in the face of facts, which proclaim him "a prodigy", in the words of the author of "Life and Times of Carey, Marshman and Ward." He was never a dwarf in any department of life and the later explanation of the Mahatma merely shelved his earlier statement. It is probable that the great modern Indian leader forgot that he was working out Ram Mohun's whole propaganda with alterations here and there. It was the Raja who postulated long before the Mahatma the root-principle that the three countries in Europe, which appear even less prepared than Asia for a liberal system of religion, are Spain, Portugal and England. 2. Miss. Collet's comment on these remarkable pronouncements of the reformer shows her genuine appreciation of the underlying principles :

"It was the pronounced protest the Hindu reformer could make : and at a time of world-crisis, as he conceived it, he must strike his heaviest stroke—should the Bill be defeated, he was resolved on leaving England and transferring himself and his allegiance to the United States."3

It proves in which way Ram Mohun's mind was working. His prodigious strength was not of course directed against England alone. Mahatma Gandhi, it seems, had not done justice in his estimate of this colossal intellect even in the sphere of religion, as results show that Brahmoism has mightily influenced the thought of India and to a certain extent of the world as well. Dr.

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THE TWO ASVINS

By Sj. Promode Kumar Chattopadhyaya

Prabasi Press.

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Macnicol has rightly pointed out Ram Mohun's place as a religious reformer beside Chaitannya, Tusli Das, Kabir, Nanak and Tukaran on the quality of the contributions made by the modern Indian sage.

Ram Mohun's nationalism, sturdy, vigorous and radical, led him to the other truth of internationalism, sound, wide as well as deep. It was a corollary following naturally from the truth he found in Nationalism. A self-governing India must necessarily allow Europeans their rightful place in the land. In his *Settlement of India by Europeans* of 14th July, 1832, he laid stress on the importance of Europeans in this country. He pointed out nine advantages and five disadvantages. He was aware of British feeling over such a proposal, specially with reference to happenings in America and the Indian feeling over the possibility of race mixture. He was above all narrowness and in taking up the side of the planters in 1829, he had in mind, in this connection, the economic. cultural and political good as a whole. He viewed life as a whole, which never allowed him to separate fallaciously culture from economics, or economics from politics, or politics from culture. Yet he was a believer in the legitimate greatness of the East and the potentiality of Asia. His study of world history and the cyclic rise and fall of nations had taught him the facts of human nature from nature's own school. While he was deeply distressed at the degradation of the character of the Asiatics, he explained how weakness entered their constitution through over-civilization. "The cause of such degradation has been our excess in civilisation and abstinence from slaughter of animals". "With respect to Science, Literature or Religion," he added, "I do not acknowledge that we are placed under any obligation, for by a reference to history it may be proved that the world was indebted to our ancestors for the first dawn of knowledge, which sprang up in the East." He concluded by saying "that almost all ancient prophets and patriarchs—may even Jesus Christ himself a divine incarnation and the founder of the Christian faith, were Asiatics." Further he believed in the "superiority of Eastern philosophy over Western systems of thought, and Arabian Logic superior to every other", and held Sanskrit to be the root language for the purposes of comparative study of religion and theology.

The *Remarks on the Settlement of Europeans in India* was produced at a time when the English atmosphere was charged with great political heat over home affairs. Between the Reform Bill and the Charter to the Company, "Ram Mohun, alive to the finger-tips with the significance of both phases of imperial reconstruction, was naturally most concerned with what directly affected his own countrymen." Nor was he in the slightest degree indisposed to contemplate the prospect of India as a nation politically independent. He showed pointedly and clearly the kind ot India desired by him. He wished to see her free and self-determining in every respect, as he indicated.

"If, however, events should occur to effect a separation between the two countries, still the existence of a large body of respectable settlers (consisting of Europeans and their descendants) speaking the English language in common with the bulk of the people.....as well as possessed of superior knowledge, scientific, mechanical and political, would bring that vast empire in the East to a level with other large Christian countries in Europe.....enlightening the surrounding nations of Asia"

And then he added the example of Canada as "a standing proof that an anxiety to effect a separation is not natural with a people tolerably well ruled." Moreover, political relation was to his mind the least and lowest of the many kinds of connections, such as cultural, commercial, etc., that can subsist between and bind together the nations of the world.

Miss Collet says "Never has the spokesman of the New India been so outspoken before. Never has he drawn so liberally on the future.—Indian independence was not exactly a prospect most agreeable to British susceptibilities. Yet it is calmly advanced as a future possibility". But he was thinking on international and inter-religious lines—

"If events should occur to effect a separation—a friendly and highly advantageous commercial intercourse may be kept up between two free and Christian countries, united as they will then be by resemblance of language, religion and manners."

Such a statement from the Raja made many halt for a while ; Miss Collet thinks he was speaking implicitly of the ultimate victory of Christianity, in this important document laying down his international ideal. But the use of the word *Christian* does not mean theological Christianity. The Raja was always explicit as to his own view of the Christian religion and the importance of its

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ethical message. For him the word Christian. *as used in a pamphlet meant for a professedly Christian people*, stood for spiritual progress and advancement away from creed and dogma. He wished to see all countries rise to an average standard of material, moral and cultural prosperity. A little reflection on the frontierless religion of the Raja will bear out the truth that he only wanted to throw open the gates of his own country to the West. It issues logically out of the Theism he held so sacred and dear; in his eyes the whole of India was to be the larger Brahmo Samaj, where all people of all creed and colour might live and worship and be at home, One of the greatest poets and thinkers of the world and a typical representative of the modern age, Rabindranath Tagore has admitted gracefully the great influence of the greatest and noblest modern Indian on his own outlook on international life in the best and the largest sense. When this his last will and testament to the people of India, as called by Miss Collet, is read with an eye to all the claims made by him for his country, there remains no doubt that he was fully conscious of his mission and position as an ambassador from the Indian nation, even though Messrs. John Company refused to recognise him as one from the impotent tool in their hand whom they still liked to call the Emperor of Delhi.

The clearest and boldest pronouncement in Internationalism was made by the Raja in his letter to the French Minister of Foreign Affairs. He was required to procure the necessary pass-port and this appeared to him unnecessary suspicion unworthy of civilized nations. That it exists even to-day is a proof of the crude and uncultured condition of international relations. The unity of humanity was the root-idea from which the Raja deduced his principle much in advance of his age.

"It is now generally admitted that not only religion but unbiassed common sense as well as the accurate deductions of scientific research lead to the conclusion that all mankind are one great family, of which the numerous nations and tribes existing are only various branches. Hence enlightened men in all countries must feel a wish to encourage and facilitate human intercourse in every manner by removing as far as possible all impediments to it, in order to promote the reciprocal advantage and enjoyment of the whole human race." *M. R.* Oct., 1928.

He pointed out further the need for a central organisation or congress of all nations where international differences may be easily and amicably setted. The Editor of the Modern Review has observed that the Raja anticipated to a certain extent the yet immature League of Nations. It is really so and it can be seen in the following remarkable sentences:

"But on general grounds I beg to observe that it appears to me the ends of constitutional government might be better attained by submitting every matter of political difference between two countries to a congress composed of an equal number from the Parliament of each; the decision of the majority to be acquiesced in by both nations, and the chairman to be chosen by each Nation alternately for one year, and the place of meeting to be one year within the limits of one country and next within those of the other...By such a congress all matters of difference, whether political or commercial, affecting the natives of any two civilized countries with constitutional governments, might be settled amicably and justly to the satisfaction of both and profound peace and friendly feelings might be preserved between them from generation to generation." *M. R.*, Oct., 1928.

The Raja had the satisfaction of bringing the cause of the King of Delhi to a successful end before he left London finally. The ministers of the Crown accepted a compromise by which £30,000 were added to the stipend of the Moghul. On July 11th, 1833, the appeal against the Abolition of Sati was rejected by the authorities and Ram Mohun had the privilege of seeing the final blow given to the rite of widow-burning. The East India Company's Charter now came up before the Parliament in the shape of a Bill, after the presentation of the report by the Select Committee in August 1832 and its acceptance by the Court of Directors is April 1833. Its third reading was over on July 24th and the Raja wrote to Miss Kiddell that he "will lose no time in ascertaining how it will stand in the Upper House". Royal Assent was given to the East India Bill on August 20th and virtually it was the Company's last charter. The Reformed Parliament did not satisfy him in his legislative activity, probably because of the terms of the new Charter for the reform of the India Government. The Factory Act and the Abolition of Slave Traffic were carried by the new Parliament at about this time. But "the series of brilliant services which mark him out as the pioneer of Indian freedom may be said to have ended when King William gave his assent to the East India Bill". Indeed the crowning part of his life-work was done in England, according to Miss Collet.

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Miss Pramila Peters went to America in 1926. She was a student at the Isabella Thoburn College, Lucknow. Like many other Indian women students in America she majored in Education and received her A. B. degree from the University of Nebraska in 1928. While in India she was engaged in village school work and realised the dire need of the right type of village education. And now that she has studied the subject of her desire she will be able to do her mite in the great field of rural education.



Mrs. Gangabai Patwardhan



Mrs. Narain Dialdas

Of the 83 Barbour scholarships thus far awarded to women graduates of Oriental Colleges, 44 went to China, 22 to Japan, 9 to India, 3 to Philippine Islands, 2 to Korea, 2 to Hawaii and 1 to Sumatra. We reproduce elsewhere a group of Barbour scholars.

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A Group of Barbour Scholars
India's Scholars, from left to right (sitting) Mrs. Aaron, Miss Arlik. Miss Achylype



Mrs. A. Eapen



Miss. Pramila Peters

Mrs. Irawati Karve, M. A., a daughter-in-law of Prof. D. K. Karve of the Indian Women's University, has gone to Germany for higher studies in Ethnology and Anthropology. Mrs. Karve passed her M. A.

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Examination last year with Sociology from the University School of Economics and her thesis on the "Ethnic Affinities of the Chitpavan Konkanastha Brahmins," was highly spoken of by the examiners. She intends to work at the "Kaiser Wilhelm Institut fur Anthropologie" in Berlin.

MRS. NARAIN DIALDAS has erected at her own cost a commodious building at Karachi to be utilised as a Ladies' Club house in memory of her mother-in-law Mrs. Dialdas Mulchand. MRS. NARAIN DIALDAS is the wife of the late Mr. Narain Dialdas, the well-known philanthropist of Sind. She recently toured round the world with her husband and is the first Sindhi lady to do so.

MRS GANGABAI PATWARDHAN, a G. A. of Prof. Karve's Indian Women's University, has just returned from England after attending the Montessory and Kindergarten courses.

MRS. A. EAPEN has been nominated by the Government of Madras as a Councillor of the Bezwada Municipality.



Mrs. Irawati Karve

PROFESSOR HANS MOLISCH

BY PROFESSOR SAHAY RAM BOSE, D. SC., F. R. S. E.

PROFESSOR Doctor Hans Molisch, who has recently retired from the chair of plant physiology in the University of Vienna, is one of the foremost plant physiologists of the day and has enriched science by his numerous discoveries in anatomy, physiology and bacteriology. He has been the Rector of the University of Vienna, and as the Director of the famous Plant Physiological Institute, he has gathered round him and inspired the work of many brilliant investigators. He is a distinguished worker of international reputation. He has worked in various branches of botany, everywhere leaving his mark as a very keen and patient worker. One is lost in admiration when one considers his many-sided activities in the field of research. He is a well-known authority on luminous plants. He has carried on very extensive investigations on luminosity in Fungi and Bacteria, and has brought out a standard book on the subject.

He has on many occasions been invited to many Universities to give them the benefit of his wide experience and extensive knowledge. After the War, the Japanese Imperial University of Sendav utilised his services for three years for advancing their biological investigations. During his stay in Japan he brought out two important works : (a) Plant Biology in Japan, in which he has confirmed his former experience with luminous fungi and bacteria, working on materials found in Japan ; (b) "In the Land of the Rising Sun", in which he has recorded his thoughtful observations on the Japanese.

He is author of some fourteen books and numerous papers covering almost all the important phases of botany. Among his numerous scientific works which are regarded as classical, mention may be made of "Microchemistry of Plants" and "Luminous Plants."

He has travelled extensively and has

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visited a number of densely wooded forests in the dark for studying luminous fungi and bacteria.

He was the first to make pure culture of iron bacteria. It was he who demonstrated that ascent of sap occurred in the Palm in the absence of root-pressure. In his work



Medallion of Prof. Molisch

on "Plant in Relation to Iron" he showed that iron is necessary not only for the green plants, but also for the non-green, fungi.

But his most sensational discovery relates to his invention of a "Living Lamp" which he produced by securing the purest cultures of luminous bacteria from dead leaves, marine fishes and other sources. He succeeded in finding out the properties of the bacterian light, its influence on photographic film and its heliotropic action on seedlings. His "Living Lamp" can be seen at a distance of 80 yards, and the light is strong enough to enable a man to read a book. Further development of "cold light" will start a new era in science.

One of the principal objects of his visit to India is to make himself intimately acquainted with the methods of investigation



Prof. Molisch among the Ainus of Japan

initiated at the Bose Institute, which have opened out fields of exploration on the phenomena of life. He has for many years followed with keen interest and high appreciation the work that is being carried on at the Institute on the Unity of all Life and its Mechanism,

We offer our distinguished guest our most cordial welcome and believe that his stay in India will be conducive to the closer union of the East and West for the common benefit of humanity.

The Indian Science Congress has already invited him to its Madras sessions to give it the benefit of his deep and extensive knowledge. Botanists will hope that perhaps during his stay in India he will visit some of the Himalayan and other forests to renew his acquaintance with the luminous plants which are available in India.

INDIAN ARCHITECTURE: POSSIBILITY OF A SCHOOL

By SRIS CHANDRA CHATTERJEE
(*Architect, Temple Chambers, Calcutta*).

A wave of enthusiasm for a national architecture is passing over India. People look to Government as patron. The Government remains silent in the matter and continues building in European ? styles. It has made no arrangement to impart education on Indian architecture in Government Engineering Schools or Colleges or to encourage students having training in national architecture from national schools of art or to

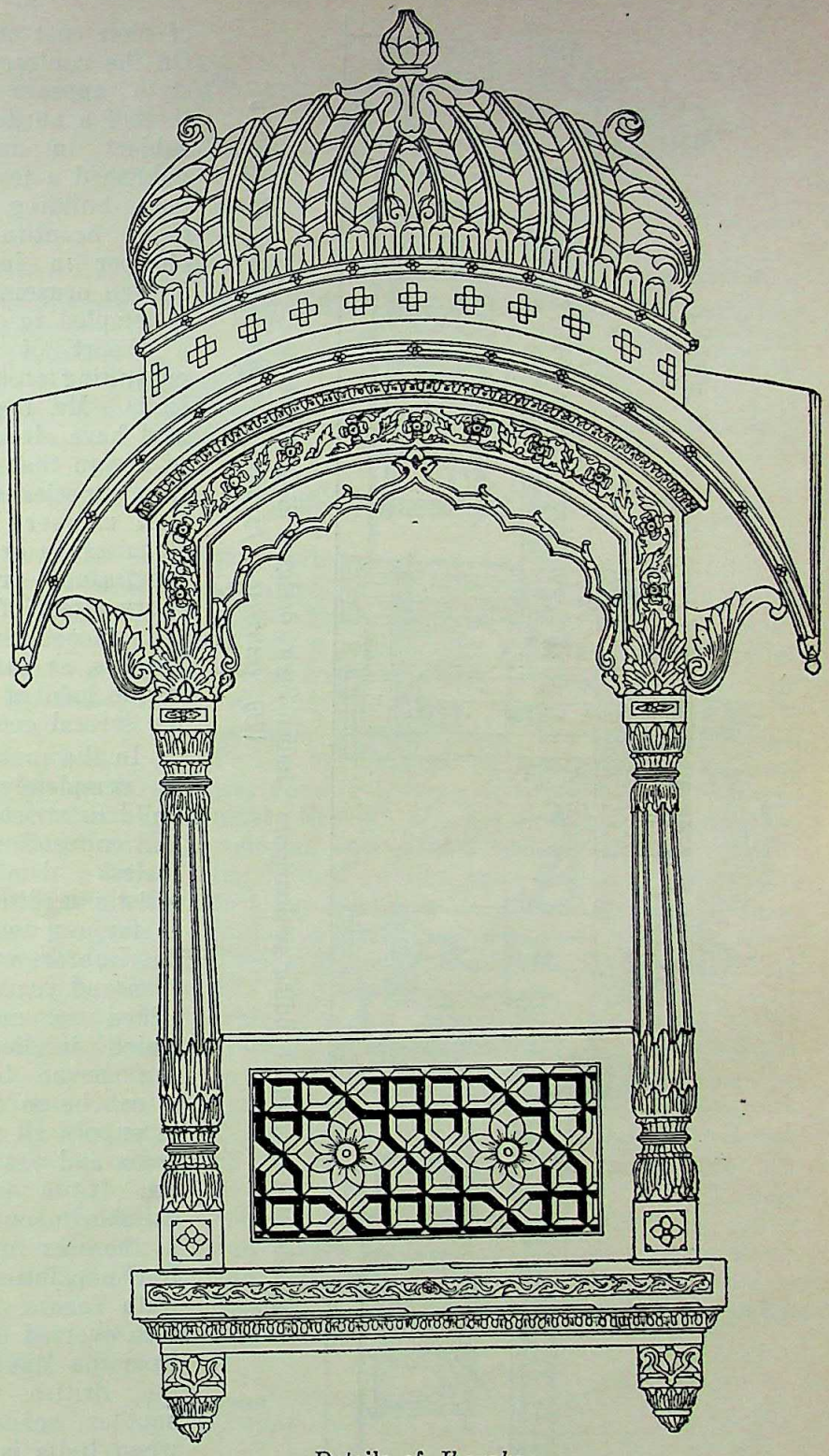
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provide with works Indian craftsmen of old Indian school who have been languishing for want of support and taking to trades or other professions. Consequently, it rests with Indians themselves to see that Indian architecture lives and develops. The Municipalities and the District Boards which are run by the representatives of the people should take up the cause in right earnest.

A nation is dead when it loses its own architecture. And nowhere it is more noticeable than in India. And nowhere it is truer than in India that architecture is the mother of all arts and the neglect of our national architecture by our national leaders has been one of the principal causes of the decline of other beautiful fine arts of India. Our characters are largely influenced by the architectural environment we are in. The citizens draw the inspiration of their lives from civil architecture. They can never imbibe true national and patriotic spirit unless they dwell in, or move within an environment which is consistent with their life, religion, tradition and culture. Our leaders should seriously consider about the importance of re-establishing our own architectural environment which alone can create and stimulate a healthy nation.

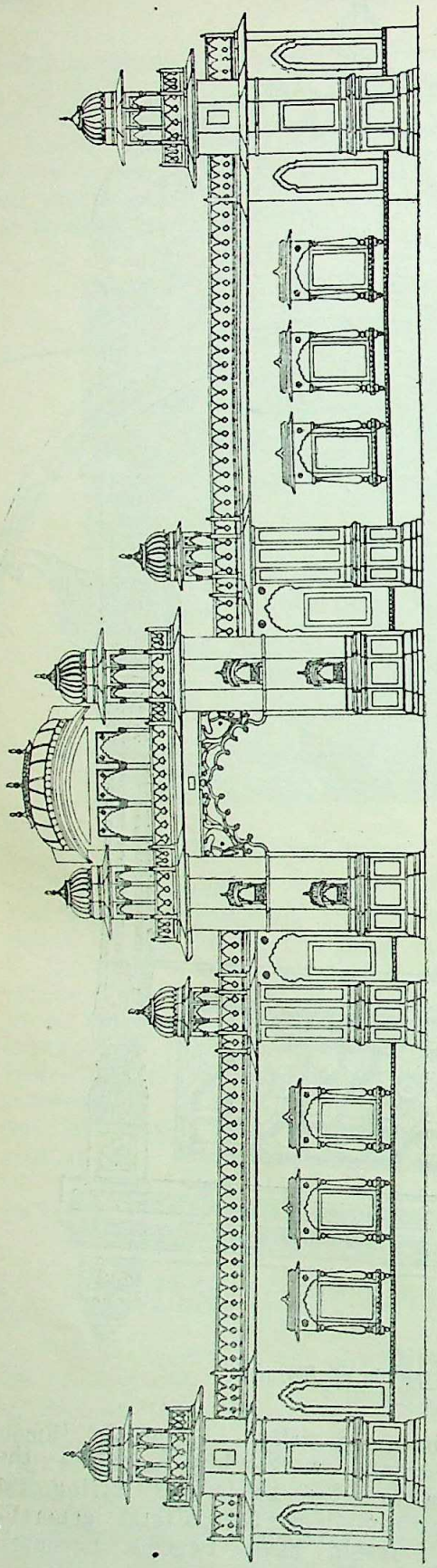
Among other things the fear of cost stands in the way of the revival of Indian architecture. The present writer can say from his experience that he has gathered from actual construction of buildings, in Indian style of different types, in Calcutta and elsewhere in Bengal, that the fear of cost that obtains with the general public is totally groundless. The houses that are generally built in Bengal as well as in other provinces of India have generally a certain amount of ornamental work which means expense. We are in the habit of having these on our buildings for several generations and, as a result, have become unconscious



Details of *Jharaka*

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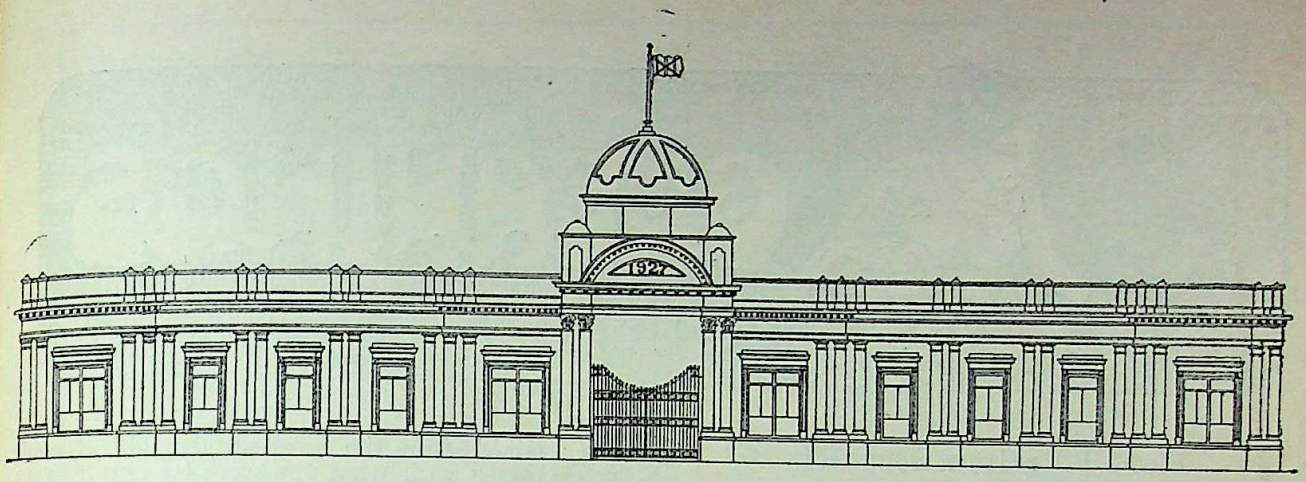
Facade of a proposed building at Gouripore Indian Style, designer S. C. Chatterjee
[By courtesy of Sj. Brojendra Kishore Roy Choudhury

of their cost or even of their very existence. On the contrary, such ornamentation in Indian style appears to be superfluous and cost thereof a burden. The writer dealt with the subject in detail in the articles that he published a few months back and assured the house-building public that stronger and much more beautiful buildings could be built cheaper in Indian style than those with foreign ornamentation in foreign styles. He is tempted to quote here a few lines from a report of Mr. J. Begg, F. R., I. B. A., consulting architect to the Government of India. Mr. Begg says that "there is nothing, as I have already said, in an Indian manner of design that makes it costly. Indeed, my own experience goes to prove that the costliest manner for building in India is a Renaissance or Classical one." These costliest renaissance or classical buildings crowd in every street of Indian towns and the people are unconscious of the stupendous cost because, as has already been said, they are in the habit of having these on their buildings for several generations.

In the present day it may not be possible to completely eschew foreign ideas or to build in strictest conformity to the grammer and conventions of our *Silpa Sastras*, nevertheless demands of free thinking and artistic traditions have to be harmonised as far as possible. An indigenous art with an unbroken chain of tradition of over two thousand years behind it, which has maintained so much vitality inspite of the ban which intellectual Europe has put upon it, can never be allowed to die of starvation. It can be so developed that it can be made to supply all the complex needs of modern India and yet with the canons of true Indian art. It is expected that a new synthesis suitable to our present-day needs will evolve in the near future just like the new school of Indian painting established by Dr. Abanindra Nath Tagore. Many schools of Indian architecture evolved and developed in the country from the Maurya period down to the advent of the British. And it is quite natural that another school will originate in these days when India is living under political bondage of England, our immediate duty is to turn the tide of our wayward ideas. A combined and sustained effort has to be made to save Indian architecture from starvation. The desired result will come in time. With the development of self-government in the country the real work will commnnce. We

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A foreign style design for the proposed building at Gouripore

shall then be living our own lives. In the meanwhile we should re-introduce those arts and crafts which are about to be wiped out. We should work for the day when India will again gladden the heart of the world by her outpourings of the Good, the True and the Beautiful.

Architecture was "the dominant art of India" from which evolved most others as accessories. Sculpture and painting originated from architecture and their growth primarily depended on the stability of the latter. Owing to the absence of a well-defined and well-established indigenous architecture in Bengal the allied art of painting and terracotta cannot thrive here in the present day as it did in the olden days of Gaur and Vishnupur. The success of Jaypore school of art and craft and industry can be ascribed to the success of its glorious architecture. Their art is a living thing and the artists, sure of patronage and support, not only from their own countrymen but from foreigners as well, can pursue their vocation with ease and freedom. Such an atmosphere for the growth of national art is yet to be created in Bengal ; and we should all strive to that end.

Recently it has been proposed to organise a school of architecture in Calcutta. Neither the Government nor any foreign institute of architects have been approched to guide the same. Experiment is to be made if it could be run independently with the help of Indian master-builders and master-craftsmen that yet survive. The pupil would be left to imagine independently as far as possible. Passed or unpassed students of a Government Engineering College or School or of Government School of Art would, of course, be welcome and given a special course of training, both theoretical and practical, if they desire to learn their own art. But a Government passport would not be compulsory for admission. Co-operation is desirable from institutions like the Indian Society of Oriental Arts which might impart special training to the students of the proposed school of architecture in painting, iconography &c. Municipalities and District Boards should support the proposed school. The sympathy and co-operation of patriotic building contractors are also to be enlisted. The scheme is yet under consideration and suggestions from the public and others interested in Indian architecture and art are hereby invited and would be taken into consideration during the formative stage of the project.

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Plant Pills Grow Bouquets

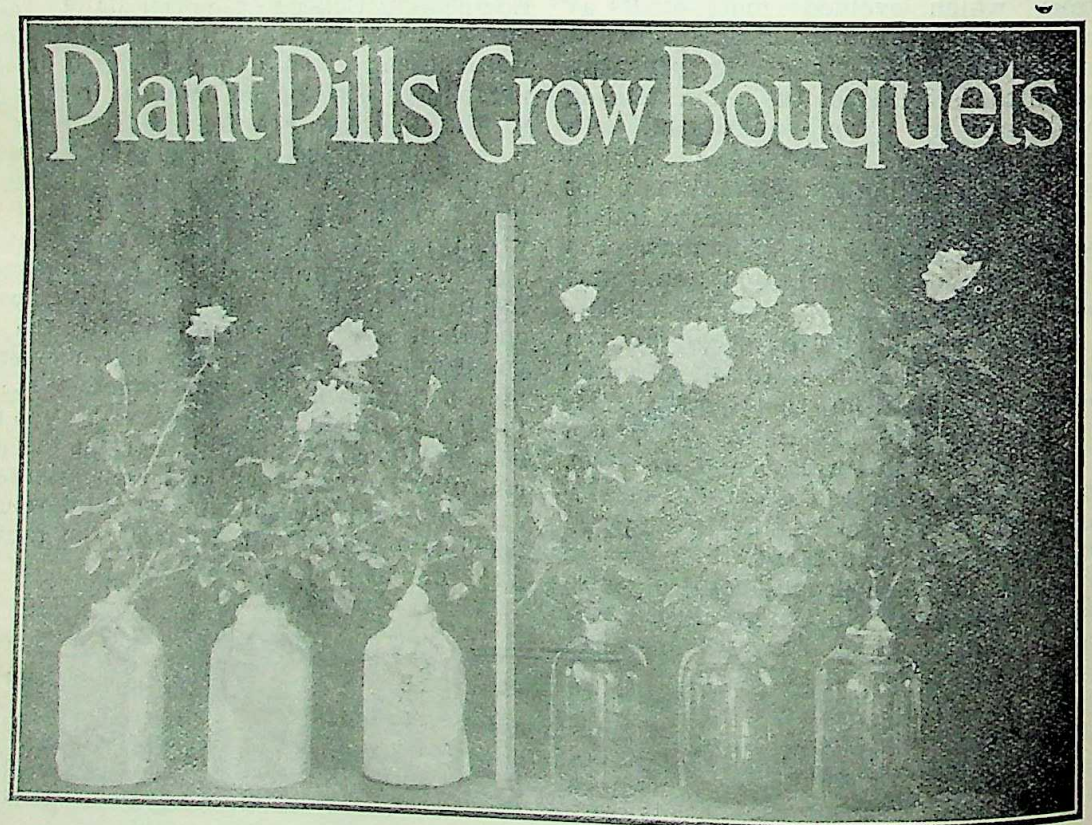
Amateur gardeners' own flowers, any month in the year, in window boxes, jars, tin cans, or any other receptacle that will hold water.

Sweet peas, planted in jars in the fern box on October 1, will provide abundant bloom for New Year's day. Dalias, zinnias, asters, chrysanthemums, pansies, phlox, stocks, or whatever flower one desires, may be made to bloom indoors, all the year around.

No soil is required, no fertilizer is needed. The secret is a small, white oval lump of the size of a pigeon's egg, that is to say, about two inches long by an inch in diameter, called a "plant pill,,"soon to be obtained from the nearest druggist at small cost compared with what one pays for cut flowers at midwinter.

This wonder worker among flowers is the product of some seven years' study by Dr. W. F. Gericke, of the University of California. More than 200 varieties of plants, numbering nearly 2,000 individuals, have been made to produce their blossoms at any selected date, indoors and out, at the university.

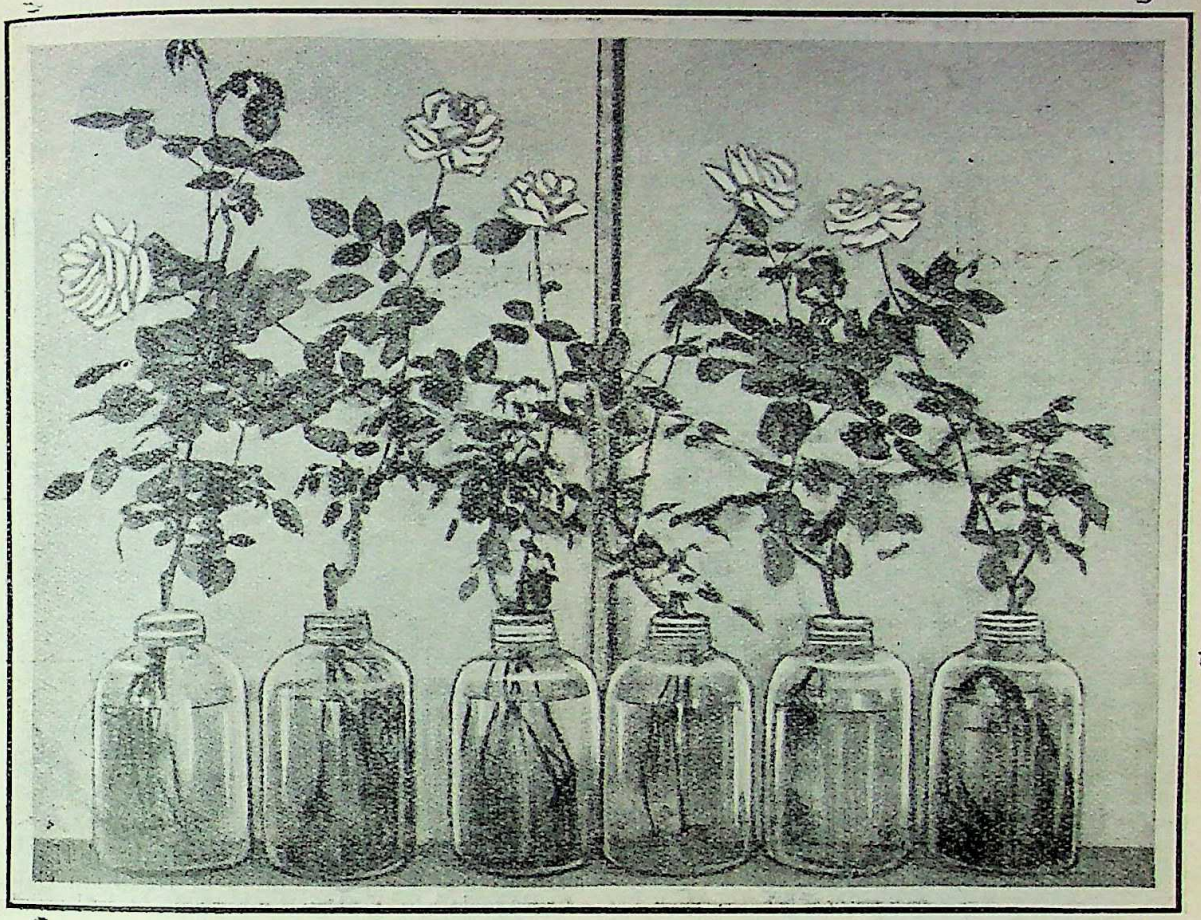
But the greatest value of the discovery, as so far applied, is in the production of flowers for the home in defiance of winter temperatures outside. The normal warmth at which most houses are kept during cold weather is ample for the growth and



Rose Cuttings, without Roots, after Growing Four Months in Bottles of Water to Each of Which a "Plant Pill" Had Been Added; the Cut Stems Have Developed Good Root Growths

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Nine Weeks' Growth of Columbia Roses from Cuttings Eight Inches Long ; No Part of These Flowering Plants Has Ever Touched the Soil, Despite the Well-Developed Roots

blossoming of the plants under the urge of the chemicals in the pill.

Annuals, such as sweet peas, zinnias, asters, pansies, and many others, may be controlled and made to blossom at any time in the same way.

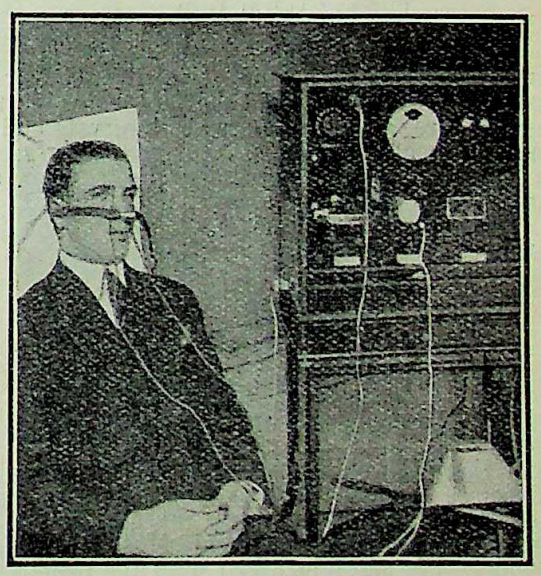
Popular Mechanics.

—

"Electric Doctor" Is Used To Treat Colds

Beneficial results in treating colds with an "electric doctor" are reported from France. The instrument employs high-frequency current to generate heat that penetrates the nose linings and thus destroys germs. Relief has been obtained in ten minutes or less, it is said. The treatment does not injure the nose tissues.

—



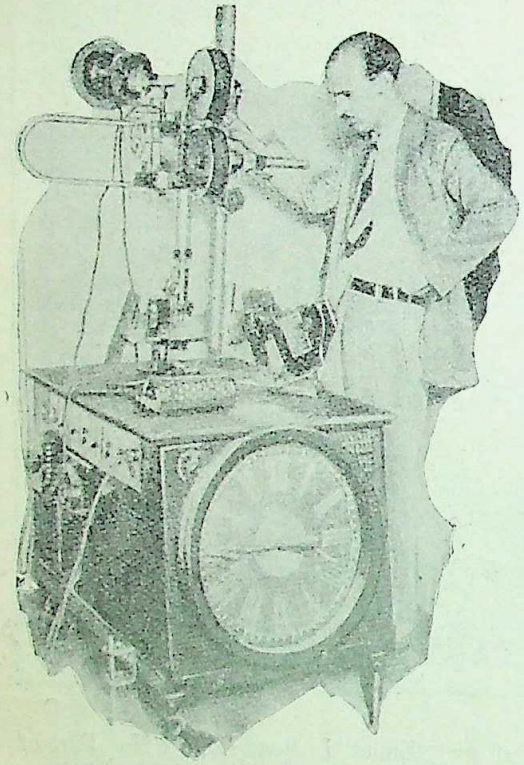
Treating Nose Tissues with High-Frequency Electric Current to Help Cure Cold

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Film Mysteries of Germ Life With Clockwork Camera

Photographic records of the life of a chicken within the egg, of the beating of a turtle's heart, how germs and flowers develop, and many other interesting phenomena, are accurately made with a combination microscope and moving-picture camera



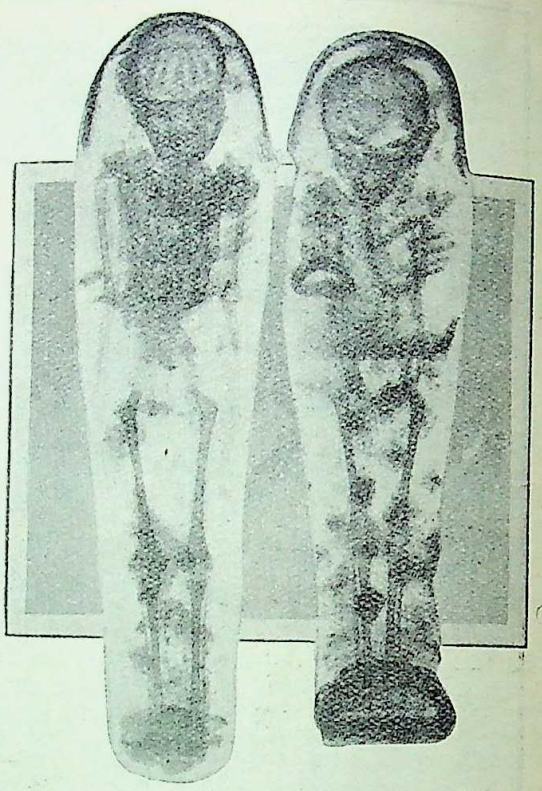
Combination Motion-Picture Camera and Microscope Operated by Clockwork for Filming Germ Life

apparatus devised by a student of the University of Maryland. A feature of the apparatus is that exposures are made at regular intervals and at almost any frequency desired, by setting the clockwork mechanism that operates the shutter and moves the film so that, after the instrument has once been properly adjusted, it needs but little attention.

—

X-Ray Studies of Mummies Reveal Secrets of Past

That Egyptian children who lived centuries ago had diseases common among youngsters of today, is one of the interesting facts revealed by X-ray studies of mummies at the Field Museum of Natural History. Photographs taken with the penetrating rays show cases of curvature of the spine and of malnutrition. The latter condition is disclosed by transverse lines of irregular calcium developmet in



Courtesy Field Museum of Natural History
Diseases and Malformation in Egyptian Children Revealed in X-Ray Photographs of Mummies

the bones and is caused by improper and inadequate feeding. The X-ray apparatus is used not only on mummies but also on various other specimens and helps to establish many scientific facts without doing any damage. The Field museum is the first institution of its kind to adopt this method of examining relics of the past.

—

Chemicals To Replace Guns In Wars Of Future

A thousand airplanes each carrying 5,000 pounds of chloroform, could put the inhabitants of cities at large as Chicago or New York to sleep in a few moments, in time of war, according to Dr. Gustav Egloff, a research chemist, who points out that scientists are developing means for making war more humane instead of more horrible. He suggests that anæsthetics, far more effective than are now known, may be introduced in the near future and that applications of them from planes flying above trenches, might put whole battalions of soldiers to peaceful slumber. They could be awakened later and suffer relatively little harm.

Popular Mechanics.

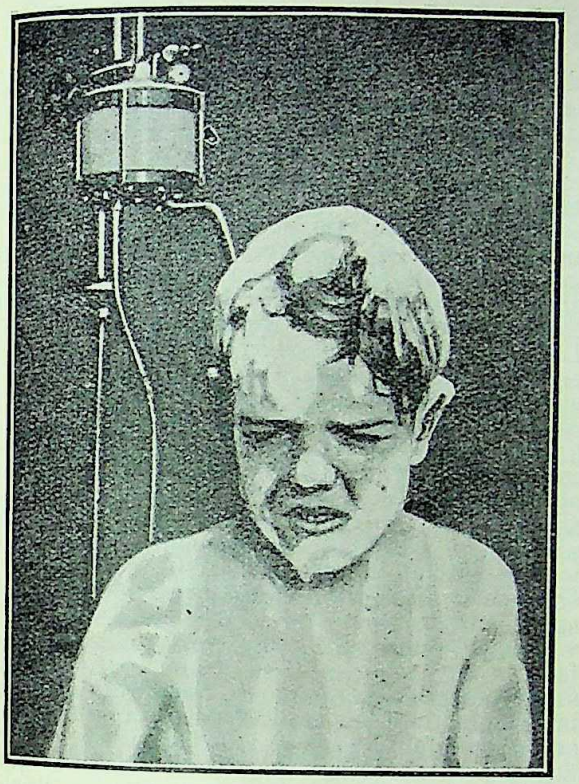
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Soapsuds Fountain For Bath Latest Toilet Aid

Press a button and soapsuds, salt water, scented water or other toilet preparations gush from a spout in a bath attachment a California inventor has introduced. As many containers as desired



Suds Tank Dispenses Lather Directly without the Need of Working It up during the Bath

can be connected to the arrangement and they are installed in a convenient position for use while bathing.

—

A Martyr to Science

Prof. Hideyo Noguchi, Japanese bacteriologist of the Rockefeller Institute for Medical Research, passed away at Accra in Africa on May 21st, a victim of yellow fever contracted in a laboratory experiment in 1927. Dr. Noguchi was the most distinguished pathologist of his race. He was knighted by the King of Denmark, the King of Sweden, and the King of Spain, and honored by the Emperor of Japan. Dr. Noguchi was classed with such scientists as Pasteur and Metchnikoff in his work for humanity. The efforts of Dr. Noguchi were largely responsible for the overcoming of the yellow fever outbreaks in Central and South America.



Dr. Noguchi



Weaver and Sample of Seamless Trousers made from Burlap

—

Weaves Seamless Trousers In Hand Loom

Trousers are woven without seams from such materials as burlap and other cloth by an eastern expert who has had more than sixty years' experience with a hand loom. Even the side openings for the pockets are woven instead of being cut. The garments have a neat appearance.

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The Dance of Shiva

The Visva-Bharati Quarterly for October publishes another series of Rabindranath's illuminating 'Letters from Java.' The poet gives an interesting description of the Shaiva Temples at Prambanam. We read :

The dance of Shiva, as Nataraj or Mahakala, represents the rhythm of *Becoming*, with its rise and fall of life and death. He is Bhairava, the Terrible, because Death is of the essence of his play. In our country two different aspects of Shiva have been recognised. In the one he is the Infinite, the Perfect, and therefore inactive and tranqil. In the other, it is through him that courses the flow of Time with its perpetual changefulness. the agitated dance of which takes form as Kali. But, in Java, this Kali aspect of Shiva is not seen,--nor the sportive aspect of Krishna in Vrindavana. We have here the story of Krishna's slaying of the ogress, Putana ; but there is no sign of his milkmaid companions. These facts may give us clues to the history of the time of colonisation.

—

Revival of Sanskrit Culture

In the course of a thought-provoking article in *Triveni* for July-September, Mr. K. Krishna Somayazi laments that there is amongst Indians less knowledge of, and more prejudice against, Sanskrit than can be possibly imagined. He is of opinion that "Sanskrit culture is the culture for us, if we should continue to live as Indians." He further asserts that Sanskrit culture stands (1) by Faith *not* reason (2) for duties *not* for rights (3) stands for the economy of the past in the making of the present and lastly :

Sanskrit culture stands for the principle of association and grouping together of individuals with similar tastes and avocations as the most natural and effective principle of social organisation, and if the new world has not adopted it, it is simply because it has not understood the scope and purpose of such organisation. So we see in these and similar other institutions, which are the embodiments of Sanskrit culture, the highest principles of conduct yet known to man turned to social and individual ends, and here is the superiority of Sanskritic culture to any other. If by civilisation you mean the adaptation of means to ends with the minimum of waste and maximum of profit in the moral as in the material world, here it is for all of us to share. So then, the singular importance as I understand it, that attaches itself to Sanskrit and Sanskrit culture is in its power of curing the feud of civlisation through which the world is passing. 'Civilisation and its cure,' the cry has no doubt started, but the cure is not yet found. It is here locked up in this treasure-chest and it is for us Sons of India and Sanskrit, first to cure ourselves through this new power and then to try it upon the chronic ills of the world. We in this country must confess we are in a whirl of life, The old order is changing giving place to new, probably much faster than we think it is, and viewing the phenomenon calmly and dispassionately, we must own we are changing for the worse. Cry hoarse as we do about our aims and aspirations in any department of life. we are caught in the slough of despond, and cut off from the past on one side and with the future thronged and blocked in its path by a mad-rushing humanity on the other, we are without a way out. At this juncture the only safety lies in pulling up in mind and body, and coming to our own. We must realise that we were good and great, and this confidence and faith in our schemes can come only through a study of our past. Without the pride of the past, burning in the Soul, patriotism is a lifeless thing, and all patriotic sacrifice is a make-believe. Sacrifice is born of love, and love of knowledge. To know your great past is surely to love it, and to love the past is not only to discard and trample down the present but to aspire and to soar into the future. Sanskrit Culture which contains in itself all the elements of national life, undoubtedly better conceived and better combined than elsewhere, will once more furnish us with the ways and means of organising ourselves for the present successfully against the contending forces, and will also give us now, as it did so splendidly in the past, the right view-point as to our march into the future. The choice is between English and English culture on the one hand, and Sanskrit and Sanskrit culture on the other. On the one side are ranged Reason, Right Social chaos, and thirst for power and self. On the other are ranged, Duty, Faith, Order, and Search of Truth and Beauty as the ambition of life. Which is to lead and which to follow ? The choice is obvious.

—

Sakuntala Staged in Australia

It is gratifying to note that the Live Art Society of Australia had staged Kalidasa's Sakuntala. The *Journal of the Bombay Historical Society* for September has reproduced the above-mentioned news from *Table Talk* of Melbourne from which we make the following extract :

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It was in Sakuntala that the big interest lay, for this was a stupendous effort for a society of young people, even though directed by one of artistic insight and experience like Mr. Howard Fadie. First of all the fine translation of the sixteen-hundred-years old work of Kalidasa by Laurence Binyon was a fine achievement. Then the saturation of the performers and the young musician Stewart Burton, in the spirit and atmosphere of the story and the beliefs of the time, to such an extent that they were unable to positively live the characters, and in the case of Mr. Dudley, to interpret the spirit in musical composition was remarkable···Stewart Dudley had—so those who have lived in India declare—by some miracle caught the spirit of India in his music, in which he had used the Indian graduation of scale, which are three times as many as we employ. Like Wagner he has a leading motive each character running through, and the vocal solos introduced are weirdly quaint and thrilling, While, naturally with such notation, some portions of the music strike the ear with unusual and strange dissonances, there are parts of it that are warmly rich and beautiful in tone. The biggest and culminating triumph was achieved by the luminous yellow of the celestial charioteer's wonderful costume which seemed almost dazzling in its luminosity. The stage settings were kept indeterminate and subdued, but were effective. The whole production has left an ineffaceable impression upon those who were fortunate enough to see it."

—

Archaeology in Hyderabad State

Of late lack of original articles has become a feature of *The Hindustan Review*. In the October number of the said quarterly Mrs. E. Rosenthal, F. R. G. S, traces the history of archaeological research in the Hyderabad State and summarises the progress made by the department in course of the last 15 years. We read :

One of the activities which has linked up the work of the Hyderabad Archæological Department with Egyptian and European reasearch centres, consists of the excavations, carried out in various parts of the Dominions, for the purpose of examining megalithic remains. In the early fifties of the last century, Meadows Taylor contributed several reports on these remains to the journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. In 1915, operations carried out at Maula Ali revealed cairns, and cromlechs—the former containing stone or clay coffins, similar to those discovered in the ancient tombs of Chaldea,—the latter consisting of stone circles, partly or fully visible. The graves contained also a large amount of pottery, identical in design with cups, saucers, dishes, etc, dug out in Southern India, and bearing a resemblance to vessels discovered in Chaldea and Assyria. In 1916, one of the most active members of the Hyderabad Archæological Society, Dr. E. H. Hunt, F.R.C.S. delivered a lecture on "Hyderabad Cairns : Their Problems" which was published subsequently in book form. The most important finds among copper articles consisted of a bell, an amulet and head bands for bulls. It is significant that bells were objects of superstitious regard among the Celto-Scythian peoples and, moreover, that one bell was buried within a cairn opened at Maula Ali, in the first half of the last century.

—

Women's Demands

Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru K.C.S.I, LL.D, in the course of an article in *Stri Dharma* for October emphatically asserts that the time has come when the women of the country should demand definitely the following reforms and enforce them or get them enforced by those who are prepared to support them :

(*a*) Every local legislature should be asked to undertake the obligation for the establishment of Girls' Schools and Colleges in every Province and to set apart more ample funds than has hitherto been done.

(*b*) If the legislators are found to be conservative to legislate with regard to the marriage of girls, the educated youth of the country should form themselves into a league and refuse to be married to girls below a certain age.

(*c*) Educated girls should be encouraged to follow independent professions, as far as they can.

(*d*) In all matters affecting social reform, we should take care to see that a certain number of women are always included in our representative bodies.

(*e*) Sex disqualifications, so far as representation in local bodies and legislatures is concerned, should be absolutely removed.

(*f*) Our personal laws should be modified so as to give the woman a stronger legal position than she occupies to-day. It is, to my mind, absurd that we should allow the inferior position which the Hindu Law assigns to her in the matter of property rights to continue indefinitely. It is a perpetual source of litigation and I have, in actual practice, found that even where the law gives her some definite position, the woman is victimised by unscrupulous male relatives and hangers-on. This is probably due more to her want of capacity to protect her own interests, than to any other cause. This can, however, partly be remedied by better education, but it seems to me that a radical cure can only be supplied by a fundamental change of our law.

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Development of Mercantile Marine in Japan

The remarkable development of the Japanese Mercantile Marine during the last thirty years has been briefly sketched by Mr. J. M. Ganguli in *The Indian Review* for October. The following figures indicate that progress :

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Years	Tonnage	
1893	151,773	
1895	279,668	
1896	334,592	
1904	668,360	Number of Ships
1910	1,234,571	1757
1915	1,604,900	2132
1920	3,011,634	2931
1923	3,322,764	3049
1925	3,496,262	3187
1927	4,010,381	3561

A feature of the Japanese shipping has been that though in other countries with the advent of steamships the tonnage of sailing vessels has been steadily decreasing, in Japan it had been showing an increase, till but recently, along with the progressive development of the steamship tonnage. The number of sailing vessels, which was 4,958 with a tonnage of 390,796 in 1910, had become 8,656 with a tonnage of 542,579 and it was 14,902 with a tonnage of 899,233 in 1927.

Proceeding the writer tells us that with the development of the Mercantile Marine, the strength and the importance of the Japanese Navy have also been rapidly increasing. We are told :

The Japanese Navy ranks third to-day among the naval powers of the world, and it has been so recognised in the Washington Agreement. The replacement tonnage in capital ships of the Japanese Navy was fixed by the above Treaty at 315,000 tons, which is more than the strength allowed to France and Italy.

—

Agriculture in India

Sir M. Visvaraya K.C.I.E., in the course of an Address delivered at the Poona Engineering College (published in *The Mysore Economic Journal* for September) lays special emphasis on the part education and engineering science have to play to meet the immediate needs of our country. Dealing with the problem of agriculture he says :

In this country, agriculture as a profession is distasteful to many at present, because the holdings are small, profits are slender and employment is intermittent. Except during ploughing, sowing and reaping, our farmers in unirrigated tracts have much idle time on their hands. The actual number of days in the year required to cultivate dry crops is probably two months and as the work is not continuous, our cultivators keep up the pretence of farm work throughout the year. Mr. Henry Ford of Automobile fame has stated that he obtains the best yield from his lands by working on them only for 15 days in a year. In America, through the use of machinery, the number of persons employed in agriculture is being reduced though production itself is actually increasing.

The system of agriculture followed in many parts of the country is still of a primitive type. The farmers are too illiterate to understand the value of modern scientific methods and too poor and too unorganized to adopt improved practices. Agriculture needs to be enriched by the use of capital, scientific methods and sound commercial management ; in other words, agriculture needs to be industrialized.

Engineering and chemistry are the two sciences most concerned with agriculture. The scientific portion of farm work includes soil analysis, selection of seed and fertilizers, destruction of insect pests, animal husbandry, and the use of modern agricultural machinery and tools. Some of our larger agriculturists at least should start the use of ploughing, sowing and harvesting. Every farmer should have some elementary training in mechanical engineering to be able to attend to repairs to his ploughs, pumps and agricultural implements. Every farmer worth the name in some of the advanced European countries I have seen, owns an oil engine when he has no other source of power supply. Every town and many villages possess a technical school of some sort and every city a technical college. Agriculture and engineering should go together. At present agriculturists do not know the elements of engineering, and engineers except some of those engaged in irrigation do not know agriculture. In European countries agricultural engineers form a class of experts by themselves. The Agricultural Commission has made many excellent suggestions but they are not likely to materialize unless ground is first cleared by providing liberal agricultural education and banking facilities and by encouraging team work and self-help among the rural population.

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Do the Jains want Separate Electorate ?

The Jaina Gazette for August, September and October comments editorially :

It is to be highly deplored that the Jains are not alive to their rights and responsibilities. Their political rights can well be described to be next to nothing. The Government is kept busy by the agitators. It is an old saying whose verity needs no proof viz. "Ask and it shall be given and knock and it shall be opened." The entire political structure of India is in the melting pot. Communities are vying with one another as to their share of rights in the government of the country. The situation is so critical that even communications which have been always speaking for the Congress Creed have now begun to ask and appeal for themselves as a community, provoked by instinct of self-preservation.

But what about the Jains. Where is the Jaina political conference and what is it doing ? The Jains should awake and arise at least now lest they should be for ever fallen and trodden down in the race of communities.

One chief reason why the Jains cannot afford to be negligent of their rights and duties is that they form an important mercantile community. Lord Curzon had said on one occasion that half the mercantile wealth of India passes through the hands of the Jains. With such a large stake in the country it would be nothing short of madness to allow ourselves to be deprived of all voice in the government of our country. Hence

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we hope that our leaders would rise up to the occasion, sink their differences, formulate definite proposals and place them before the Government. We may just suggest in passing that the Jains will do well to ask for an electorate of their own, so that they may elect a certain number of members to the provincial and central legislatures.

—

Plea for an Investment Trust in India

Prof. J. K. Duraiswami Aiyer contributes a thoughtful article in *The New Era* for November wherein he puts forth a vehement plea for the formation of an Investment Trust Company in India because persons who are in possession of spare funds find it rather difficult to invest profitably. We read :

There is a fairly large amount of funds waiting for employment on such terms as will yield a return higher than the rate of interest realised from gilt-edged securities.—An Investment Trust Company can command the services of experts who will assess the value of different kinds of securities and invest the funds in such a manner as to yield a steady and safe return. The capital of such a Trust must be fairly large say about forty or fifty lacs of Rupees so that it might employ persons of great ability. With a view to spread the risks satisfactorily the Trust will have to go in for different kinds of securities ; *viz.* debenture bonds, preference shares and ordinary stocks of different industries. In India at present the field for investment is widening, the main lines being Cotton, Jute, Iron and Steel, Tea, Rubber, Oil and Electrical Industries. Instead of the individual investor being left to his own devices the Investment Trust provides an agency which will do the investing much more satisfactorily. An Investment Trust Company under reliable and competent auspices will fill the need on the part of those Indian investors who do not want to gamble in shares but require a steady and safe return slightly above that realised from gilt-edged securities. It will be a great relief to those who find it now a hazardous thing to invest in mortgage of houses, private loans and chetty accounts.

—

Prayers

T. L. Vaswani writes in *The Kalpaka* for November :

You complain that God does not hear prayers. Do you pray to him as to God or only as to an "agent" who is to satisfy desires? Are your prayers pure, disinterested? Prayers of love? Love is *ahetu* Love seeks the Lord for His sake, note the sake of success or satisfaction. Believe me, God listens to prayers of love. He becomes a lover of His *bhakta*. And when God Himself is a lover, what is there He will deny?

—

Reforms in Afghanistan

Commenting upon the recent military, educational and other reforms in Afghanistan Sj. Ramananda Chatterjee writes in (weekly) *Welfare* for November 12:

The great importance attached to military preparations cannot fail to arrest attention. King Amanullah evidently feels that, as his country and people are situated between powerful neighbours whose pacific professions cannot be relied upon, the Afghan nation must be armed cap-a-pie, as it were. Of course, though his name signifies the "Peace of God," he himself also may have aggressive military ambitions.

The opening of a school for teaching with the Turkish language as the medium of instruction, so that students of this school may be admitted in military schools in Turkey, may be interpreted in different ways. It may be that King Amanullah feels that the Christian nations of the West may not give Afghan Youths as good and complete a military training as they give their own young men, so he must depend on Turkey for the accomplishment of his object. It may also be that there is a more complete understanding between the two Islamic powers, than there can be between either of them and any Christian power, or it may be that Ghazi Kamal Pasha's military schools can give a point or two to the fighting seminaries of the Christian peoples. In any case, it is significant that, for obviously military purposes. Turkish-medium school is to be opened in Afghanistan, but not a German medium, nor a Japanese-medium, nor a French-medium, nor an English-medium school. By the by, does the adoption of the Turkish medium in one school foreshadow the gradual substitution of the Arabic script by the Latin script in Afghanistan as in Turkey ?

That foreign employees in Afghanistan are to have no higher pay than Afghans' doing similar work must be rightly meant among other things, to strike at the root of the inferiority complex among Asiatics and the superiority complex among Europeans. Such a thing cannot be expected to be done in British ridden India, though Indians are educationally not less advanced than Afghans.

The rule against military people becoming Pirs or followers of Pirs is obviously meant to prevent soldiers owing loyalty to religious fanatics as well as to the Afghan King. Such divided loyalty may lead to attempts at reactionary rebellions and revolutions under the leadership of bigoted Mullahs.

The deputation of 15 students to Baku clearly points to the existence of petroleum mines in Afghanistan. The King has been well-advised in not giving any mining concessions to foreigners. The sending of a few thousand youths of Afghanistan to Europe for employment by factories on a mere subsistence allowance, affords a striking contrast to British policy in India in this respect. India is a bigger country with a vaster population and far more immense mineral and other resources than Afghanistan. Yet in place of *a thousand Afghan Youths* to be employed in European factories the British Government in India have not sent even *a few dozen Indian Youths* to be trained in European manufacturing industries.

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So that unless in the meantime India becomes free, we may expect Afghan goods to be dumped in Indian markets in the not distant future.

The intended connection of Afghanistan with foreign countries by telegraph lines reminds one of the deplorable isolation in which Nepal lives and of the crippling conservatism and superstition of the rulers of the latter country.

The present writer observed the use of wooden poles as telegraph posts in various parts of Germany during his travels in that country. King Amanullah may also owe this idea of frugality to his visit to Germany.

The opening of a school of political rights is one more proof of the democratic ideals of the King of Afghanistan.

—

Foreign Students in Paris

Dr. B. K. Siddhanta, M. D. (Paris) in an article in *The Young Men of India* says:

No University in the world contains so many foreign students as are in the Paris University—the Sorbonne. There are various reasons as to why so many foreign students are drawn to Paris. Firstly, the world-wide reputation of Sorbonne—its traditions and its opportunities attract students from every corner of the globe. Secondly, living is cheaper in Paris than any other well-known universities in America or Europe: the tourist may not think so but a student knows so from experience. Thirdly, along with the courses of study in the University, a foreign student sometimes finds opportunities whereby he can earn money—thereby enabling him to live independently. Let us discuss these points in detail.

But he points out that there is a paucity of Indian students there:

In fact, we, Indians, are apt to overlook the value of education in the Continent. To us, British diplomas hold much of charm, because the Government of India naturally gives preference to British degrees. In our country (India) some people have the belief that the continent of Europe (British Isles excepted) is not a fit place for study. The name of Paris brings much of comment from many an Indian guardian: they think that Paris is a land of enjoyment and not a place for study. We do not know how this crazy idea came to be deep-rooted amongst ourselves—those who have not visited the famous University—Sorbonne. True, Paris is a place of enjoyment as is the case with every other big city in Europe—Berlin, London and so on. But those who want to enjoy life will do so everywhere: there is no reason why he should abstain in London or Boston or New York. But those who want to study will find here in Paris more of opportunities and facilities in comparison with other countries. There is another reason why our students do not like the idea of studying in the Continent: that is they are faced with the language difficulty. To an average European student, this language difficulty is overcome to a great extent, because in almost every European country, French is taught as a second language. As we have said in the beginning, one is literally astounded to find so many foreign students in Paris. I am in a position to give our readers an idea about the presence of the foreign element in the Faculty of Medicine because of close association with it for the last three years and a half. There are about 5,000 students in it of which 52 per cent. are foreigners. Most of the students come from Roumania, Poland, Czechoslovakia and South America. There are good many students from Canada also. But it is a pity there are only 17 students from India in the Faculty of Medicine—a department which has got the reputation of being one of the best in the world.

—

Students and Politics

The Educational Review for September writes:

The subject of Students and Politics has often given rise to controversy in the educational world of India. Time was when European educational authorities, devoid of any sympathy with Indian political aspirations, used to throw up their hands in horror at the slightest exhibition of interest in politics on the part of the young men of India. On many an occasion, the intolerant attitude of some bureaucratic Principal resulted in the severe punishment of innocent young men misled by political exuberance into demonstrations of some kind or other considered to be inconsistent with academic life. While it is hardly possible for a really good student, while at College, to spend much of his time in politics and while it is also desirable that active participation in politics should be allowed only to those who are sufficiently mature in understanding, there is no denying the fact that the *alumni* of Universities must take an intelligent interest in the events which are happening round them, especially when they are fraught with serious consequences for the future of their motherland. We are glad to find that such a keen and radical political enthusiast as Pandit Motilal Nehru, addressing the students of Allahabad the other day, gave the right advice in the matter and warned young men against wasting their time in the distractions of politics, without paying sufficient attention to their legitimate work at the University. Pandit Motilal said that he would not advise students to identify themselves with any particular party. But he did not mean thereby that they should have nothing to do with politics. He did not advise them to take an active part in politics, but he appealed to them to study closely social and political problems, so that in later years, they could work for the advancement of the country with some knowledge of the questions awaiting solution. We would like to commend these words not merely to educational authorities but to students all over India.

—

The Danger of Meat-eating

We read in *The Oriental Watchman and Herald of Health* for November:

The question of vegetarianism is not a mere matter of ethics in eating or of cultish observance.

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The nonflesh diet has its actual arguments for health safety. Meat-eating is attended by dangers that are real, and the meat-eater should know that he runs a risk.

The prevalence of disease in animals is so generally understood that the advocate of vegetarianism has to lose no time in proving that point. The many laws of meat inspection are witness enough for the existence of diseased animals. The presence of animal diseases should be a warning in itself.

In the inadequate inspection of animals killed for food, many slip by to the slaughtering pen that ought to be condemned as wholly unfit for food. If left alone a little longer, some of these would soon die of disease.

There is a certain degree of safety in the thorough cooking of meat. Disease germs and their products may be rendered harmless as far as immediate and direct causes of disease are concerned. But no kind of cooking can transform diseased flesh into wholesome food. No culinary act can put food elements and health into a thing. And, in almost all cases, meat is not cooked with a view to eliminating its harmful properties but rather to bring out its "meaty" flavours, which flavours are in the extractives of the flesh, and which extractives contain the animal poisons in process of elimination.

The immediate danger of disease from eating the flesh of unhealthy animals is not the only thing the meat-eater needs to consider. The extra work placed upon the eliminative organs in caring for the wastes and poisons of a flesh diet, is conducive to disease of the organs. A flesh diet will in time tell against the health. Taking all the facts into consideration as to the value of a nonflesh diet and the risks of eating meat, it is well worth while to regard vegetarianism as more than a fad.

—

Shivaji And Tukaram

Swami Gunatitananda gives a brief life sketch of Tukaram in an article in *The Vedanta Kesari* for November, from which we make the following extract:

The well-known Shivaji who was much devoted to saints from his boyhood, one day sent a deputation to Tukaram who happened to be at Lohagaum at that time, with some jewellery, horses, torches, etc., as presents to request him to come to his palace at Poona. But Tukaram did not even condescend to look at the precious presents, but sent them back with a letter containing nine abhangas addressed to God; "These torches, umbrella, and horses are not for good. Oh king of Pandarpur (Vithoba), why dost Thou wish to allure me with these? This kind of honour I treat as a pig's dung; Thou art giving me just the things I do not want. Everything is ordained by Thy will, Pandurang; Thou knowest my heart. I stick to Thee and Thy feet alone." Then in the same letter he wrote to Shivaji; "We are free from all desires and attractions: a king or an ant, gold or earth is same to us: our wealth is very great; we are the lords of the three worlds. Money is like beef to us. What can you give us? Utter the name of Vithal; I shall be much pleased if you only do this much. Remember that all the *siddhis*, nay, even the Moksha can be had, but to get the feet of the Lord is difficult." After receiving this letter Shivaji himself came one day to listen to his Kirtanam (devotional songs) which attracted him more and more; so Shivaji began to visit him very often. One night Shivaji was so much impressed by his Kirtanam that instead of returning to Poona, he stayed at Dehu with Tukaram. Shivaji's mother being anxious that he might leave off politics and become a Sadhu, hurried up to Dehu. That night Tukaram spoke on Varnashrama Dharma, which made Shivaji take up his duties in right earnest. Another day the Pathans coming to learn that Shivaji was listening to the Kirtanam inside the temple, lay in ambush outside with a view to catch hold of him; but to their utter surprise and bewilderment the Pathans saw thousands of Shivajis all of the same appearance rushing out from inside the temple! Thus they were frustrated in their fiendish attempts.

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Calico Industry In India

Mr. Y. S. Thackeray's article entitled the History of the Calico Industry of India published in the *Quarterly Journal of the Indian Merchants' Chamber* for October will be read with profit by those who are interested in Calico Industry. The writer observes:

From the records at our disposal we understand that Calico, chintz and other cotton fabrics were the most important and oldest textile productions of India and were being exported to foreign countries for their general use. The earliest reference about the traffic of this cloth is to be found in the travels of the Arabian physician Suleiman who had travelled in India about 850 A. D. (A translation of Suleiman's Journal bears the year 1173 A. D.) In his Journal, Suleiman makes mention of the town of Calicut and states that garments made there are so extraordinary that nowhere else are the like to be seen. They are for the most part round and woven to that degree of fineness that they may easily be drawn through a ring of middle size. From this it appears that Calicut was the original seat of the manufacture of this cloth and from the name of this town the word "Calico" was derived.

—

Cow-Protection During Mughal Times

We read in *The Animal Protection Clipsheet* for October 17th:

Babar the 1st Mogul Ruler of India, left a will for Humayun, of which two copies are extant, one in the Bhopal State Library and the other in the possession of Principal Balkrishna of the Rajaram College, Kolhapore. The latter seems to be more complete:

"O son, the Kingdom of India is full of different religions, praised be God that He bestowed upon thee its sovereignty. It is incumbent on thee to wipe all religious prejudices off the tablet of

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the heart. Administer justice according to the ways of every religion. Avoid especially the sacrifice of the cow by which thou canst capture the hearts of the people of India, and subjects of the country may be bound up with royal obligations.

"Do not ruin the temples and shrines of any community which is obeying the Laws of Government. Administer justice in such a manner that the King be pleased with the subjects and the subjects with the King. The cause of Islam can be promoted by the weapons of obligations rather than by the sword of tyranny.

"Overlook the differences of the Shias and Sunnis, else the weakness of Islam is manifest.

"And let the subjects of different beliefs be harmonised in conformity with the four elements of which the human body is harmoniously composed, so that the body of kingdom be free from different diseases. The memoirs of Timur, the Master of Conjunction, should always be before thine eyes, so that thou mayest become experienced in the affairs of administration."

1st Jamadi ul Awal, 935 A. H.

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The Bengal Medical Act

The Calcutta Medical Journal for October observes editorially,

The declared object of the Government of Bengal in amending the Bengal Medical Act (1914) was to enhance the representative character of the Bengal Council of Medical Registration by extending the franchise to the medical colleges affiliated to the University, medical schools permanently affiliated to the State Medical Faculty, School of Tropical Medicine and Railway Board and at the same time not to make it too unwieldy by reducing the number of nominated members and representatives of the medical profession. The Council as contemplated in the amending Bill would have been composed of 18 members, 11 of whom were likely to be officials and 7 non-officials including 5 representatives of the registered practitioners. Consequently the section dealing with the constitution of the Council evoked much criticism from the press and the public.

The Bill, however, has been passed into an Act. The Journal is of opinion:

The immediate net result of the passage of the Bengal Medical (Amendment) Bill, 1928 is the formation of the Bengal Council of Medical Registration by 23 members, of whom 9 are likely to be officials and 14 non-officials. But within a year or so, 4 more Government Medical Schools will come into existence and the total number will then be increased to 27, 13 of them will be officials and 14 non-officials. The non-officials will be formed by one representative each of the Faculty of Medicine, the Calcutta University, the Carmichael Medical College, Belgachia, the Calcutta Medical School, the National Medical Institute, and the Bankura Medical School; 4 representatives of the graduates and licentiates in Medicine and Surgery of the University of Calcutta; 2 representatives of the practitioners who are qualified to be registered under the Medical Acts and 3 representatives of the practitioners with registrable qualifications other than the previous.

Our duty next is to send the right sort of representatives to the Council. In electing them we should see that we are selecting men who will not be influenced by official favour or frown—men who will be able to assert the rights and privileges of their constituencies. There are other non-official institutions which are teaching medical subjects but are not yet recognized and there are numerous out-door dispensaries and hospitals with wealth of clinical materials in Calcutta, if the authorities of these combine and the clinical materials available are pooled together, they can more than satisfy all the requirements for affiliation.

—

The Brass and Bell-Metal Industry of Orissa

In an informative paper read at the Co-operators' Day (published in *Federation Gazette*) Mr. S. C. Ghosh gives an account of the above industry—the principal cottage industry of Orissa. Says the writer:

At present there are three principal Bell-metal Societies in Orissa···But I regret to say that they are not working quite to our satisfaction.

There are a few more working successfully though not under co-operative organisations. The principal difficulties with the former group are enumerated by the writer viz.

At the outset I must frankly admit that the Brass-metal and Bell-metal Workers as a class are very conservative in their nature···For the above reasons tangible results are only obtained after a long time, and that when our patience is entirely wearied out, and in most cases even after that. Secondly, these *Karigars* have no idea of the Division of Labour···Thirdly, peculiarity is this that one manufacturer or *Bindhanee* is capable of producing one or two kinds of goods only and not all. They do not attempt even at newer ones···Fourthly, the major portion of the producers being under the clutches of the *Mahajans* are throwing every possible obstacles in the path of our progress.

The writer concludes—

Our motto is largest sale, small profit and satisfied customers. Pure Bell-metal wares, I emphatically say, are not available elsewhere in the market and they pay in the long run, as they are not of ordinary stuff.

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Dr. Fosdick on Trial Marriage

Writing in the *American Magazine* Dr. Fosdick admits that in America, among certain sections, there is a revolt against old-fashioned family life. He does not believe that the solution of the resulting problem is to be achieved through what is called trial marriage —through the substitution of the 'ideals' and customs of trial marriage for old marital ideas and customs. Of his own opinion, Dr. Fosdick writes :—

Personally, I do not for a moment believe that the American people in the long run will consent to that exchange. If they do consent to it, the degeneration of American civilization will come on apace. For the attitudes and actions involved in trial marriage are, first, psychologically disruptive to the individual and, second, socially ruinous to the nation.

The psychological aspect of the matter is primary. Nature has been at work a long time on the sex-problem, and we can not by any swift, slick changes outwit what nature has had in mind. To-day an immense amount of cheap thought and talk is going the rounds, of novels, dramas, movies, magazines, and conversations, to the general effect that sex is an imperious urge towards personal pleasure in general and bodily gratification in particular.

The plain fact, however, is that from nature's standpoint sex is only a lure to get two people to love each other deeply enough and long enough to bring up children. What nature wants is children, and because nature always makes attractive the road to the goal she seeks she has allured men and women into family life by pleasant paths. What she was getting at, however, was not the pleasure of the path, but the goal of the children, anybody and who makes it his principle of action to steal the gratification of nature's lure without fulfilling nature's purpose is committing a psychological theft on which nature wreaks inevitable vengeance.

The whipper-snappers in psychology may speak to the contrary; the seers tell the truth.

Trial marriage, therefore, in its ordinarily accepted meaning, is psychologically a truncated, arrested, balked experience. It means emotional repression and disruption. Some people assume that because the idea is new it is an advance. As well assume that being killed by an airplane or going to war with poison gas is an advance.

Nature is too old at this sex-game to be so easily circumvented. And what she signifies by the game and intends to get out of it is clear. The complete sex-experience means falling in love, learning the secret of staying in love, mastering the art of growing up in love, enlarging the love-life into a family of children, until within the green cusp of a physical relation grow the flower and fruit of a spiritual union.

According to Dr. Fosdick, Mark Twain said out of his own experience : "No man and woman really know what perfect love is until they have been married a quarter of a century."

Dr. Fosdick continues :—

To-day loose conceptions of marriage as largely consisting in bodily gratification are defended in popular minds by a supposed psychological law to the effect that the sex-instinct must not be suppress, but exprest. To let yourself go, this teaching says, to do as you please, to give your emotions gangway, abandon yourself and have your fling—this is the law of a healthy sex-life. In consequence of this supposed psychological doctrine, we have wild talk among our young people about the value of promiscuous experimentation during youth, and among our older people about marriage being a temporary arrangement for mutual gratification.

As a matter of fact, this idea that the sex-instinct must not be controlled, and when other interests make it wise, suppress, is psychological nonsense.

Consider the matter with reference to other instincts. We have, for example, the instinct of self-preservation. It is fundamental. If instincts must not be represt, that of all others must be respected. But if with your wife and children you should be in a shipwreck and, your instinct of self-preservation becoming dominant and imperious, you should crowd into a life-boat and leave your wife and children behind and be saved while they drowned, how would you explain the matter to your friends? Would you say, I have just been reading a book on the new psychology—I felt that if I represt my instinct of self-preservation I would be in danger of serious mental derangement? You would not get off by any such method from being an outlaw and a pariah.

Most of the cheap, popular talk about the danger of repressing instincts is nonsense. The fact is that we repress instincts or, better yet, sublimate them, every hour of our lives, or else we would be in an asylum or a jail. The psychological law of life is not to say to any instinct, Do as you please! but out of all our instincts to build a personality. At the beginning each one of us is a mess. 'I'm not a man, but a mess,' said a character in one of H. G. Wells's stories. Each

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one of us must start as a mob of unorganized instincts, and the law of successfully living is to build a personality, until all the instincts—self-preservation, pugnacity, sex, and the rest—become driving power in a mental and spiritual engine, integrated, unified, purposeful, and going somewhere. That is not enacted moral law; that is discovered law."

Dr. Fosdick says that the real psychiatrists, like Doctor Hadfield, see this thing clearly.

Dr. Hadfield, we are told, teaches that in the course of evolution we have long since outgrown the absolute sway of the polygamous impulse, and have come over into the real, if partial, sway of the monogamous impulse. And continues Dr. Fosdick:

So far as enacted law is concerned, therefore, the endeavor must be to encourage, so far as law can help in the matter, this normal, healthy, monogamous relationship. I have emphasized the psychological importance of monogamy to the participants in the marriage. Of course the social significance of monogamy to the children and, therefore, to the nation is obvious. Nature, during the course of evolution, prolonged the infancy of the human child until the family became a biological necessity. The child's long dependence makes sustained paternal and maternal care indispensable, and from this prolonged mutual relationship came all our finest moral qualities.

Human virtue was created out of the family, and human virtue will perish with the family. There are no substitutes for parents.

This stake which society at large has in the matter, therefore, is tremendous, and whatever the State's laws can do to encourage monogamy should be done.

The only solution of the problem, if there is such a thing, lies at the marriage end. Let us get clearly in our minds that in revolting from obsolete fashions in the ancient family we must not revolt to trial marriage. Let us see distinctly that the monogamous relationship is the only psychologically complete, emotionally satisfactory, ethically serviceable and socially productive form of marriage. Let us get this truth clearly in our minds, and make it clear to our children. Then let this corollary be taught: that marriage is the most serious decision that men and women can face and that, therefore, it is 'not to be entered into unadvisedly or lightly; but reverently, discreetly, advisedly, soberly, and in the fear of God.'

—

Bathing in Polluted Waters

In Calcutta and in some other big cities the river water is polluted horribly. Yet thousands bathe, in such water. The danger of bathing in such filthy waters will be clear from the following extract from the New York *American*:—

In a conference recently between Dr. Harris and Dr. Charles F. Pabst, it was developed that in addition to the many internal diseases which the filthy waters carried, there were many serious and painful skin diseases against which the public should be warned. Dr. Pabst, an authority on this phase of the menace, is a city physician and chief attending dermatologist of the Greenpoint Hospital.

Following their talk it was said that physicians and surgeons would not be astonished to see an epidemic of furuncles or boils, abscesses, and other inflammatory diseases of the skin and blood stream. It was said that these are quite likely to be contracted by bathers in the condemned waters, where the subject has slight cuts or abrasions.

These abrasions, it was shown, need not be pronounced, but might merely be the result of chafing by a woolen bathing suit in order to give the bacilli a point of entry.

Eye specialists have pointed out, too, that these waters present the constant peril of pink-eye and all forms of conjunctivitis, some of which could conceivably result in permanent injury to the eye, or even total blindness.

Perhaps the most prevalent aftermath of bathing in water containing sewage, it was said at the Health Department, is that of middle-ear infection, often leading to mastoiditis, abscesses, ear-drum infections, and often deafness, especially where the eustachian tubes become involved.

Respiratory diseases also play their part in the lives of bathers who ignore the Health Department warnings. At the department it was said that 'colds,' which bathers imagine they contact from staying around too long in swimming suits, really are contracted from the organisms in the filthy waters.

Many cases of pneumonia have been traced directly to this source, as have cases of tonsilitis, bronchitis, pharingitis, and all of the common nose and throat ills.

Swallowing these waters, it was declared might easily lead to disturbances of the digestional tract not from the writer itself, but from the dangerous bacilli they contain and might easily be a predisposing factor of appendicitis.

—

Great Britain and Egypt

In the course of an article on Britain and Egypt, Mr. Arthur Ponsonby writes in the *Contemporary Review*:—

Criticism is always easier than construction. In the Egyptian question, which year by year becomes further obscured by fresh complications, a solution is far from easy to define. Extreme Nationalist opinion which the Wafd has inherited from Zaghlul may not be so hopelessly uncompromising as is generally supposed. It is not so much British proposals as British eventual intentions of which they are suspicious. They are persuaded that it is not the fixed intention of Great Britain to relax completely at any date a controlling hand which must deprive Egypt of absolute autonomy. Take the crucial question of the British garrison. There can be little doubt that the immediate evacuation of every British soldier from Egyptian soil within a month would neither be demanded nor accepted by the great body of majority opinion in Egypt. Not only do they fear the autocratic ambitions of King Fuad but they have learned some

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lessons from the drastic methods adopted by the French in Syria, and they are fully aware that in Italy and Turkey unscrupulous autocracies may take advantage of their weakness. The question therefore resolves itself into one of time and degree, to be adjusted according to the legitimate ambitions of Egypt, and a reconsideration by Great Britain of imperial strategic necessities.

The other outstanding problem of importance is the question of the Soudan. Mr. Ponsonby does not discuss it in detail mentioning the various phases through which it has passed. He only writes:—

It is sufficient to say that from the Egyptian point of view it is not merely a question of territory. Nile water supply is a matter of vital necessity to the very existence of Egypt. In the course of imperial aggrandisement we have established economic interests in the Soudan and have undertaken certain obligations towards the Arab population which we cannot lightly abandon. Compromise here is unlikely to be reached by the wrangling of the two interested parties more especially when the Soudan problem is linked up with the other highly contentious controversies connected with Egypt itself. But the Soudan and the Suez Canal present just the sort of international problem suitable for submission to the League, of Nations, so that without any question of triumph or submission on one side or the other a decision may be arrived at by an impartial outside authority by which both parties will abide.

Mr. Ponsonby sums up his conclusions on the broad lines of principle and method which British public opinion can easily understand, in the following words.

(a) Our declared intention should be the establishment without reserve or qualification of an independent autonomous Egypt.

(b) The steps taken towards this end must be devised according to the best interests of the Egyptian people and to the responsibilities and obligations which our long sojourn in the country has for the time being imposed on us.

(c) Negotiations for a Treaty of Alliance must be conducted only with a responsible authority, representative of majority opinion in Egypt.

(d) Egypt must become a member of the League of Nations in order that the major issues which prove incapable of adjustment in bilateral nogotiation may be submitted to that body for an impartial international verdict.

With the right spirit and intention, the right approach and the right people as negotiators, it is not impossible that a solution can be found. Unfortunately for the moment we have drifted far down the wrong road, and time will be needed for us to retrace our steps and for Egypt to be restored to normal and regular conditions of government.

—

Japan and the Two Americas

Andre Dubosc writes in *Le Correspondent*, a Paris Catholic biweekly:—

When one realizes what tremendous obstacles are placed in the way of the immigration of the yellow race into the United States, and how the Americans seek to hold down the negroes who are already there, one can understand how disturbed the Americans are over the nearness of a country like Mexico. Mexico has about 15.000.000 inhabitants of whom only 2,000,000 are whites. The rest are Indians or half-breeds. By a law passed October 31, 1925, Mexico opened wide her doors to immigration; and the worst is that the half-breeds, because they hate the whites, and the Indians, because they hate the whites and the half-breeds, both favor Japanese immigration. The Japanese, after their exclusion from the United States, were glad enough to send a part of their steadily growing population to Mexico. Not only do Japanese farmers come to work there, but Mexico sells Japan large quantities of raw materials. Commercial relations between the two countries, are controlled by a treaty signed on October 8, 1924.

Perhaps Mexico has not been prudent in offering unrestricted entrance to Japanese immigrants. The Asiatic flood, once it reaches its height, is not easily stemmed. I have already pointed out that this proved true in the case of the Hawaiian Island, and it is to precisely this possibility that California hesitated to expose herself. In any case, Brazil, where the Japanese have been well received, has shown more foresight. Commenting upon the arrival of a Japanese commission in Rio de Janeiro, the *Jornal do Brazil* says: 'We dare not open our doors wide to the Japanese. On the other hand, it would not be wise for us to close them completely. The best course is to set a definite limit on the number of these foreigners allowed to enter the country, in order that we may have nothing to fear from them in case they prove unassimilable. This problem should be settled by foresighted legislation, aimed to spare future generations a terrible racial problem.'

This indicates a prudent doubt on the part of the Brazilians concerning the assimilability of Asiatics, in spite of the fact that the long-established traditions of the country offer a strong guaranty against deformation of the national spirit by foreigners. It should be pointed out, however, that the Japanese have already acquired considerable territory in Brazil and that they are always ready to take more with the intention, already partly realized in the South, of laying out great cotton plantations. In Peru also, Japanese business men plan to acquire vast areas for raising cotton.

In summary, it may be said that Japanese emigrants are regularly finding their way to Latin America. For the moment, they are going principally to Brazil and Peru, because the Mexican situation is so troubled; but Japanese relations with all three of these countries have increased a hundred-fold in the last twenty years. It should be remarked that the same thing cannot be said of Chile, where fear of Japanese immigration is even more marked than it is in Brazil.

—

Josiah Royce—Theist or Pantheist?

Paul E Johnson, discussing the philosophy of Josiah Royce in an article in the *Harvard Theological Review*, observes:

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Absolute theism cannot overlook the following difficulties. All reality may be personal, but, if constituted of discordant elements, then endangers the unity of God. The evil, error, and ignorance of the finite is carried up into the Infinite, thus impugning the goodness, truth, and knowledge of God. The parts are equivalent to the Whole, thus leaving uncertainty as to what after all is God. The Whole is identical with the part; if so, why not call the part the whole and avoid the unnecessary and gratuitous assumption of an Absolute beyond empirical demonstration?

Royce has his answer for each of these difficulties.

For each of these difficulties Royce has his answer. All concrete, active, living unity is a unity of contrast, so that the contradictory elements in God contribute to the rich variety and wealth of meaning in his life. The evil and error which enter God's experience are necessary to his complete knowledge of all facts, but do not impugn his goodness and truth, for he overcomes ignorance and error with his larger insight, and renounces evil by triumphing over it in his victorious goodness. The parts are futile and defeated in and of themselves; it is only by union with the Whole that they find meaning. God is the Whole that saves the parts by organizing them into perfect life. The Whole may be identical with the part only in a self-representative system, which is to say that the Whole of God is present in every meaning or expression which he manifests in the part. The Absolute is no gratuitous assumption, for every partial view of reality falls into contradiction and only the Absolute explains.

From this it is evident that Royce can neither be waved aside at the first cry of pantheist, nor readily disposed of by the traditional arguments brought against monism. For the monism of Royce is laid out upon personalistic lines, and while the absolute nature of it may lead us to suspect an eventual falling into pantheistic difficulties, the way to such difficulties must be demonstrated, not taken for granted. Distinctions of value are the property of Personality, and to that extent his internal transcendence may be effective. What becomes of material things and finite beings is another question beyond the limits of this inquiry. It may appear that the finite difficulty is the vulnerable point in Royce's philosophy. But as for the Infinite, we are led by this investigation to conclude that the God of Royce may justly be called theistic.

—

Capitalism and Religious "Ism".

What Kemper Fullerton writes of Calvinism and Capitalism in the same Review applies equally aptly to other religious creeds. The writer asks:—

And what chance has the Church in a world dominated by a huge and rapidly increasing population which needs subsistence, and by a profit-motive which seeks to make gain out of this need? These two economic factors in their interaction led to the imperialistic expansion which went on throughout the nineteenth century and resulted in the Great War of the twentieth century, but which has not yet run out its politically devastating course, for American imperialism has just begun its rake's progress. Do the churches realize the situation with which they are confronted? In proportion as they are educated, they have surrendered their dogmatic supports. In proportion as they represent the prosperous middle classes, they have more and more abandoned the heroism of the ethical and religious discipline which once gave them a real spiritual authority, and have adopted in its place a this-worldly orientation largely acquiescing in the domination of the present business formulation of life, consecrated as this is by its association with religion, and they seek to solve their consciences by the adoption of a social-service ideal which too often means a further rationalization of religion in a new form and a dilettante dabbling in the economic and political problems of the times. The situation is probably the most serious the church has faced in its entire history. It is so serious because it is so hard to realize it, for the church no longer feels itself outside the world as it did in its struggle with the Roman Empire, but is itself an organic part of the vast complex which we call modern civilization. Being a part of this civilization, it seems to have lost the power objectively to analyse it. It does not realize that when, in a profoundly religious interest, it adopted the conception of 'calling' within the secular life, it helped, quite unconsciously, to pave the way for its own almost complete secularization.

Religious bodies undertaking social service work, require money, which capitalists give them. This dependence on the propertied classes deprives them to some extent of rebuking vicious luxury, vice, sin and wickedness, and consequently of spiritual authority. What is the remedy?

—

China's New Industrialism

Writing in *The China Journal* for October, Mr. Arthur De C. Sowerby speaks of a significant change in the industrial outlook of China viz. "a desire for the co-operation of foreigners with Chinese in the industrial rehabilitation and development of China after all these years of chaos and strife." The writer says:

Though the Chinese have gone far in the last few decades in following Western business and industrial methods, they are experiencing considerable difficulty in adjusting themselves to all the changes involved; while they naturally lack the background and experience possessed by such countries as Great Britain, whose vast wealth and world-wide interests have been built up by a long period of close application of and adherence to business and commercial principles.

Thus Chinese investors and promoters of industrial and other enterprises have suffered severe loses, sometimes through the dishonesty of rascally managers, at others through mistakes

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and errors in judgment on the part either of their managers or of their technical experts or or advisors as the outcome of inexperience.

For this and other reasons Chinese investors have become shy of putting their money into concerns, industrial or otherwise, wholly sponsored by their fellow countrymen, and for sometime past have either kept their money tied up in the foreign banks in the foreign concessions and treaty ports or have invested it abroad.

The Chinese owners of big industries which have failed to attain the success hoped for are approaching foreign groups, in some cases going so far as to ask the latter to take over the entire management of their concerns and to invest the capital necessary to put them on a sound paying basis ; and on the other hand, the representatives of the government are doing much the same in regard to big national concerns ; while Chinese investors, large and small, are refusing to put any money whatsoever into concerns that are not at least under part control of foreigners of sound reputation and proved ability.

Now that China is master of her own house, she can buy the service of the foreigners at her own terms.

There is no loss of "face" or infringement of Chinese sovereign rights involved in such transactions, for the simple reason that in every case the ownership of the industry concerned remains with the Chinese, the foreigners and their capital merely being employed by the latter.

The writer, however, wants some guarantee from the Chinese Government that the lives and interests of the foreigners who are going as 'guests' will be safeguarded.

—

At Rammohun Roy's Tomb

The Inquirer (October, 13) gives us an account of the annual gathering at the Raja's tomb, at Bristol :—

The annual service at the tomb of Rajah Rammohun Roy, Arno's Vale, Bristol was held a week ago, a number of Indian visitors who had come down from London having been welcomed by the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs earlier in the day at the Council House. In the party were included Sir Abbas and Lady Baig, Mr. and Mrs. N. C. Sen, Mr. G. S. Dutt (Indian Civil Service) and Major and Mrs. Das, all members of the Brahmo Samaj. They laid wreaths and floral tributes on the tomb and a service of reconsecration was conducted by Mr. N. C. Sen. Afterwards there were addresses by the Rev. Dr. Tudor Jones and the more prominent Indian representatives.

Dr. Tudor Jones said that was the thirteenth occasion he had had the privilege of being there on September 27, but they never had such a large gathering as they had that day. Bristol people had responded well to do honour to the memory of one of the greatest Indians who had ever lived.

They had testimony that some of the Indian gentlemen present remembered the accounts of Bristol from their earliest childhood. From their cradle they had been told what a marvellous city Bristol was, and what endeared it most to them was the fact that Rajah Rammohun Roy had lived here for some time and passed away at Stapleton. The Rajah loved Bristol and came here at the invitation of that very great woman, Mary Carpenter, who ran ragged and industrial schools for boys and girls in this country. She was interested in the peoples of India and visited the country, which meant a great undertaking in those days.

They were there to give a very cordial welcome to their Indian friends. India was an important part of the British Empire, and it was hoped that the dispute between that country and England would soon be settled and that they would walk together hand in hand for the benefit of the whole world. That was their wish, and they asked their friends to carry it back to the peoples of India.

Mr. G. S. Dutt I. C. S. replied to the address and Mr. N. C. Sen thanked the Rev. Tudor Jones for the care he had taken of the shrine of the Raja.

—

Tuberculosis

The Inquirer (October 20) informs us :

About thirty medical officers of the Canadian Tuberculosis Association are attending the annual conference of the National Association for the Prevention of Tuberculosis here in London. The Canadian Association is evidently a very active force, and has affiliated to it every anti-tuberculosis committee in Canada. The deaths from tuberculosis have been greatly reduced in recent years, but the following figures tell their own tale as to the difference between town and country life from the point of view of resistance to this disease. In Canada 55 per cent of the people live on 54 per cent of the land area and contribute only 40 per cent, of the annual deaths from tuberculosis, or 57 per 100,000, The rest of the population contribute 60 per cent. of the yearly tuberculosis deaths or 104 per 100,000.

It would be interesting to compare the Indian figures of mortality from tuberculosis, which have been increasing rapidly, and more interesting to know what steps are being taken to check that.

—

Russian Justice

Light is thrown by Daniel Harris in *The Lantern* on the Russian judicial system, which has patience with human misconduct, but is ruthless against any offence however trivial against the state. The chief prosecuting officer of the Soviet Goverment M. Krylenko elaborated to him the ethics of the system :

Prisons, were regarded as training schools for the re-education of ordinary offenders into useful citizens. The maximum sentence is ten years The prisoners are never locked up except at night,

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are taught to read and write and encouraged to learn a trade, may take vacations from prison to visit their families and are released on parole as soon as practicable. But the treatment of political offenders is entirely different. Counter-revolution (which includes any opposition to the Communist Party) smuggling (in defiance of the Government monopoly on foreign trade), stealing public funds, sabotaging in industry—anything remotely construable as an attack on the present regime—any of these may be punished with death. More than once he used the phrase, "……Lenin has written…" and there was a ring of actual pride in his quiet voice as he told us that he had secured the death-penalty, only the day before, for a clerk in the Gosbank (State Bank) who had been caught "lending" 200,000 roubles of state money to private parties.

Mr. Harris witnesses a sitting of the highest teibunal, and as he leaves, he tells us :

We meditated a bit on that Matter of the transgressing bank-clerk……Death for embezzlement !

Krylenko is a pious man.
His god is called LENIN.

—

Fascist Inquisition

Barbaric in its brutality and revolting in its crudity, is the Fascist Inquisition which sits in judgment over 6,000 anti-Fascist prisoners in Italy, and which Henri Barbusse denounces in *The Lantern* in a petition 'in the name of outraged humanity.' Appeals M. Barbusse :

We ask that the whole truth be told as to the tortures already denounced and in all those cases where death was caused by torture as with Gastone Sozzi, Agostina Sanvito. Pirola and probably of Ruolie (although we still hope that he may have survived.)

That an international investigation committee visit the prisons and the islands of exile where approximately 6000 political prisoners are kept.

The tortures to make prisoners 'talk' are, writes Mr. Barbusse :

Besides the stabbing with sticks filled at the points with powdered lead, beside the fist blows with iron gloves, which are used in all police stations, we have information that the following methods are used upon political prisoners "to make them talk."

1. Blows drawing blood (the cases of Trieste and Monfalcone already denounced in the press.)
2. The use of boiling water in which the prisoners' hands are held to extort confessions through physical pain. (Cases of Milan and Brescia.)
3. Starvation, total darkness and blows used alternately (this system was first used in Brescia and later was adopted in all Fascist prisons.)
4. Injections of chemical substances in order to create a state of madness and obtain "information" from the prisoner during his delirium.
5. Pricking the testicles with pins until serious inflammation has begun. (Brescia and Genoa.)
6. In some instances tying the testicles with chains or ropes regulating the pain by a steadily increasing pressure. (Rome, Naples and Genoa.)
7. Thrusting pins deep under the nails. (Turin, Genoa, Milan.)
8. Enemas of a solution of iodine causing very painful blisters in the intestines. (Perugia.)
9. Engraving the tongue with knives.
10. Pulling out the hair of the pubis. (As in Monfalcone and in Milan with Miss Lina Morandotti, sent to a clinic insane from the pain.)
11. Even making use of insects, as in Florence where to secure "confessions" from political prisoners a black beetle under a glass is kept on the victims three and four hours until he "talks."

Mussolini has given Italy an enduring government, strength and stability and prestige : but if half of the charges levelled against his Party be true, he can claim everything except freeing Italian governmental system from mediaeval barbarity.

—

The Ghazi and Turkey's Future

Under the Caption 'The Turkish Mirror, 1928,' Mr. W. E. D. Allen thus speculates on the future of Turkey without the Ghazi's personal magnetism in *The Asiatic Review* :

The future in Turkey depends obviously on two questions : To what extent is the regime and policy of the "Ghazi" a personal regime and a personal policy ? and are the Turks, or rather, is the political mechanism of the Popular Party, capable of maintaing the form of his regime and the spirit of his policy after his disappearance from politics, which in the ordinary course of human affairs, is eventually inevitable ?

The "Ghazi's" policy is in many ways sound unadventurous and non-committal foreign policy the amelioration of the condition of the peasants, State-aided economic development, and increased facilities for education. But the bureaucratic spirit of the Turkish regime fails to encourage real development of private enterprise within the country, and actually discourages foreign enterprise—a serious matter, in a long view, for a country so poor in capital resources as Turkey. Further, a virulent anti-religious policy and an unnecessarily compulsory strain in the introduction of social innovations tends to estrange large sections of the more stable if less active sections of the population.

—

A Page from the Presidential Campaign of America

The Presidential campaign taxed the resources of all propagandists in America. The following from *The Nation* gives an instance of how to tackle an enemy pronouncement ably and without vileness.

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What Hoover Said

An accurate survey of the Department of Labor showed that even including the usual winter seasonal unemployment, about 1,800,000 employees were out of work as contrasted with five to six million in 1921.

The Facts

Ethelbert Stewart, Commissioner of Labor Statistics, reported on March 24, 1928 (see *Monthly Labor Review* of the Department of Labor for April, 1928, page 26), an estimate of the *shrinkage* in the number of employed workers between 1925 and 1928 as 1,800,000. *The figure was not an estimate of unemployment*; no account was taken of the number of unemployed in 1925. The Labor Bureau, Inc. estimates the unemployment this year at about 4,000,000.

The foreword to the report of the President's Conference on Unemployment, signed by Herbert Hoover, refers to "four to five million unemployed as a result of the business depression of that year." This conference met in September, 1921. It appointed a subcommittee of experts to report on the number of unemployed. Their estimate, as contained in the official record, says: "It is highly improbable, taking all occupations into account, that more than 3,500,000 persons now remain unemployed in the sense that they desire and are unable to find work suited to their capacities."

—

Party and Purity

The 'Solid South' is said to have cracked in the last Presidential election of America principally because of the Democratic candidate, Al Smith's Tammany connection. In trying to clear his position more by an apologia than by solid arguments, the editor of *The New Republic*, a supporter of Al Smith, discusses the question of party and purity :—

No doubt all politicians who cooperate with party organizations are open to criticism on this score by independent or socialist voters. Parties are organized and operated to win and to exercise political power, and to that end their leaders are frequently obliged to assume partial responsibility for behavior on the part of their party colleagues which in itself may be indefensible and which they would have liked to change. Socialists, independents, purists, and members of hopelessly minor parties can criticize "regular politicians for their complicity in these doubtful practices with some force, but they should remember one mitigating condition. If they themselves exercise political power in a democracy by means of an organized party, they would act in somewhat the same way or injure their party as an organ of government. In dealing with the sins and errors of their associates, they would be forced in the interest of party welfare to moderate their zeal for purity and reform. It is only fair to add in Al Smith's case that, since he has been one of the leaders of Tammany Hall, has not served as the silent accomlpice of any corruption so flagrant and offensive as that which Herbert Hoover overlooked as the colleague in the late Mr. Hardinge's Cabinet of Messrs. Fall and Daugherty.

—

English Insight

In the 'Fall Book Section' of the same date of the journal there is under above caption a discussion of the contemporary educational ideas and thoughts of England. We read :

Three forces struggle for place in English thought: science, classicism and humanism. It is the last-named, humanism, which seems to weave the central strand. And it is this humanistic quality which patently provides the best of English thought with its finer insights. Englishmen strive to bring their ideas into relation with something solidly human. This is insight: to reveal the meaning of things and events in terms of their derivation from an influence upon human nature Thus, when Professor Findlay begins his systematic work on education he attributes the conception to his German teachers, but as he proceeds it becomes clear that he has been deeply influenced by the American emphasis upon changing human nature. In fact, his chief concern in the area of values derives from his insights into human limitations and aspirations. Individuality and sociality are both given data of human nature ; neither the one nor the other may be used as the sole end of education. "Fellowship increases with the passage of time side by side with our inner experience of the expanding self." And "the school, when all is said, is not an appropriate *venue* for a new gospel; the reformer can only ask that our children should be so educated as to remain sensitive to the intimations of adventure." In Volume II, where he compares Dewey and Tagore, he comes even nearer an insight integrated through a fine and sensitive view of human nature. "No two types [Dewey and Tagore] more remote from each other could be named, yet they are united by practical experience of child-life which bridges the chasm between East and West.....Tagore and Dewey also honor science and use it, but as a means to a greater end, the end being behavior in a social and spiritual society. For both of them *the meaning and purpose of life* is the one thing that matters: the life they cherish is not some future field of activity or success, for which this or that subject or method may prepare, but the life that now is, that now fulfills itself, both in individual experience and in cooperation."

—

A New Danger

The New Republic (October 17) informs us of a new source of noise :

A new horror has been added to the miseries of metropolitan life, but, we trust, only temporarily. Recently an aeroplane has been flying over New York City, equipped with a loud-speaking device

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which amplifies the human voice—or any other noise—something like a hundred million times. From the sky, singers have sung, saxophones have bleated, and slick-tongued announcers have expatiated on the merits of somebody's cigarettes. On the first trials the words spoken were almost entirely unintelligible ; the air was simply filled with vast and disagreeable sounds, coming from no identifiable spot. However, the experience would have been no pleasanter, and might have been worse, for the unhappy victims below, if the machinery had worked well. If this sort of thing doesn't come under the head of unjustifiable invasion of privacy, we should like to know what does. As advertising, it may or may not be of some value ; as a nuisance, it is a great success.

The above news forms the subject of a strong but reasonable comment by Dr. Holmes in *Unity*, October 8.

That revolt against these multiplying noises of contemporary civilization is no mere outburst of hysteria on the part of neurotic invalids, is shown by a recent statement on the subject by Professor W. A. Spooner, of Oxford, England. "Civilization," he says, "has never before been confronted by such a malignant plague." Few people realize, he continues, the havoc wrought upon our physical and nervous systems by the noise to which we are constantly being subjected. Professor Spooner especially fears the injurious effects upon the growing generations, who are being exposed to assaults which no human system was ever built to sustain. there are alarming signs that many people, including engineers and scientists, we have no doubt, have become so degenerate that they actually *like* noise. Which brings us to Professor Spooner's suggestion that the medical section of the League of Nations take up what is now become a world problem—"the prevention and abatement of unnecessary noise"! But why wait for the League of Nations, or wander thus so far afield ? Why not organize forthwith in all cities and villages militant Anti-Noise Societies which shall see to it that this hideous matter is forthwith made a matter of regulation by the public health authorities ? *Most noises are unnecessary.* That's the starting point ! Now add to this the knowledge, amply provided by enlightened physicians, that noise is ruinous to good health, to say nothing of good manners and good morals, and the battle is won.

None of us are Epicoenes ; but the prospect is simply frightful.

—

Presidential Campaign Values

Unity (October 15,) thinks that Political Campaigns for all their bunk, are illuminating..... a campaign is most illuminating in its indications where politicians think the people are.

It then goes to assess the value of the campaign and concludes :

If the old-party politicians in this campaign have struck no genuine note of high idealism, if they have summoned Americans to no lofty endeavor, either in their own domestic affairs or in their relations with a world that we can greatly serve if we will, we can only reflect soberly that it is their business to appeal to us where we are and the issues that they emphasize indicate pretty clearly where they think we are. If they are right, clearly we have a long way to travel before we shall have a state of opinion that seems likely to justify any party in presenting great issues with any hope of success. Yet things are after all not quite so sodden as they have been ; there are some traces of awakening life. It is a time for thoughtful men to realize that the process of popular education is of more importance in American politics at the present time than is the attempt to get quick "results" by electing this or that man with his camp followers.

—

Buddism in West

Message of the East reproduces a letter from a group of western Buddhists who call themselves 'Caucasian Buddhists', in which they say :

"It is time that western people understood that there is nothing alien or even characteristically Oriental in the Buddhist philosophy of life. There is nothing that is incompatible with the highest ideals of western civilization and much that would exert a redeeming influence upon the gross materialism of the age if it could be rightly applied. In England and on the continent of Europe there has been in recent years a re-awakening of interest in Buddhism, and many lodges have been formed and temples built among the white populations.

"Much has been made locally of the fact that we who joined the Buddhist Brotherhood here in Honolulu were Caucasians. In this connection it might be well to point out that fact that Buddhism is the only great religion that is distinctively Aryan having originated in India, the starting point from which our own Indo-European branch of the Caucasian or white race spread westward into Europe. It is more directly and intimately the religion of our own race than any of the offshoots of Semitic origin that have been grafted with the paganism of the early Mediterranean tribes !

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SHIFTING THE SCENE

A FANTASY

By SUKHAMAYA MITRA

Illustrated by Haripada Ray

First Scene

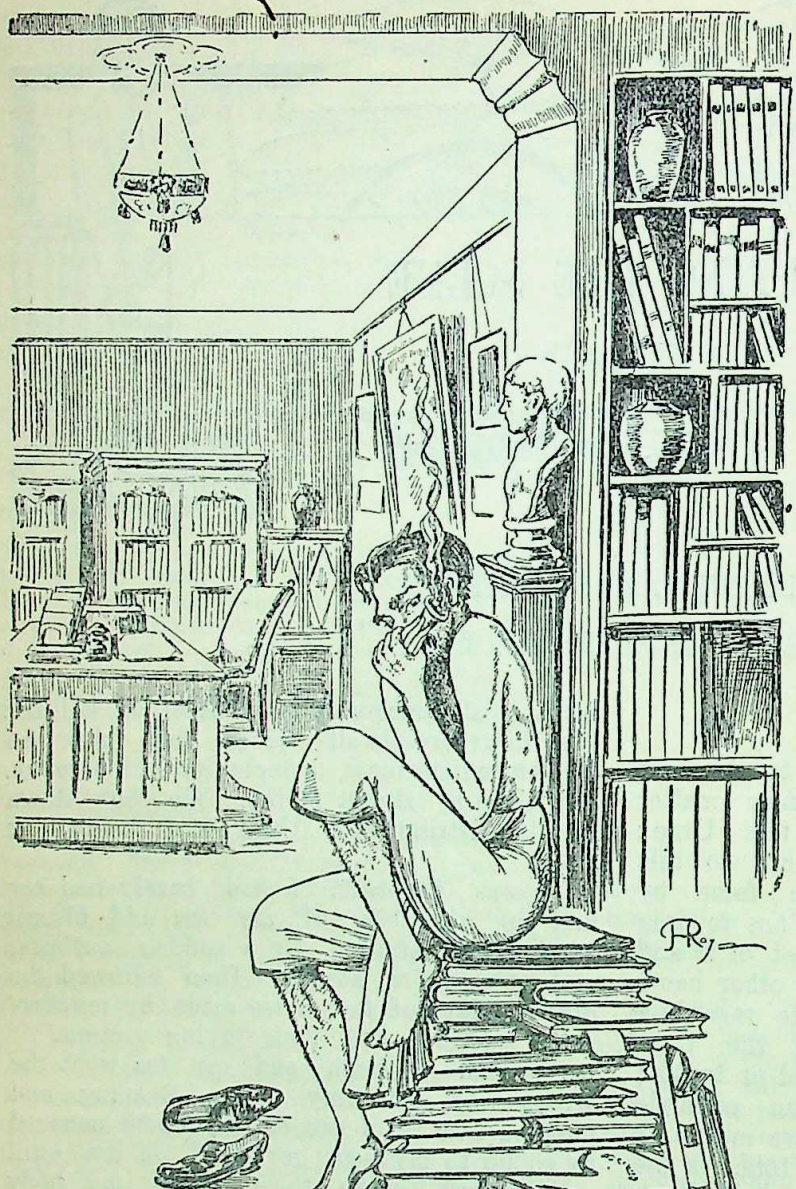
THIS thing Urge is a highly troublesome thing. Man's success in every matter of importance depends on this Urge; again, all failures also are traceable to this Urge. If one desires to earn fame by explaining a complex affair, one has to drag out the Urge that is at the root of it and present it to the world. On the other hand, if one wishes to hoodwink people regarding something it is necessary for the Urge behind it to be suitably camouflaged or twisted previous to its exhibition. As an example of the peculiar nature of Urge, we may look at this creation which, we are told, is the result of God's creative Urge, and, next, at the death or end of all created things, which we learn is due to God's destructive Urge. The same Urge that brings success in love leads to bankruptcy in business and the Urge that makes a man a good family man earns for him undying shame by forcing him to desert his fellows in time of battle. If we intend to give a *rational* interpretation of the rise of the Swaraj Party or of the fall of the Moderates we need but dive in the depths af Socio-political Urges; if, on the other hand, we feel it necessary to hush up the truth about something, we need only manipulate some Urge into a suitable shape in order to achieve that end. In fact, this Urge is at once the source of all enlightenment and the cause of all mystery; the basis of all success as well as of all failure; true in regard to all things and false. In its contradictoriness, complexity and potency, this Urge is almost divine. We bow down to this Attributeless Urge and begin our story. * * *

It was daybreak. I had barely had my first sip and bite of my tea and biscuit when I was startled by a sudden outburst of heavy gunfire nearby. Then followed the din of rifles and the noise made by murder-mad soldiery and their dying victims. was scared to death and my tea went the wrong way into my lungs. Gasping and choking in a fit of cough, I somehow managed to go up to my bed, get hold of the quilt and blankets, wrap them round my body and dive under the bedstead. Then I fainted.

When I regained consciousness it was not quite dark. I wondered if it was evening. With great effort I shook my stiffened limbs into sense and rolled out from the place of safety. I saw that nothing had been touched. The tea and buscuits were standing as I had left them. There was a great silence outside. The gentle friction of brushes and brooms, against the curb, and the bumping of the springless wheels of the scavenger trucks were the only variations to an universal stillness. I limped out of the room and stood on the balcony, which was a faultless Indo-Aryan construction in ferro-concrete. I saw it was the semi-darkness that precedes

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sunrise—not evening. A faint suggestion of red in the east and the soft wet caress of the morning dew that lay on the railing round the edge of the balcony. But what was that! A blood-red banner was hanging from the flag-staff of the nearby treasury buildings, rippling noisily in the morning breeze as if in defiance of the red rising sun and throwing out a challenge to the four winds! Only yesterday the tricolour Charka ensign of Mahatma Gandhi was crooning out messages of non-violence, dignity of labour, boycott of monster factories and what not from the self-same flag-staff, and what was this that I saw to-day! Was it diffusing the red rays of the sun of a coming renaissance or was it the red of a "rejuvenated" passion which the setting sun of the West imbibed from grafted "monkey glands"?

There was fear in my heart and curiosity in my mind.

The latter won and I left the balcony to investigate matters on the road even if it did endanger my life. I passed down the marble stairway, along the corridor painted up after the cave frescoes of Ajanta, through the carved wooden doors, which resembled the doors of Tibetan temples, and at last reached the pavement in front of the house. The first sounds that accosted my ears were the rough friction of a broom and a bar from a song of Rabindranath sung in a passionate, low, tenor voice.

We have got up early to-day
To meet the first flowers of the morning.

I thought, good heavens! Who could sing such a song keeping time with a sweeper's broom? What further complex was this out of the Freudian museum? Rhyming filth with flowers. What was the complex Urge that could make possible such an impossibility?

The song came nearer and nearer. The broom rubbed against the curb in faultless *Kawali*. I wondered if the sweeper fellow had not, owing to bad health, sent this morning a fair substitute to perform his duties. That would effectively explain this strange juxtaposition of art and sanitation.

But when I saw the operator of the broom, the imaginary romance that I was building up with so much effort, vanished in a moment. A well got-up youth, in up-to-date linen and hair-cut was plying the broom—the flowers of his imagination were defying the odours connected with his employment. I was struck dumb with astonishment. The youth carefully collected some filth on an iron tray and deposited

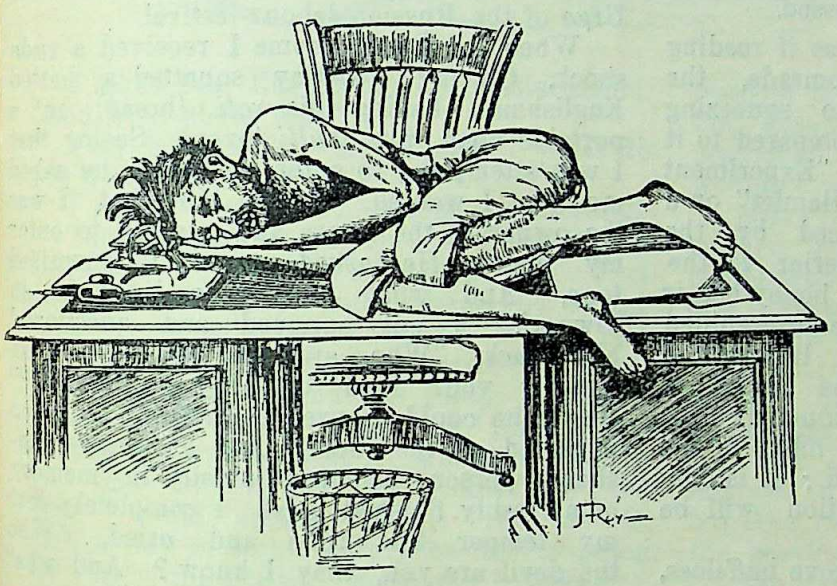
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the same in the nearby wheel-barrow—all with the air of performing a religious ceremony. Then he sang.

We have got what we wanted
And that's why we sing.

I could not restrain myself any longer and said: "I say, can you hear me? Could'nt you get a better surrounding for the practice of Rabindranath's songs! Is that why you are looking for 'the first flowers of the morning,' dressed up as an amateur sweeper, in the sewage of the city?'



The young man turned his head slightly towards me in an unbroken and easy sweep and said, "Comrade, the spiritual perfume that one finds in the fatigue born of honest labour is far better than anything that the rose gardens of fourteenth century *Begum Mahals* could give."

I said, "Sir, whatever a person does out of love, yields pleasure and pleasure is spiritual perfume; but what was that form of endearment and address which you just now applied to me? It did not quite enter my head."

The youth smiled softly and said, "Friend! I called you Comrade, i. e., a dear friend. All over the world wherever the son of man is labouring to earn his food and wiping the sweat of hardship off his forehead with work-hardened hands, a flower hitherto unknown is blooming—it is the flower of comradeship, it has the scent of co-operation in its soul, it is coloured with the wondrous colours of friendship and love, consisting of a million petals, each separate and distinctive, but all adding equally to the fullest beauty and glory of its being. That is to say, that the flower is composed of the labour of countless workers in different fields of work, all sharing equally the honour of contributing a necessary part to the whole."

I was suddenly overpowered with an unknown Urge, which rapidly grew stronger and stronger in my heart. The sayings of Rousseau, Tolstoy, Marx, Kropotkin, Lenin and others began to assume shape and flit past my dazzled eyes in a crowded pageantry. The immortal ideal of equality in labour began to draw me irresistibly to its sacrificial altar. The ideal of the meditating Buddha, which through endless centuries has been showing my legion ancestors the road to *Nirvana* through the annihilation of *Karma* or work and Salvation for universal humanity in *Nirvana*, and Union in Salvation; that Buddha suddenly lost his serenity and inaction and rushed out, as it were, with shovel, scythe and hammer to correct his past mistakes. As if man after conquering the stupor of opium was looking for newer ways of death in a mad orgy of alcohol. The frozen blood in the veins of humanity suddenly thawed and rose in a tumultuous flood. Maddened with an enthusiasm which I little understood, I cried out, "You have well-spoken, friend, well spoken! But how could you light such a roaring fire in the frost-coated heart of Mother India?"

The young man answered," Don't you know. We have had a revolution in India yesterday morning. The whole of India has passed into the possession of workers in exchange of the labours performed by them. We have won everywhere. We, who have been dying a slow death lasting over centuries due to consumption of unearned incomes, we have all had to undergo a socio-surgical operation yesterday—some of us have successfully got rid of our ancient malady, yet others have been marked, but the Patient Succumbed' and passed out into the great beyond carrying with them the stigma of their own worthlessness. Had you been

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sleeping all this while, Comrade, that you have not heard of these momentous happenings ?"

I answered in a shy voice, "No, not exactly sleeping ; but I have been in a faint." The Youth said, "Must do my eight hours a day. I have lost full ten minutes. So long then, Comrade . . ." Speechlessly I stood gazing at a buffalo cart. Its driver was a literary sort of a young man. It struck me that although there was some similarity between driving the pen in the thought-crowded highways of literature and driving a pair of semi-wild buffaloes in a crowded thoroughfare, there was, yet, a great difference. It was the same Urge, only differently expressed.

The driver of the buffalo-cart, as if reading my thoughts, said, "Yes comrade, the glory that is associated with the squeezing of the buffalo's tail is great. Compared to it the glory of composing an "Experiment with Truth," a "Gitanjali," a "Hamlet" or a "Ghosts", is like a candle placed by the moon. The work-Urge is superior to the art-Urge, as the flight of the honey-bee is on a higher plane than the pleasure-guided movements of the butterfly. Beware of stagnation. It will congeal the cream of your character. Stir it continuously—the character, I mean ; churn the milk of life in the churner of constant action ; it is only then that the butter of salvation will be entirely yours."

I was charmed. The fellow drove buffaloes, but what dexterity with metaphors ! We do want work. It is only due to activeness that the Himalayas were less glorious than the goats that roam their slopes, the hands of man excelled his stomach, the forehead opened itself to the inroads of the eyes, bed-bugs dominated the bed and street dogs had complete freedom of the streets. It was again for activeness that diseases transcended health, sin 'merit' and limbs the soul. The whole solar system, the entire creation was emphatically exhorting men to rush, at any rate, after their own shadows, to turn endlessly on their economic axis, walk, run, print their foot-steps here, there and everywhere on the breast of time and space, conquer, make everything their own ;—my head began to reel.

Here I was seated, as it were, in the hub of a great, active, eruptive, evolving, everchanging creation ; passing my time entirely in Royal Auction Bridge ! I bowed my head and turned homewards.

Second Scene

In the world of action, atonement for sins is seldom subjective ; it hurls itself with pagan violence on the head of sinners as a solid external reality. I left the highways of the revolution-stricken city and went home. An inward Urge made me see everything red—even the crows perched upon the Telephone wires appeared red. In a bygone day, the Urge of the colour festival *Holi* had turned the whole universe red in the eye of the dancing *Brajavasi* people. Once more history repeated itself and we saw the world go red under the Urge of the Russian labour-festival.

When I reached home I received a rude shock. On my doorway squatted a hatted Englishman baking his *roti* (bread) on a portable open fire *chulli* (oven). Seeing that I was attempting to enter the house, he asked me what I wanted. I told him that I was the owner of the house and wanted to enter my house. He asked me in a surprised tone, "And what sort of a thing is an 'Owner'?" I got annoyed and questioned him back, "Who are you that you are cooking your food on my threshold ?" Before he could answer a further infliction appeared at the door. An extremely unshaven person belching noisily in memory of a freshly finished meal. I completely lost my temper this time and cried, "Who the devil are you, may I know ? And what are you doing, pray, in my house ?"

The fellow seemed astonished. He said, "House ? Do houses ever belong to anybody ?"

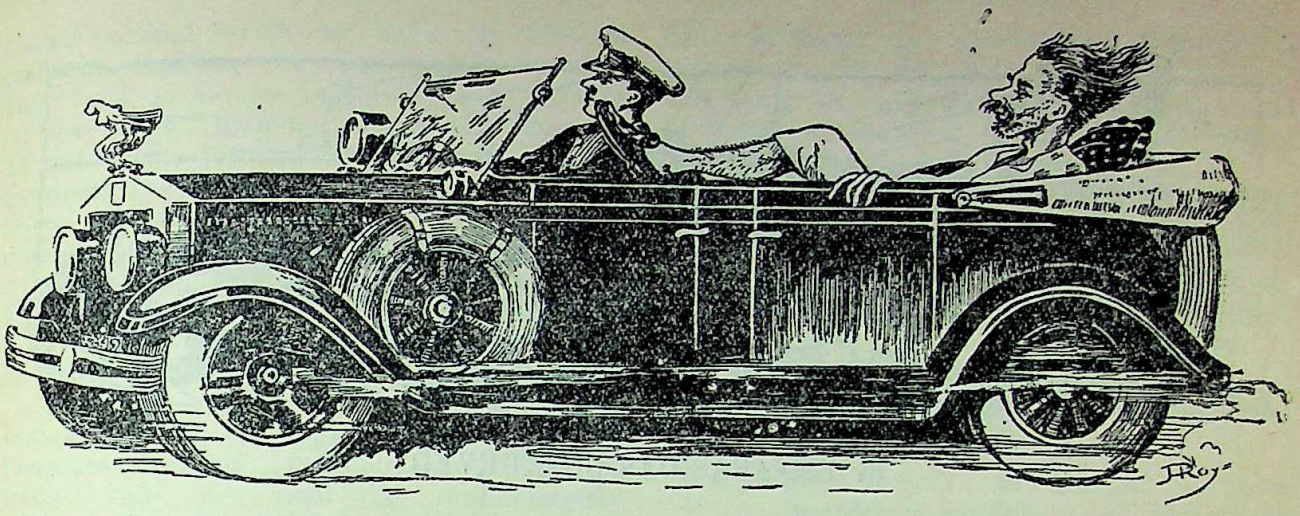
I said, "Stop your attempts at witticism. By what right are you taking such liberties in my house ?"

The man laughed out. Turning to the Englishman, he enquired, "Is the man mad ?"

The Englishman now explained matters to me. According to the new laws, houses and other property no longer belonged to individuals. They existed for the use of all Workers. He who worked the hardsst got for his use the best dwellings. The phenomenally unshaven and hairly fellow was a workman in the nearby mill and the Englishman was an engineer in the same place. As the former's duties entailed the lifting of heavy loads and the latter had to tax his muscles less, the engineer had been given the doorway to live in, while the hairy fellow possessed the rest of the house.

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I asked the Englishman in consternation, "And what about me?"

They both asked me at once, "What do you do?"

I replied that I read, wrote and lectured.

The unshaven person enthusiastically suggested, "That need not worry you. You can dust and sweep and be generally useful here. There will be no lack of food. You will also be given sleeping room."

I was gratified and was going to refuse the generous offer when the Englishman pointed out to me that it would be better for me to work; for, otherwise the State would arrange things for me in such a way as would hardly be less fatiguing for my uninitiated muscles. I, therefore, joined up.

* * *

In the morning I arrange for the breakfast of Sir Unkempt. After breakfast he goes out for a drive in the motor car which belonged formerly to the Mill manager and now to the State. The engineer drives the car. I take the opportunity to go into the library that was once mine and clean up and rearrange the corner where Sir Unkempt has had his morning *chillum* (pipe) enthroned on "my" rarest limited editions. I pick up and wipe carefully each separate volume like some slave mother of ancient Greece secretly caressing her children in the absence of her master. Alas, Equality! It is only for you that the Psalms of David have become the Comrades of the Nautical Almanack. Good thing David is dead or perhaps, he would have been operating the "Lino" in a newspaper office. The cave frescoes of Ajanta are to-day the equals of the dreams in half-tone which inspire precocious school boys. O Equality, where wouldn't you finally lead mankind!

Every evening on his return from the mill my master takes a short nap cuddled up comfortably on my writing table, until I call him to stampede sonorously through his dinner. The fellow can't stop his hysterical laughter when he sees the paintings of the great masters. The best music on the gramophone makes him yawn from the ceiling to the door mat. The English fellow says he will improve in taste with training. I say, "yes, but then he will no longer be able to lift the heaviest loads."

The days pass in sorrow. I wonder and worry when again the wheel of time will move downwards after reaching the apex of progress.

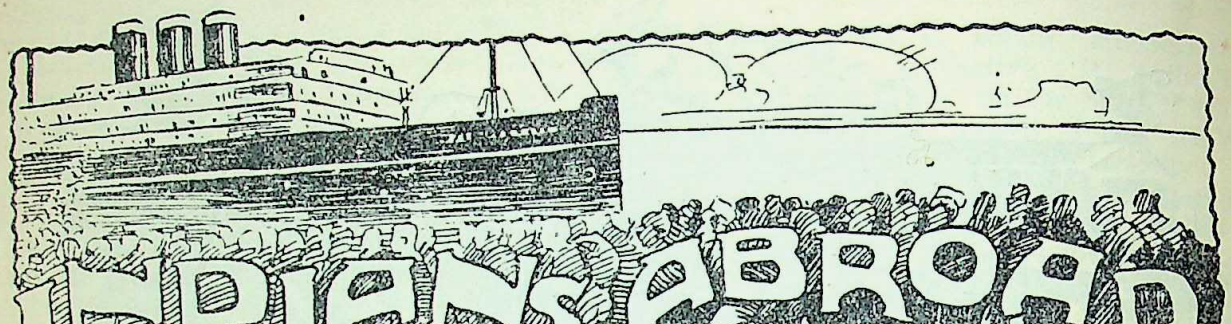
Conclusion

My friend said, "Yes, you haven't written it quite so badly. It is almost as abstruse as truth. But the attitude of the "hero" of your the story towards Communism is quite different in the two scenes. How do you explain it?"

I said, "The Urge is the same in both the scenes. In the first, it is projected upon things detached from the Self and in the second it dwells entirely on the Self. Radicalism and conservatism are merely the two aspects of man's appreciation of strange realities. One records a positive and the other a negative reaction. That is the only difference." My friend said, "Bravo!"

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By BENARASIDAS CHATURVEDI

The future of Indian Population in Kenya

Mr. J. B. Pandya, the proprietor of the Kenya Daily Mail of Mombasa has, at my request, prepared the following statement for publication in the Indian papers. The question raised by Mr. Pandya is an important one and deserves serious consideration at the hands of the Indian leaders as well as the Government of India:—

It is generally felt that in Kenya South African conditions are being copied and in the near future South African history will be reapeated in Kenya in the form of disabilities suffered by Indians. There is still time to avert this danger. It is a fact that a large number of Indians in Kenya are intelligent, self-respecting, and patriotic, and given equal opportunities for advancement would be equal to any other immigrant race in Kenya.

It cannot be denied that the East Coast of Africa is geographically more suited as a natural outlet for millions of Indians next door, and no one can deny that if India had Dominion Status this country would have been by this time predominantly an Indian Colony. Apart from this even if equal opportunities were offered to Indians in Kenya they would have by this time far advanced as regards settlement on land. Settlement of Indians would have been greatly to the benefit of the sons of the soil since in their case it would not have been necessary to reserve any portion of land exclusively for any race. There is a great difference in Indian settlement on land as compared with that of Europeans. Indians would develop small areas with their own labour leaving the natives to develop their own land. European settlement is on a capitalistic scale and in addition to land it requires the natives to work as labourers on the plantations.

One of the first thing the British Government did was to reserve, for the exclusive use of the Europeans, the best part of the country known as the Highlands in Kenya. It was not a question of race or color as regards reservation of the Highlands since side by side with European farms there are native reserves for native agriculture. It was the political inferiority of Indians in India which allowed the British Government to heap this insult on India debarring these citizens of the British Empire from having equal rights of settlement in a British Colony which was not already settled by white men.

It has not yet been seriously recognised that although today Indians are performing a good service as middlemen in trade and commerce it would be very difficult for them to maintain that position for a long period. They would be between two grinding mills namely those of poor whites and educated Africans and as rightly pointed out by Mr. R. B. Ewbank, a member of the Government of India deputation to Kenya, in his Kisumu speech, the position of Indians in Kenya will be more difficult in future and can only be maintained as at present by better education.

I would go further and say that it is doubtful if even the best education could maintain the position of Indians in this country. Where merits and abilities are not recognised and where a man is given chances in life by his color, it is difficult to prosper with education only. It is a common thing to-day that a young European coming straight from a school is put over an old and experienced Indian in private and Government service, and whatever his qualifications, an

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Indian cannot aspire to have an officer's grade in Railway or Government service. Their hold on service in this country is only for few years. As poor whites and educated Africans come forward Indians will have to disappear from these services in due course. Even supposing they still maintain their present position it would not reflect creditably on general standing of Indians in the country. Their position as subordinates could hardly be a matter of pride to the Indian community in Kenya or in India.

The only line at present open to Indians and to any extent developed therefore for an independent living, is trade and it must be unfortunately acknowledged that even here signs are not encouraging. Leaders and self-respecting citizens could only come from the class or population having independent means of living and however smart and intelligent a clerk may be, as long as he is in subordinate position in service he cannot come out as the equal of members of other races. Unfortunately in Kenya a large number of business men do not know English and even after coming to Kenya their general improvement has been very slow. They have not yet realised that in business methods competition is not the last word: organisation, spirit of service, and application of modern business methods count for a great deal. On account of these conditions it is difficult for an educated man of ordinary abilities to be successful in business and in the result one finds very few educated business men in Kenya. But trade also as far as the Highlands are concerned is only temporarily in the hands of Indians. Natives are getting ready to take up trade in the reserves and will probably ultimately drive out Indians from small shop-keeping while owing to the predominant European population in the Highlands large business there would pass in European hands. Therefore, it is only a question of time when it will be very difficult for Indians to stay in the Highlands. Unless conditions change, in Lowlands also the same thing same would follow.

The only salvation, therefore, of Indians in Kenya is settlement on land in suitable areas. The following resolution was passed by the last Congress session at Nairobi in December 1927.

RESOLUTION

Whereas in the opinion of this Congress one of the most important factors of permanent settlement in Kenya and Tanganyika can only be achieved by land settlement, this Congress resolves that the Government of India be requested to depute an officer to enquire into and report on,—

1. The availability of land for Indian settlement in any part of Kenya and Tanganyika.
2. The fertility and usefulness of such land.
3. A scheme of land settlement by a number of families assisted by the Government of India.
4. Other matters in general affecting permanent settlement of Indians in Kenya and Tanganyika.

The resolution speaks for itself. That there are such areas is proved by the success of the colony of Indians in the Kibos area and at Muhoroni; and there may well be very extensive areas elsewhere in the country including the Coast where Indian agriculturists could successfully establish themselves adding much to the productivity and prosperity of the country and disposing for ever the libel that is still used and believed that the Indian is only parasitic and incapable of becoming a real colonist. It would be difficult also for the most ardent exclusionist to maintain the sanctity of the Highlands were the capacity, zeal and ability of the Indian agriculturists actually demonstrated. If after careful investigation it is found that in the lowlands there are no areas suitable for Indian settlement a strong case would be made out for giving a portion of the Highlands for settlement by Indians. In the first instance, the proposal in the resolution enables the Government of India to convince the local Government and the Colonial Office that there are Indian agriculturists in the motherland who would come to Kenya and it invites a demand from India which would mean that it is the duty of the Government of Kenya to undertake this task and to encourage Indian settlement in the interests of the country as is done in Europe by the publicity office. But from past records it is established that the local Government has ignored this subject altogether. The Government of India, therefore, should direct their attention to this most important question and the Indian leaders in Kenya should also make this their main programme for constructive work for many years to come. It may be

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argued that local Government being unsympathetic even the land settlement would not help and perhaps would be used as a reason for further hardships, the reply is obvious that whatever difficulties may be created the very fact that Indians can be settled on land and can become producing factor of great importance the local Government also out of necessity will have to change their attitude. The position of Indians would then be unassailable and they will have to be considered as a real force in the country.

A great political crisis for Kenya Indians is approaching. European settlers are demanding a step towards self-Government namely an elected European majority in Kenya legislative council. The present position of Indians even under Colonial Office control is bad enough, it would be worse under settlers' regime and the Kenya Indians are united in trying to frustrate the efforts of European settlers for this elected European majority.

Common Franchise is made again a principal plank in their fight. It cannot be denied that it would solve racial problems and that it would soften racial bitterness, but the very name of Common Franchise is unacceptable to Europeans in Kenya. There is no doubt that if they would examine it without prejudice they would find it to their advantage even regarding their seats in the Council.

Indians in Kenya are maintaining their fight against heavy odds but until India is strong enough to maintain her dignity as an equal partner in the British Empire not in name and loss but in practice and profit; the lot of Indians outside India cannot improve as it should. The status of Indians in India must first be improved before others who are now ruling them and their brothers could agree to recognise them as friends and equals. There is much in this argument and once the question is settled in India the Kenya Indians would then obtain what they deserve and would secure equal opportunity and equal treatment with other subjects of His Majesty

But it does not, therefore, follow that they should wait until such a thing happens. They must carry on with all their might to establish themselves on a better footing in this country and the best way they could successfully obtain this result is by settlement on land. I hope the people and the Government of India will give greater attention to this subject than they have hitherto done and take advantage of the invaluable opportunity now offered by the appeal made by the East African Indian National Congress. It is one of the most essential and vital problems and a factor on which every other thing depends."

Mischievous propaganda against Arya Samaj in Fiji Islands

Swami Bhawani Dayal Sanyasi has done an act of public service by drawing the attention of the Indian public towards the attempt that is being made by certain interested persons in Fiji to create disunion among Sanatanists and Arya Samajists there. Here is an extract from the Pacific Press of Suva, Fiji Islands :—

"We have heard a great deal about the Arya Samaj recently in the newspapers, but few seem to understand the real motive of this society. They claim to be Hindus and to teach the religion of Vedas, but such statements are difficult to reconcile with known facts. The Vedas are the chief of the Holy books of the Hindus, and are so venerated that they are only allowed to be read by Brahmins ; for this reason their contents are largely unknown to the majority of Hindus, and therefore it is not commonly realized how far the Arya Samaj teaching differs from the Vedas. The Hindu religion has many sects—Sikhs, Kabir-panthis. Jains—and the Arya Samaj desire to be thought one of these ; but once their teaching is understood such a position is logically impossible, The Arya Samajists are really the enemies of ALL religion. It really suits them to pose as Hindus whereby more effectually to undermine the faith of the unlearned.

"To all who are not Hindus it is astonishing that the true Hindus do not denounce the flagrant attempts of these atheists to pretend that they are Hindus, but this non-resistance to their most dangerous opponents is the outcome of their doctrine of "Ahimsa." It might seem strange that the Arya Samajists should wish to pretend to be what they are not, but for this there is a financial reason : deprived of the support of the illiterate and ignorant on whom they impose, they would be helpless to carry on their anti-religious propaganda."

The statement contains many absurd accusations against the Arya Samaj in general and we consider it our duty to condemn it whole-heartedly. It is quite possible that the Arya Samajists in Fiji may not be the best representatives of the Samaj but that is a different thing altogether. To say that the Arya Samajists are really the enemies of all religion is to utter an absolute untruth. We shall request the Editor of the Pacific Press to be more considerate in future. There is much in the Arya Samaj that will

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appeal to the Christians if it is rightly understood. Let the Editor of the Pacific Press read Lala Lajpat Rai's book on Arya Samaj published by Longman & Co., and that will give him an idea of what the Arya Samaj stands for. We hold no brief for the Arya Samaj, in fact, we do not agree with several of their principles, but none who have seen their manysided activities in different fields of social work can fail to admire them for their robust faith, sturdy nationalism and wonderful spirit of sacrifice. The Arya Samaj has come to stay in Fiji and there is no use creating misunderstandings against it. We have one thing to say for our Aryasamajist friends in Fiji. Let them not behave themselves in such a way as to bring a slur on the fair name of the Samaj. The policy of wild attacks on other religions must not be imported from home. Fiji can ill-afford to be a battle-ground for different races and religions.

The Governor of British Guiana on Indian Immigration

Sir Gordon Guggisberg, who has been appointed Governor of British Guiana, gave an interview to a representative of the Observer before he left England, in the course of which he referred to the question of Indian immigration to that Colony. The old schemes of indentured immigration from India, he said, have proved a failure both from the point of view of populating the country and, finding labour for the sugar estates. This system has been abolished, and Sir Gordon was quite sure that any future schemes must be free from the taint of indentured labour. There are at present 125,000 Indians in Guiana of whom 68 per cent. were born in the Colony. Speaking of future plans, he said :—

Any scheme should be conducted on the principle of community units, each unit comprising a hundred families, consisting of a father and mother and two or three children. These should be settled on ten acre farms, part of which can be devoted to raising quick-return crops, such as rice, ground-nuts, etc., and the rest to the culture of coffee, cocoa, fruit, and other permanent products. All land belongs to the crown, and the root-principle of land settlement should be a definite opportunity for immigrants to become owners. Each settlement should have as one of its main features a system of community service, encouraged by the formation of a settlement school, spreading its influence in much the same manner as Hampton and Tuskegee in the Southern States of America.

The scheme put forward by the Governor seems to be a good one but the Indian public cannot consider the question of sending any emigrants to British Guiana until and unless the conditions put forward in Kunwar Maharaj Singh's report are fulfilled. That is the minimum that we expect from the Government of British Guiana before taking any serious consideration of the question. In the meanwhile, we shall ask the leaders of Indian opinion in that colony to let us know what they think of the Governor's scheme. The question concerns them primarily and we must be guided by them in taking any definite decision on this subject.

Our Agent General in South Africa

Sir K. V. Reddi has been appointed the Agent of the Government of India in South Africa in place of Right Honourable Srinivas Sastri, I have already criticised the Government of India in an interview to the Free Press. Here is what the Leaders of Allahabad has to say regarding this appointment :—

> The Government of India could not easily have made a worse selection than that of Sir K. V. Reddy to succeed Mr. Srinivasa Sastri. They have developed an extraordinary capacity for doing the wrong thing and we have no hesitation in saying that they betrayed utter unimaginativeness and lack of appreciation of the fitness of things and of the situation in South Africa in making such a highly unsatisfactory appointment. If Mr. Sastri's great work is spoilt by his successor the responsibility will be wholly and solely of the Government".—

The fact is that the Government of India have developed a highly reactionary attitude in all these matters and they do not attach much importance to what the leaders of public opinion in India have to say even on such subjects on which there ought to be complete co-operation between the Government of India and the Indian public, Possibly they consider it below their dignity to consult Mahatma Gandhi and Mr. C. F. Andrews on such questions inspite of the fact that the former is the greatest authority on these problems while the latter worked hard for not less than a year and a half to bring about the happy compromise in South Africa. The appointment of Sir K. V. Reddy shows that the India Government attaches

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as little importance to this office as to that of the agents to Malaya or Ceylon.

In an interview to the Associated Press Sir K. V. Reddy is reported to have asked his critics to judge him by his action and words in South Africa and not to prejudge him. The critics of Sir Reddy, as far as we know, have no personal complaint against him, and now that the appointment has been made they should gracefully offer him their help and co-operation in the difficult work that lies before him in South Africa

A New Appointment

We read in the papers the Secretary of State for India has sanctioned the appointment of a Joint Secretary to the Education Department to devote substantial part of his time to problems of Indians overseas. Instead of creating a separate branch for this important work, as was urged by Mr G. A. Natesan, they are only appointing a special officer. It has not yet been announced who will be the occupant of this new post. Indians overseas and those who are interested in their problems will prefer a gentleman of the type of Mr. R. B. Ewbank or Sir G. L. Corbett to any third rate Indian I. C. S As there are Europeans who can take an Indian point of view on such questions and also Indians who are worse bureaucrats than their white colleagues, we cannot swear by Indianisation in such cases.

Indians in Canada :—

Here is an extract from a speech of Honourable Mr. G. A. Natesan delivered at Ottawa during the session of the Empire Parliamentary Association :—

Perhaps it will interest you to know that there are 1200 of my cuntrymen in this great Dominion. One hundred of them, distributed in different parts of the country, are enjoying to-day municipal and political freedom as well as any other Canadian, and I am very proud of it. But unfortunately in one province, British Columbia, where there are as many as 1,100 of my countrymen, they are excluded from the enjoyment of the Dominion as well as the provincial franchise. I am not making a complaint of it now. I am one of those who have been associated with the public life of my country for very many years, and in my experience in politics I have learned that the best way to advance a cause is not to look too much on the past and rake up old scores. That only does serious injury to a cause. I recognise that at the Imperial Conference your Prime Minister made a statement on this subject, and this statement I should like to read.

"I desire to assure you that at the earliest favourable moment the Government will be pleased to invite the consideration of your request that the natives of India resident in British Columbia be granted Dominion Franchise on conditions identical with those which govern the exercise of that right by the Canadian citizens."

I am very happy that I have been here to listen to the statements of the Hon. Minister of Immigration. In these few words I make an appeal to Canada to see that the disabilities which these people suffer are soon removed. We have been warmed by your hospitality, and let me assure you that when we return to our country, whether you set right these disabilities or not, we shall tell the people of our land how beautiful we have found your country and how well we have enjoyed your welcome. But it would fill our hearts with pride if I and some others were able to say that these disabilities which a very small number of my countrymen are now subject to in the great Dominion of Canada will soon be removed and that the vote will be given to them.

The apologetic tone of Honourable Mr. Natesan's speech is sufficient to illustrate the low position that our country occupies in the British Empire. The history of Indians in Canada is a history of prosecutions and persecutions and inspite of what Mr. Natesan said about 'raking up old scores' the Indian public will not forget the many insults that our countrymen have had to bear at the hands of the Canadian people and the Canadian government There was a time when there were not less than 5000 Indians in Canada. By a deliberate policy of repression and exclusion the Canadian Government has succeeded in reducing them to 1200, and out of these 1100 have not yet been given municipal or political franchise inspite of all the Imperial conferences and Empire Parliamentary Associations.

Mr. C. F. Andrew's advice to East African Indians :—

In a speech delivered at London in a meeting of Indians presided over by Dewan Bahadur Mr. Ramchandra Rao, Mr. Andrews urged that Indian settlers in Kenya, Uganda Tanganyika and Zanzibar should work shoulder to shoulder in safeguarding and asserting the respective rights which were identical. Undoubtedly this advice of Mr. Andrews is full of practical wisdom and farsightedness. The Africans in East Africa outnumber the immigrant population in the proportion of 60 to 1 and naturally they are the rightful owners of their land. They are slowly though surely developing race consciousness and the day is not far distant when

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their voice will have to be heard and they will no longer remain the dumb driven cattle as they happen to be at present. Both from the point of view of humanitarianism and statesmanship the policy of fullest co-operation with the Africans is the only sound policy that ought to be followed by our countrymen in East Africa.

An Indian Agent in Kenya ?

The Bombay correspondant of the Kenya Daily Mail of Mombasa writes in one of his letters to that paper :—

"I understand on a most reliable source that the Government of Kenya have asked the Government of India for the appointment of an Indian Agent in Kenya."

Is this a fact ? Some member of the Legislative Assembly should put a question in the next meeting and get a definite reply from the Government of India. It will be positively harmful to appoint any Agent in Kenya. The East African Indian National Congress has already expressed its strong disapproval of such a step at its last session held in the presence of Kunwar Maharaj Singh and Mr. R. B. Ewbank. So far as our representatives in the Assembly are concerned this ought to be sufficient to warn them against any support to this reactionary proposal. But unfortunately most of the members of the Assembly know little about the problems of our people in East Africa and it is necessary to keep them well-informed on these questions. The Government of India is growing quite unimaginative and careless day by day and they can do anything by taking advantage of the ignorance of the members of the Assembly. Under these circumstances it is all the more unfortunate that our countrymen in East Africa have not yet realised the importance of publicity work at home. If they have an Agent thurst on their unwilling heads by the Government of India, they themselves will be, to a certain extent, responsible for it.

LALA LAJPAT RAI

By NAGENDRANATH GUPTA

At the Allahabad session of the Indian National Congress in 1888 I saw Lala Lajpat Rai, then a very young man, distributing copies of his "Open Letter to Sir Syed Ahmed" among the delegates. At that time we were strangers. He was a pleader at Hissar, a district in South Punjab. In 1892 he came to Lahore ; I was also there and we remained friends to the end.

Public life in India in those days was very different from what it is today, though even now it is a mistake to aver that politics in India is the same thing as in other countries that have their own Government. The political bodies in India mainly concerned themselves with presenting memorials and petitions to Government, and public meetings were called to protest against or criticise particular measures. In Christmas week the Indian National Congress met every year for three days, the floodgates of oratory were opened and carefully worded resolutions were passed. And then the delegates returned home, satisfied that they had done their duty by their country.

In the Punjab the progressive movement among the educated community had found expression in the Arya Samaj and the Dayanand Anglo-Vedic College, a combination of religious, social and educational reform. The Arya Samaj and the D. A. V. College displayed an excellent organisation. The former was based on the teachings of Swami Dayanand Saraswati and revived the ancient Vedic religion superseding the later forms of the Puranic religion. The college was named after Swami Dayanand. It neither sought nor received any grant from the Punjab Government, but the organisers of the college as well as the general body of the Arya Samajists refrained from taking an active part in any political movement. The three most prominent workers for the college were Lala Hans Raj, Pandit Guru Dutt Vidyarthi and Lala Lajpat Rai. Lala Hans Raj was Honorary Principal of the

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College for over twenty-five years. He accepted no salary or remuneration of any kind and maintained himself on a small allowance given to him by his elder brother Lala Mulk Raj Bhalla. Pandit Guru Dutt, an enthusiastic worker, was cut off at the early age of twenty-five. Lala Lajpat Rai was the Honorary Secretary of the College Committee for several years and at each anniversary of the Arya Samaj his eloquent and powerful appeals brought a substantial response in the shape of donations and subscriptions to the funds of the D. A.-V. College.

Lala Lajpat Rai was not content to devote all his time and energy to the Arya Samaj and the college. The call of the country had stirred him from the outset. He was a constant contributor to the *Tribune*, of which I was the editor at the time, and he wrote letters on various public questions. He was not particularly strong in English at the beginning of his public career, but by constant and diligent study and his travels in Europe and America he became one of the finest writers of English in the country and unquestionably the best writer in the Punjab. As an orator he ranked among the foremost in the country and was recognised as the ablest and most effective speaker in the Legislative Assembly. Among Urdu orators he was the greatest in India in his time.

From 1893 to 1896 Lajpat Rai and I were next door neighbours outside the Lohari Gate in Lahore and a close family friendship sprang up between us. His brother, Dalpat Rai, an M. A. of the Punjab University, was appointed the first manager of the Punjab National Bank which is now the oldest and one of the soundest Indian banking concerns in the country. Soon afterwards, however, Dalpat Rai fell a victim to tuberculosis. Lajpat Rai's father and mother were perfectly healthy and his father. Lala Radha Kishen, lived to a great age, but somehow a tubercular taint ran in the family. Later in life Lajpat Rai himself suffered from glandular swellings in the neck and one of his sons died of tuberculosis. But neither domestic bereavements, nor physical suffering, nor persistent persecution deterred him for a moment from his untiring service to the country.

The Indian National Congress met for the first time at Lahore in 1893 and that decided the attitude of the Arya Samajists in the Punjab towards the Congress. I was present at the Allahabad Congress in 1892 when it was decided to invite the Congress to the Punjab. No prominent leaders of the Arya Samaj were present. Sardar Dyal Singh Majithia was asked by telegram whether he approved the proposal and he replied that he would abide by the decision of the Punjab delegates. He would, of course, prove a tower of strength, but all the same the Punjabis present at Allahabad felt somewhat nervous. In the Subjects Committee it was suggested that propaganda work should be carried on in the Punjab to create enthusiasm for the Congress. Raja Rampal Singh of Kalakankar, Oudh, and Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya readily offered to tour the Punjab to rouse public opinion. But no one was in a position to anticipate the decision of the Arya Samaj to which most of the educated Hindus of the Punjab belonged. No secret could be made of the fact that Sardar Dyal Singh Majithia, who was a member of the Brahmo Samaj and gave liberal contributions to various other religions and other bodies, had held himself aloof from the Arya Samaj and no deputation from that body had ever asked the Sardar for a donation. The formal invitation to the Congress to meet at Lahore in December, 1893, was offered by a pleader from Amritsar, who happened to be the oldest Punjabi present.

On our return to Lahore we started work by putting out cautious feelers to ascertain the attitude of the leaders of the Arya Samaj. The result was both surprising and gratifying. The great majority of Mahomedans had everywhere declined to join the Congress and in the Punjab this reluctance was even more marked. On the other hand, the members of the Arya Samaj readily responded to the invitation to join the Congress. Most of the members of the Reception Committee were Arya Samajists, the Secretary was a prominent member of the Arya Samaj. Lajpat Rai was not an office-bearer, but he made a profound impression by his lectures and helped actively in the collection of funds. Dadabhai Naoraji was the President and both as regards attendance and finance the Congress was most successful. In a few years Lajpat Rai became the leading Congressman in the Punjab.

At no time in the whole length of his public career had Lala Lajpat Rai any connection with any secret organisation or revolutionary

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movement. Secrecy in any form was utterly foreign to his nature. Throughout his life he was an outspoken critic and what he opposed he did so quite openly. Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee was celebrated in 1897. The Punjab officials and those who were led by them wanted a statue to be erected to commemorate the event. Lala Lajpat Rai proposed the founding of an orphanage and the majority of the educated classes of Lahore agreed with him. At a public meeting called to decide the form of the memorial the officials and their supporters, finding themselves in a minority, hurriedly withdrew. The statue was afterwards voted in a packed hole-and-corner meeting. Lajpat Rai established an orphanage independently with the help of public subscriptions.

By his independence Lajpat Rai made himself obnoxious to the authorities, but there was nothing against him for which he could be made liable to the law. He was a practising lawyer of the Punjab Chief Court, all his public activities were carried on in the light of day, and his writings and speeches did not come within the purview of even the very elastic law of sedition in India. The opportunity for action against him came when Sir Denzil Ibbetson was appointed Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab. That gentleman had the reputation of being a strong man. When he was a Deputy Commissioner in the Punjab he had refused to see an Indian Statutory Civilian because the latter had the temerity to come into the presence without taking off his shoes. Shortly before his appointment as Lieutenant-Governor he had told a Punjabi visitor, "I shall look after the Babus when I come to the Punjab—the word Babus being the generic term for the educated classes throughout India. Sir Denzil Ibbetson's term of office was a very brief one, for he died of cancer in about a year, but during that period he certainly fulfilled his undertaking. At Rawalpindi there was a demonstration of peasant-proprietors in 1907 against the Land Alienation Act or something else connected with land. There was no rowdyism and no violence, but the local authorities chose to treat it as a defiance of authority. Some of the leading lawyers of Rawalpindi, men who had never taken any part in any unlawful movement and who were no longer young, sympathised with the peasants. Lala Lajpat Rai was also present at one of the demonstrations and some heated words passed between him and the Deputy Commissioner. Lajpat Rai returned to Lahore as soon as the popular excitement had subsided. The Rawalpindi lawyers were promptly arrested and clapped in prison. They were placed on trial before a special officer who was Sessions Judge of Delhi. This happened to be Mr. Martineau, who was as judicial-minded as he was conscientious, and after a lengthy trial he acquitted all the prisoners. Mr. Martineau afterwards became a Judge of the Punjab High Court and died at Lahore some time ago.

If Lajpat Rai had been arrested and placed in the dock along with the Rawalpindi lawyers he would, of course, have been acquitted, but even the Deputy Commissioner and District Magistrate of Rawalpindi could not think of any charge that could be preferred against the Lahore leader. Lajpat Rai had been only a visitor to Rawalpindi and though he fully agreed with the agriculturists in their grievances there was no time and no occasion for any overt action. But besides an open and perhaps abortive trial there are other means of taking care of the Babus, whether in Bengal or the Punjab. What is the good old Bengal Regulation III for if not to supersede the devious and uncertain ways of the law? All great and good Governments should have the power to arrest and imprison without trial. Did not the Bourbons in France, the Louises and the Capets sign *lettres de cachet*, and did not the Bastille contain prisoners against whom no charges had ever been made? Did the ukases of the Great White Tsar specify the charges on which men and women were sent to Siberia and the quicksilver mines? The Tsars and the Bourbons and the Bastilles have vanished, but the Indian Regulation is still going strong. It is said that the arrest and deportation of Lajpat Rai had the full approval of Lord Morley, then Secretary of State for India. What does that signify? The Government here has only to urge that it is unsafe to let any particular person to remain at liberty and it is inexpedient to bring him to open trial and the Secretary of State, whoever he may be, must approve the action of the Government. The correspondence on the subject of Lajpat Rai's deportation will be never published and so it will be never known whether it was a case of suspicion or vindictiveness. Only one thing is certain and that is that no

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legal evidence can even be produced to show that he was guilty of any offence.

At Mandalay Lajpat Rai was not detained very long. If Lord Morley agreed to his deportation he did not agree to his indefinite detention. After six months he was taken back to Lahore and set at liberty. A remarkable feature of these sequestrations is the great secrecy with which they are carried out Lajpat Rai was arrested in the afternoon but no one knew anything more until he was taken to Mandalay; when released he was left at his home at Lahore early in the morning before people were stirring out of doors. For some days thereafter there was a constant stream of visitors to Lajpat Rai's house and messages of congratulations poured in from every part of the country.

Before his deportation Lajpat Rai was a fairly well-known man, but the action of the Government made him one of the most famous men in the country and he received an ovation wherever he appeared. I was at that time at Allahabad and it was announced that he would pay a visit to that city in the course of a lecturing tour. There was a troop of Punjab cavalry stationed near the place where I was staying. One evening I met some of the cavalry-men who told me that they would go to the railway station to receive Lala Lajpat Rai, I pointed out that they might not get leave from their officers when some of them said that they did not care whether they were punished or dismissed. They only desisted from their purpose when I explained that suspicion might fall upon Lala Lajpat Rai himself, but several of them saw him at the meetings and elsewhere. Lajpat Rai came to breakfast with me and showed me the manuscript of the account he had written of his life at Mandalay. He also told me that after the treatment he had received it would be impossible for him to resume his practice as a lawyer,

At the abortive Surat Congress of 1907 Lajpat Rai tried hard to mediate between the two factions of the Congress. That movement was approaching the parting of the ways, but the issue at Surat was mainly a personal one. There had been a growing feeling in a section of the Indian National Congress that that body should adopt a bolder line of policy, and a cleavage was just averted at the Calcutta Congress of 1906. The Mahratta slipper that was hurled on the platform at Surat and fell near the person of Surendranath Banerjea, who took it away and preserved it in a glass case, was really intended for Sir Pherozeshah Mehta against whom the fury of the Deccan contingent was directed. Mr. H. W. Nevinson, who was present, gave me a graphic description of what had happened when I met him at Allahabad and Surendranath Banerjea spoke to me about it more than once.

It was supposed that a reconciliation between the two wings of the Congress was effected at the Lucknow Congress of 1916, but the truce was temporary. To say that the Congress was captured by this party or the other is a very loose account of what really happened. It was not so much a matter of party feeling as an evolution of psychology. The struggle upon which the Congress was engaged was bound to become grimmer and sterner with the passing years. The old humdrum methods led nowhere. It required a considerable flexibility and nobility of the mind to realise the change that was coming so swiftly. Lajpat Rai had given evidence of it at the Benares Congress of 1905, over which Gokhale presided, by the passion with which he swept the Congress off its feet over the partition of Bengal and endeared himself for ever to the Bengalis. The receptivity and progressiveness of Lajpat Rai's mind were amazing. To the end he was steadily growing in intellectual stature and in the fervour of patriotism. When a nation is striving to attain the status of nationhood every form of open and honest agitation is constitutional for a people seeking a constitution, though a Government may not recognise it as such. As the National Congress in India moved forward and its demands became more and more outspoken and more resolute the older and more cautious men fell out of step and dropped behind. Then came a time when the Congress and the country fell under the spell of Mr. Gandhi's magic personality, the intense and lofty devotion that gave all and sought nothing. His creed of passive resistance and the withdrawal of all co-operation with the Government never went beyond the slightest of gestures so far as acceptance by the country was concerned, but it revealed potentialities of which no one had ever dreamed and it drove the Government to adopt measures of desperation. There was a time when Presidents of the National Congress and leading congressmen were made Judges of High Courts and received knight-

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hoods ; later on, Presidents of the Congress were honoured with a sentence of imprisonment, or internment without trial. Lajpat Rai was a stalwart of the old Congress, but he stayed on to be imprisoned and elected President of the Congress after that movement had entered on a new phase.

There can scarcely be any doubt that the Punjab patriot would not have been deported to Mandalay if Sir Denzil Ibbetson had not been Lieutenant-Governor of that province at the time just as that unfortunate province would not have known the horrors of martial law nor would the tragedy of Jallianwala Bagh have been enacted if Sir Michael O'Dwyer had not been appointed Lieutenant-Governor in an evil moment. It is impossible to exaggerate the mischief that may be done by a single man in authority within his short term of office. It all depends upon his temperament and the view he takes of passing events. Men of this type are the real enemies of British rule in India and they sow the seeds of bitterness.

Lajpat Rai was not only a tireless political worker but also one of the greatest social servants of India Whenever there was a famine, and famines are fairly numerous in this country, he was busy organising operations of relief. He was not a wealthy man but he gave away large sums of money for various objects and finally he gave away his own house in trust for the Tilak school which he had founded in Lahore. Latterly he lived in another house which he built close to the one he handed over to the trustees of the Tilak Society. As a philanthropist he was no less distinguished than as a patriot.

During his stay in America he carried on an extensive propaganda in order to give the citizens of that Republic an idea of the true state of things in India. As was his habit throughout life everything he did in America was straightforward and aboveboard. He was incapable of any secret intrigue or underhand transaction. In America he was highly respected and much admired for his eloquence and single-minded devotion to his country. The leaders of the Labour Party in England knew him intimately and formed a high opinion of his ability and character. His mind was perfectly well-balanced and all his varied activities were perfectly legitimate, though it is obvious that no genuine patriot in India can be a *persona grata* with the Government. When Lajpat Rai wanted to return to India, permission to do so was refused by the British Government. Undoubtedly the Government of India and the British Ministry must have been in agreement on this subject. Thus it happened that when martial law was proclaimed in the Punjab Lajpat Rai was away in America. Had he been in Lahore he would certainly have been one of the earliest victims.

If Lajpat Rai had enemies he had friends also in England and it was owing to the efforts of the latter that the inhibition against him was withdrawn and he was permitted to return to India. Not very long afterwards he was arrested on a charge similar to that on which Mr. C. R. Das and Pandit Motilal Nehru were convicted. The enrolment of Congress volunteers had been declared unlawful and public meetings had been prohibited in some places on pain of imprisonment. But while the Bengal and Allahabad leaders were each sentenced to six months' imprisonment Lajpat Rai was sentenced to a long term and it was only when he was seriously ill and his physicians suspected incipient tuberculosis that he was set at liberty. It was this confinement in prison that finally shattered his health, never at any time very robust.

After his return from America Lajpat Rai established an Urdu paper for which he wrote a great deal and an English weekly paper, *The People*, which he edited himself. It was an admirably written paper and, though perfectly outspoken, it never gave the Punjab Government any loop-hole for any action against it. When I met him at Lahore a few months ago he told me that he had found a young Punjabi who gave excellent promise of making a very successful journalist.

Other popular leaders in India have felt the heavy hand of the present law in this country, but not one of them had such a varied experience as the Punjab leader now gone to his rest. He was deported without trial and was never told of the charges against him ; he was prevented from returning to his country from a foreign land without even being told of what he was suspected ; he was sentenced to a long term of imprisonment on a trumpery charge and finally he was assaulted and injured by a European policeman absolutely without cause a few days before his death. Some of the doctors who attended him have deliberately declared

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that the injuries and the subsequent shock hastened his death.

According to conservative estimates a hundred thousand people, men and women, followed the funeral *cortege*, the number of mourners ever increasing as the procession wound in and out of the streets of the walled city of Lahore. It it could have been possible to defer the funeral till the next day the number would have been larger for people living at some distance from Lahore were most anxious to pay their last respects to the departed leader. The authorities displayed their vigilance by holding in readiness armoured cars and armed troops by way of precaution against any untoward incident! What act of violence did they apprehend from the heavy-hearted and the slow-footed mourners?

In an incredibly short time the news of Lajpat Rai's sudden death reached the remotest corners of the whole country and every Indian place of business was instantly closed. It was a spontaneous and respectful tribute to the memory of a man who had loved and served India with a great love and a steadfast devotion. The world had a glimpse of a nation in mourning, it heard the heart-beats of a whole nation throbbing with pain. A nation that can unite in mourning may also unite in rejoicing and in striving for the national weal.

This great-hearted son of India passed through persecution and suffering from strength to strength, from endeavour to endeavour, and his faith in the ultimate destiny of his race and the ultimate issue of the struggle for a place in the federation of nations never flagged or faltered for a moment. Intrepid, dauntless, high-souled and full of a lofty purpose he never looked back as he moved along the onward path. The debt of nature has always to be paid but death does not mean the quenching of the spirit. Death clarifies and exalts the purpose of life and the most potent voices that influence the living are the voices of the dead. Today we stand in the shadow of the Valley of Death with hearts heavy for the departed captain but he stands in the light, a luminous figure crowning the heights and beckoning to the millions of India to march forward and win in life to the goal that he has attained in death.

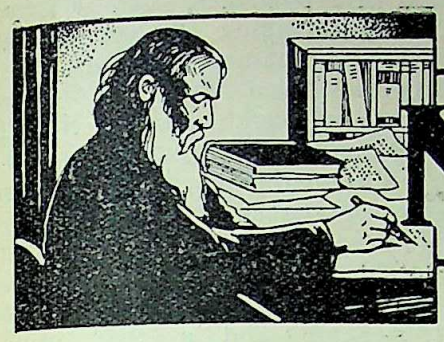
November 26, 1928.

In my own extensive travels in India I found it common for Englishmen in all parts (there were of course honorable exceptions) to speak of and to treat the people of the country, no matter how intelligent or well educated or of how high character they might be, distinctly as inferiors. In travelling on the railways they were compelled to occupy inferior cars by themselves. At the stations they must either remain out of doors or crowd into little rooms frequently hardly fit for cattle. I often heard them called "niggers." Not unfrequently I witnessed positively brutal treatment of them. In a large Bombay hotel I saw an English official belobor his servant unmercifully with his thick walking-stick, for some trivial offence,—his servant, a fine looking, educated native, seemingly quite the equal of his master in intellectual ability and infinitely his superior in all the qualities of a gentleman. I saw English merchants and bankers and English Government officials, who had treated me with the utmost courtesy, turn from me to treat their Indian servants and subordinates with harshness that was shocking. Dealing with me they were gentlemen; dealing with Indians they were anything but gentlemen. I was constantly reminded of the way in which, in the days of American slavery, masters in the South (some masters) treated their slaves. Nor is all this strange; the spirit which holds a nation in subjection against its will, is the same spirit as that which holds individuals in bondage.

J. T. Sunderland in *India in Bondage: Her Right to Freedom.*

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NOTES

Lajpat Rai

The sudden and unexpected death of Lala Lajpat Rai at this critical time of our national history is an irreparable loss. Among the political leaders and workers of the country he has not left his equal.

We have to make head against powerful opponents. Union in our own ranks is, therefore, essentially necessary. Of course, union at any cost, union at the sacrifice of principles, superficial union, is neither wanted, nor would be of any use, But real union is possible without sacrificing fundamental principles. Lala Lajpat Rai's personality, achievements and broad national outlook fitted him to be the reconciler and unifier of parties. Though known as a champion of the Hindu community and though he had full faith in its future he did not want a Hindu Raj. In the course of his presidential address at the Calcutta session of the Hindu Mahasabha in 1925, he said :—

"There is some apprehension in the minds of a certain section of our Muslim countrymen that the Hindus are working for a Hindu Raj. It is to be deplored that some Hindus, too, should have taken to that line of argument in retaliation to the Mohammedan cry for Muslim Raj. We know that all Mohammedans do not want a Muslim Raj and we also know as a fact that the bulk of the Hindus do not want a Hindu Raj. What the latter are striving after is a National Government founded on justice to all communities, all classes and all interests. In my judgment the cry of a Hindu Raj or a Muslim Raj is purely mischievous and ought to be discouraged. I am clear in my mind that neither a Hindu Raj nor a Muslim Raj is in the realm of possibility. The correct thing for us to do is to strive for a democratic Raj in which the Hindus, the Muslims and the other communities may participate as Indians and not as followers of any particular religion."

In his "Young India" (fourth reprint, pp. 118-9), the Lala has written : "Ram Mohun Roy, the founder of the Brahmo Samaj, was the first nation-builder of Modern India." He was himself a nation-builder of the type of Ram Mohun Roy. By this it is not to be understood that his views on all matters and his methods of work were identical with those of Ram Mohun Roy. What we mean is that, as Ram Mohun Roy's ideal of national regeneration was comprehensive, so was the Lala's. In his scheme of national revival Ram Mohun Roy did not leave out any sphere of human life and activity. His reforming zeal did not leave untouched the religious and social life of the people. Nor was he only a religious and social reformer. Education, politics, the systems of land revenue and tenure, the industries and crafts of the people, the economic condition of the country, its judicial system, journalism, vernacular literature, agriculture improvement and many other matters engaged his earnest attention. In modern India—perhaps in the entire modern world—he was the first man to feel the need of and desire fellowship and co-operation between nations and religious communities. To the full extent of his powers the Lala, too, was a reformer in all spheres of national life, and an internationalist also.

Earnestness, sincerity, courage and perseverance marked all he said and did. It was not in his nature to do lip-service to any cause which he espoused. As a son and servant of the Motherland, he placed all his material, moral, intellectual and spiritual wealth at her service. He, a son of poor parents, kept back nothing for his own personal enjoyment and advantage. Not that he was a sannyasin in outward appearance and apparel. He was a householder, he had a family, he earned money. But he was not attached to what he earned. Even when he was young and made money by following the profession of law, year after year we used to read in the papers that at the Arya Samaj anniversary celebrations he had given away all his year's savings. With his great powers of oratory, his keen intellect, literary talents

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of no mean order, extensive and varied reading, methodical and businesslike habits and great energy, he could easily have amassed wealth and become one of the class of opulent men in India. But his big heart would not allow him to make money-making and hoarding the chief or main object of life. So all his life he was an open-handed giver. It was only the other day that he and his wife gave a lakh for a consumptive's home, for which he also gave about another lakh collected by himself. It is necessary to write of Lajpat Rai the giver, because it is not usual for all patriots who make eloquent speeches and compose rousing discourses to be equally noted for giving away most of what they are able to save.

Lajpat Rai was an internationalist as well as a nationalist. He did not want an isolated existence for India. He knew and felt that that was neither impossible nor good for the country. He wanted all the co-operation and fellowship of the West which India could have without sacrificing self-respect and independence.

Solid and lasting achievements stand to the credit of the Lala in the fields of religious and social reform, in politics and in the establishment of educational and political institutions, in the foundation of banking and insurance companies and in his efforts for the relief of distress caused by earthquake, famine and flood.

He suffered much for his country, but suffered bravely and cheerfully. Persecution, even unto death, had no terrors for him. For he was a man of faith. His religion gave depth and strength and consecration to his efforts, in whatever kind of work he might be engaged. The truly religious man whose religion is not confined to the profession of a creed and to some outward observances but whose whole inner and outer life is regulated by faith in the immanence of the supreme spirit and in the moral evolution of the universe—such a man has an unshakable faith in the ultimate triumph of what is right and just and true. Therefore, in that conviction he can risk all, brave all, suffer everything in his unceasing endeavours to realise his ideal.

He was an elder brother and *practical* helper of the depressed classes and of those who are wickedly spoken of and treated as untouchables, long before it became the political fashion to talk of their elevation. The foundation of orphanages, too, engaged his attention. The bringing up of orphans is fundamentally humanitarian work. But national self-respect also demands that we should take care of our orphans. No self-respecting people can leave their orphans to be brought up and denationalised by foreign or indigenous proselytizers. So far as the Hindu community is concerned, its indifference to the lot of the humbler classes and of orphans and widows has all along been a source of weakness and a cause of its decrease in numbers. Lajpat Rai understood all this and adopted remedial measures.

To prevent economic drain and to build up industries, banking and insurance business should be undertaken by Indians. That was why the Lala turned his attention to these matters.

Without full knowledge of and training in politics and economics and a band of devoted workers, public life in India must remain largely synonymous with sound and fury. To put an end to such a state of things he founded the Servants of the People Society and the Tilak School of Politics.

No nation can become and remain strong, enlightened and free unless all its members, of all ranks, are educated. Hence he had a hand in the foundation and conduct of collegiate and other institutions, including primary schools for the masses.

Without joy human life cannot be complete, nor can it be strong. Lajpat Rai, therefore, felt the need of removing the dreariness of human life in India by the cultivation of music and the drama and wrote on the subject more than once.

It was only natural that he should have begun his active career as a religious and social reformer. For religion—we mean its spiritual and ethical element—purifies men, strengthens them by faith in the Power that makes for righteousness and frees them from degrading superstitions; and it is such men that go to make a strong and progressive nation. Social reform is necessary to remove many of the causes of our misery and weakness and to make our women and the humbler orders of the people useful and self-respecting members of society.

—

"Izzat"

It is not generally known that Lala Lajpat Rai contributed many of his articles

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to *The Modern Review* under the pen-name of "Izzat" or "Honour". The manner of his death has been quite in keeping with this name. On the day of the arrival of the Simon Commission at Lahore, in order to show unmistakably that the Indian people did not want it but hurled back the insult of the appointment of such a commission, he led the boycott procession to the railway station—he would not ask anybody to suffer any inconvenience and take any risk which he was himself not ready to suffer and take. The result was that, though the procession was entirely peaceful and its behaviour unprovocative, he and some others, were subjected to assault by European and Indian policemen. There is not the least doubt that the physical and moral shock of this humiliating assault killed the Lala before his time. The British Imperial system is responsible for his death.

In the midst of our sorrow, it is consoling to think is that, alike in life and in death, he kept pure and intact his personal and national IZZAT.

—

Imperialism and Lajpat Rai

We have said that it was Imperialism that killed the Lala. Let us understand a little more clearly what this means.

However hard one might seek among the politicians of Britain, one would not be able to find a man like Lajpat Rai among them. None of them has done and suffered for their country what the Lala has done and suffered for his. No British politician is moved by such fine and high idealism, none stands for so much to his countrymen as the Lala did for his. Yet what did British Imperialism appear to say and do to Lajpat Rai? In effect it was this:—

"You, Lala Lajpat Rai, may be a prince among men in your own country; millions of your people may love and respect you; you may have done heaps for them in all spheres of life; you may have meant to them much more than even your achievement; born in an independent country, you might have occupied any position you liked; you may be a man of international reputation;—yet you are nothing better than a clod of earth beneath my shoes. A two-penny sergeant or a half-pice constable need not feel any hesitation to inflict on you, the beloved and honoured of your people, the utterly unprovoked and unmerited indignity and humiliation of *lathi* blows. Your people may fret and fume. But I snap my fingers at them."

The People for November 22, reproduces a photograph of the martyred hero showing two scars over the region of his heart. These scars have produced stigmata on the breast of all dutiful sons and daughters of India. These can be obliterated only by freeing India. The only worthy memorial to the Lala would be the undying resolve of all sons and daughters of India to put an end to the enslaved condition of the Motherland.

—

The Abolition of 'Suttee'

In a highly eulogistic notice in the *Hindustan Review* of Dr. E. J. Thompson's *Suttee* (George Allen and Unwin), we find the following sentences:—

He finds that the origins of Suttee go deeper than the insurance of the wife's devotion to her husband, and deeper than the selfish aggrandizement of the male. The roots lay in the Hindu theology, in the doctrine of retribution, widowhood being considered the punishment of a sinful life which could only be redeemed on the altar fire. The uprooting of this iniquitious practice in British India, the author points out, was the work, not of the Government, but of two men, Bentinck and Dalhousie.

Not having seen the book, we cannot say whether the *Hindustan Review* has correctly summarised the views and statements of the author.

It is not necessary to consult not easily accessible works on sociology and anthropology to learn that the practice of co-burial or concremation of wives with their husbands was by no means confined to the Hindus of India. Even according to so easily available a work of reference as *Chambers's Encyclopaedia* (new edition, Vol. X, p. 793), "The rite was no doubt derived from a belief common to many races at all times of the world's history, that it was well to send wives, slaves, horses, favorite weapons, etc., along with a great man into the other world, by burying them with him, burning or slaying them at his tomb." It is, therefore, unhistorical and unscientific to blame Hindu theology alone for this horrible and wicked rite.

As for apportioning the credit for the eradication of this custom, every educated Indian is expected to have at least so much historical knowledge and regard for accuracy as to supply the omission of the name of

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Raja Ram Mohun Roy. Montgomery Martin, a contemporary of the Raja, who was not at all disposed to be too modest in claiming for himself the largest possible share of the credit for the abolition of *Sutee*, writes thus:—

"The efforts which I made in India (and which before I left Calcutta were successful) for the abolition of this horrid rite, by the publication of a journal in four languages, addressed to all castes of natives, is one of the most gratifying events of my life. It is justly due to the memory of the late Ram Mohun Roy to state that to his aid, in conjunction with that of the noble-minded Dwarkanath Tagore and his able and estimable cousin Prusunnu Coomar Tagore. I was materially indebted for the success of my labours in 1829"—*Eastern India*, Vol. 1, p. 497. Published in London, 1883.

It will suffice to quote the opinion of of only one other British author, namely, that of the Rev. Dr. Macnicol. Says he:—

"If the credit of putting an end to these horrors belongs to any man," says the late Justice Ranade, "that credit must be given to Raja Ram Mohun Roy."—Macnicol's *Ram Mohun Roy* (Christian Literature Society, Madras, 1919). p. 19.

Again:—

'Had it not been that there was at that time in Ram Mohun Roy one resolute to express the better spirit of his countrymen and in Lord William Bentinck a ruler not less resolute to take action *in accordance with it*, this practice, revolting as it was, might have remained for many a day still further to brutalise the people and bring dishonour on the land."—Macnicol's *Ram Mohun Roy*, p. 21.

Indians should beware of "friends" like Dr. E. J. Thompson and his eulogists.

—

Modernizing Mohammedanism

At the instance of Mustafa Kemal Pasha, says *The Christian Century*, a commission of the faculty of theology of the University of Constantinople has reported a general plan for bringing Mohammedanism down to date and reconciling it with the scientific conceptions and the practical demands of the modern world.

"This is conceived as a part of the nationalistic movement which is transforming Turkey from 'the sick man of Europe' to a nation with adolescent vigor. 'In language, morals, law, and economy, the Turkish evolution draws its inspiration from science, reason and logic...In the Turkish democracy, religion, like everything else, must enter into the new era of vitality of which it has need...Religious life must be reformed, like moral and economic life, by means of scientific procedure and by the aid of reason, so that it may move forward in line with the other social institutions and give all the results of which it is capable.' Specially, there must be attention to comfort and hygiene in the mosques. The prayers and the portions of the Koran used in services should be in Turkish. There must be a reinterpretation of the sacred book by trained men acquainted with philosophy and modern thought, for if one does not examine the contents of that book with a scientific mentality there is no means of understanding anything therein.' In brief, a comprehensive plan must be worked out 'to render our religious ceremonies conformable to hygiene, to Turkefy them, to imprint upon them a certain esthetic character and to reconcile them with philosophy. By doing these things, Turkey hopes not only to make the Mohammedan religion a factor in the renaissance of Turkey but to make Turkey the educator and guide of the more backward Moslem nations."

'Re-interpretation of the sacred book' and the other processes mentioned above really mean the death of faith in the infallibility of the Koran and of orthodoxy.

—

The Hindu Dharma Mandal in New York

The Alliance Weekly of New York reports the foundation of a Hindu religious association in New York City under the name of the Hindu Dharma Mandal. Its objects are described in the following announcement:—

"This society shall be called Hindu Dharma Mandal, the term Hindu including, beside orthodox Hindu, Buddhist, Jain, Sikh, Brahmo and any other forms of religion that originated from Hinduism. The objects shall be to further the religious interests and cultivate the spiritual ideals of Hinduism in the West, to bring the beliefs and practises of Hinduism in its broadest conception, before the Western public, to encourage and promote mutual contact and understanding on a spiritual basis between India and the West and to meet in particular, the spiritual needs of the Hindus residing in the West. The means to be pursued for carrying out the aforesaid object shall be religious services, rites, ceremonies, lectures, demonstrations, readings, conversaziones, and other practises of Hinduism."

In reproducing this announcement the *Literary Digest* observes that missionary enterprise is not confined to Christianity. Efforts to spread in America religious principles and ideas which have originated in India have been made in the past and are still being made. Perhaps the most sustained of these efforts are those of the disciples of Paramahamsa Ramakrishna, of whom Swami Vivekananda was the first and foremost to teach in America. Of members of the Brahmo Samaj P. C. Mozoomdar, Heramba Chandra Maitra, and T. L. Vaswani have lectured in America. Rabindranath

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LADY BOSE

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SIR JAGADIS BOSE, F. R. S.

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Tagore stands by himself in a class apart. It is not known whether Lala Lajpat Rai did any preaching work in America on behalf of the Arya Samaj. Virchand Gandhi delivered some lectures there expounding the principles of Jainism.

—

A Hindu Chemist in the United States

Coming from India in 1912 after his graduation from Ferguson College, Dr. V. R. Kokatnur entered the University of California for one year and then went to the University of Minnesota, where he completed his education and received his M. S. and Ph. D degrees. While he was studying at Minnesota, he became research assistant in chemistry, and remained after graduation until 1917 as research and teaching assistant.

He then went to Niagara Falls, New York, as research chemist with the Mathieson



Vaman R. Kokatnur

Alkali Works. After a year with this Company he became Assistant Chief Chemist of the Vat Dye Group with the National Analine and Chemical Company of Buffalo, New York. In 1921 and 1922 he did special research work with the By-products Steel Corporation of Wierton, West Virginia, and the Dupont Company of Wilmington, Delaware. Since then he has been consulting research chemist, having his business in New York City.

His researches in vat dye process resulted in his invention of new processes of making alizarine, indigo and phenol. During the recent war, he brought out new war gases called mustard and homologues of Chlor picrin. Other processes are for benzoic acid and derivatives, organic peroxides, calcium arcinate, and soap and glycerin recovery. An interesting invention is his special chemical process for making embroidery and lace cheaply by machine. He has applied for 15 patents covering the above-mentioned and other processes, of which 6 patents have been granted.

When the American Chemical Society met in Detroit, Michigan recently, from September 5 to 10, Dr. Kokatnur read a paper containing evidences to show that Cavendish and Priestly were not the first men to discover hydrogen and oxygen, but that these gases had been known to the sages of ancient India, and then he read a second paper to show that chemistry was of Aryan and not Semitic origin. After listening to the proofs he offered, members of the convention gave the author a special vote of thanks for the originality and value of his researches and agreed that his evidences were conclusive.

—

Unification of Oriya-speaking Tracts

A new organization has come into existence for carrying on propaganda for the unification of the Oriya-speaking tracts and their formation into one administrative unit. Its object is legitimate and laudable. The dismemberment of Orissa has been a great calamity to this home of an ancient civilization. Its different parts should be reunited at the earliest opportunity.

Recently the new organization led a procession through the streets of Cuttack, the chief town of Orissa, carrying a picture and flags.

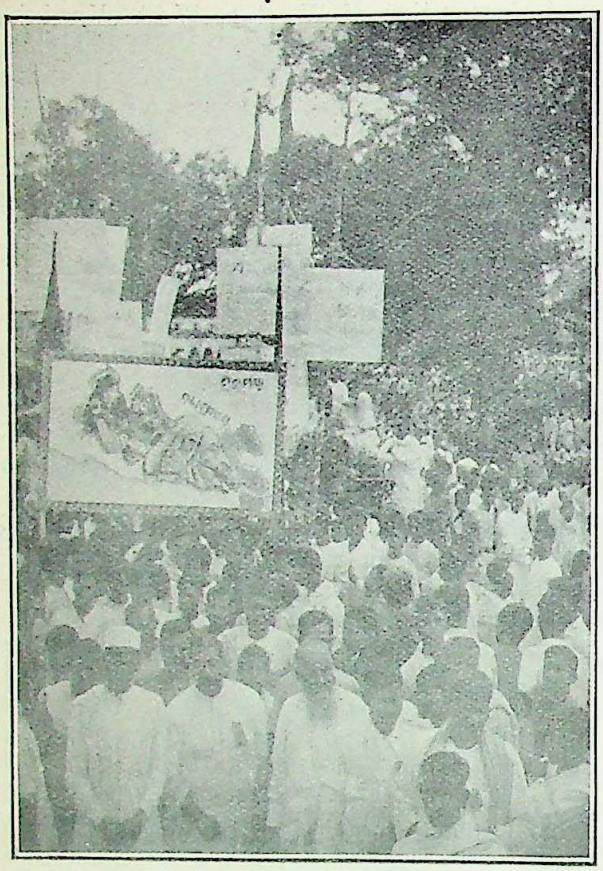
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Dr. Chi Li

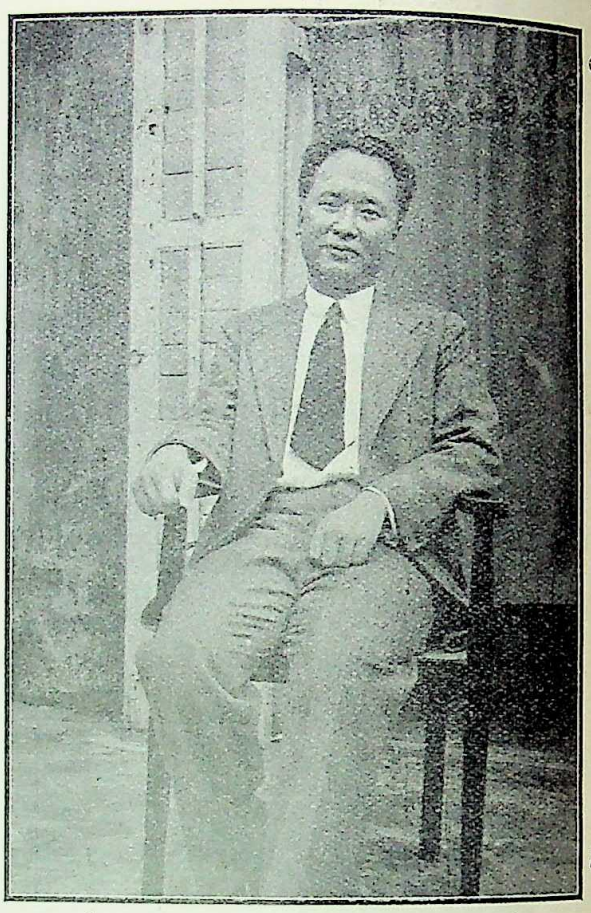
Dr. Chi Li, who visited India recently, is one of the most distinguished Chinese

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Unification of Orissa Procession at Cuttack



Dr. Chi Li

scholars of the present day. He was educated in Clark and Harvard Universities and took his Ph. D. degree from the latter in Anthropology. The University of Harvard has just published his work on "The Formation of the Chinese People," which for the first time gives an exhaustive account of the racial history of China. He is at present engaged in excavating the Chalcolithic sites in the province of Shansi in China, on behalf of the Smithsonian Institution of Washington, D. C. These sites are important not only in revealing a very old civilisation, but also indicating striking similarities between the ceramics found there with those of the Indus Valley, Anau, Susa and Sumeria.

—

Baroda Subjects In Conference

Darbar Gopal Desai, President of the rscent Baroda Subjects' Conference, referred pointedly in his address to the practically absentee character of the ruler of that state. He was not blind to the fact that the Maharaja spent so much of his time in foreign lands because of his bad health. But is it not also true that the Gaekwad's health is what it is, *because of his residence abroad for the purpose of leading a life without any serious aim* ?

But one need not be concerned with the causes of his absenteeism. The fact is sufficiently damaging that for years past he has not devoted as much time and attention to the affairs of his state as he ought to. He should either reside for the most part in Baroda, as Mr. Desai suggests, or abdicate in favour of some one who can really do his duty.

Mrs. Sharada Mehta, the Chairman of the Reception Committee, pointed out that taxation in Baroda is heavier than in British India.

The land assessment in Baroda is 50 p. c. higher than in British India and the incidence of income-tax is still heavier. While income below Rs. 2000 is exempt from assessment to income-tax in British India, the limit in Baroda has been laid down at Rs. 750. There is a Legislative

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Darbar Gopal Desai



Mrs. Sharada Mehta

Council in the State ; but its powers are so limited that in Mrs. Mehta's opinion it is wrong to call it by that name. She made no secret of the fact that there was deep discontent among Baroda subjects, and suggested that the best way to meet it was by the immediate grant of responsible government. She contended that even with 20 years' working of the Compulsory Education Act, primary education had not advanced as much as it should have. We have no doubt she was speaking from knowledge when she described the condition of the Baroda peasantry in the following words :—

"The Patidar agriculturist who was once an asset of the State has been at present reduced to a condition of penury and lifelessnes. He has been buried under debts. Ten years back the indebtedness of the agriculturist of Baroda was Rs. 7 crores ; to-day the figure has jumped up to Rs. 10 crores."—*The Servant of India.*

—

"Pattinippura"

One of the most interesting amongst old time institutions is Pattinippura. It literally means 'the' House of Hunger, i. e., the place where hunger' strike and Satyagraha are to be performed *en masse.* Sites of such houses are found at Trichur, Perumanum and at Kalati, near Calakuti. A short account of this very powerful weapon of social redress cannot but be interesting.

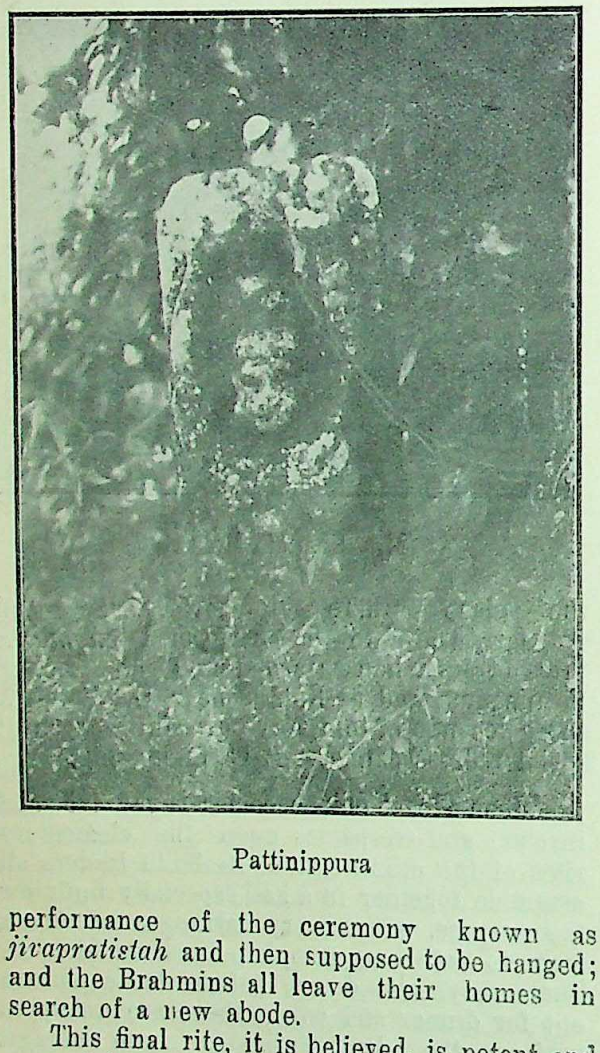
When a local chief becomes aggressive and insolent and trespasses upon the elementary rites of the citizens, the Brahmin leaders all assemble together in a hall especially built for the purpose, where every arrangement would seem to have been complete for a grand feast. There they sit down before leaves spread out for dinner and when they are ready to perform the Pranahuti, one from amongst the aggrieved steps up and publicly announces that so and so had given them cause for grief, then he proceeds to narrate his various acts of offence and finally calls upon the assembled guests to get those wrongs redressed. Thereupon, the Brahmins, all of them, throw down the water in their hands and rise up, swearing that they will not take their food until the wrongs are avenged ; and

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each one sits down before his respective leaf to fast and pray.

There are, it appears, some conditions imposed upon fasters. Details, unfortunately, are not available. But one rule seems to have been in existence, namely, that the period of fasting should never exceed seven days. If the cruel despot does not turn over a new leaf before the week is out, there is yet a higher rite prescribed. They are to get ready a statue of a man, hanged, to symbolise their enemy. This is invested with life by the



Pattinippura

performance of the ceremony known as *jivapratistah* and then supposed to be hanged; and the Brahmins all leave their homes in search of a new abode.

This final rite, it is believed, is potent and powerful enough to bring instantaneous destruction on the offender and, if tradition is to be believed, he never escaped the dreadful doom thus invoked upon him.

'Pattini' or fasting, then, is the traditional means of defence that religion has put into the hands of the weak to secure themselves from the oppression of the powerful. But this weapon is to be used only as regards man-wrought evils. For divine visitations the only remedy is prayer. P.

—

President Southworth

President Franklin Chester Southworth, A. M., S. T. B., LL.D., of Meadville Theological School, Chicago, has come to India to take part in the Brahmo Samaj Centenary celebrations as a delegate of the American Unitarian Association. After graduation he became a teacher of Greek and Latin. In 1892 he was ordained minister of the First Unitarian Church in Duluth, Minn., and in 1897



Dr. Southworth

succeeded Rev. James Villa Blake as minister of the Third Unitarian Church in Chicago. From 1899-1902 he served as Secretary of the Western Unitarian Conference. Since 1902 he has been President of Meadville Theological School and Professor of Homiletics and Practical Theology. He was married

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in 1893 to Alice A. Berry, an instructor in Latin at Vassar College. To both we extend a warm welcome.

In the United States of America the Unitarians number only one in a thousand. But their intellectual, moral and spiritual standing in that country is very high. Of the 65 persons whose statues adorn the Hall of Fame in New York University 22 are Unitarians. Among them are men like Agassis, Bancroft, Bryant, Channing, Emerson, Benjamin Franklin, Nathaniel Hawthorne, O. W. Holmes, Longfellow, Lowell, Motley and Daniel Webster. That a community which numbers only one in a thousand in the United States has produced one-third of its most famous persons, has been ascribed to the fact that Unitarianism trusts reason and spiritual experience, encourages investigation in religion as well as in everything else, looks upon thinking as a religious duty as much as believing and necessary as a preliminary to all believing that is worth anything or safe, welcomes science, rejects all backward-looking and mind-fettering creeds and all external authorities imposed by priests or Churches, lifts the ethical above the theological, the practical above the ecclesiastical, deeds above profession, and dares to stand on its own feet and break new paths.

—

A Gratuitous Attack on Visva-bharati

Some time ago an article by Mr. G. K. Nariman, entitled "The Indian Institute in Paris," was reproduced in "The Indian Daily Mail" from "The Bombay Chronicle."

This Indian Institute in Paris is to have at its head Professor Sylvain Levi, the well-known Indologist. In his article Mr. Nariman says that it would indeed be a misfortune

"if our princes and men of wealth do not endow Sylvain Levi's institution and make the Eastern learning stored in Paris, in some respect the hub of scholarship, easy of access to young India. It will pay India, in the end, it will pay Asia ultimately, to send our youth to Western institutions like this."

We join whole-heartedly in this appeal for funds for the Indian Institute in Paris. Young Asians, including young Indians, certainly require to go abroad to acquire knowledge and experience. So far there is no disagreement with Mr. Nariman. But his article contains an attack on Visva-bharati which is both gratuitous and mean. Even if the Parsis and other wealthy communities were to fully endow Visva-bharati, which they have not done there would be plenty of money left in India to give to foreign institutions. So it is not necessary to cry down the Institution at Santiniketan in order to secure funds for any particular foreign seat of learning. But let us see what Mr. Nariman says. He writes :—

When our poet Tagore founded his University at Shantiniketan, as usual the Bombay Parsis were appealed to. And quite as usual also they paid up for a cosmopolitan cause. As a matter of fact, the Bombay Presidency was to the fore. And Prof. Hirji Morris was the soul, or sole agent, who by his personal consecration secured over two and a half lakhs of rupees for the institution. A beggar's bowl in hand, a truly religious mendicant, he roamed over Kathiawar from court to court of princelings, stood rebuffs in Maharashtra, and came smiling from a couple of Parsi firms,

I was frankly against the Parsis making large donations to Vishwabharati. And that for two reasons. In the first place, an institution like Shantiniketan located in India cannot have all the facilities, the paraphernlia of research, such as are commanded by older Universities in Europe and America. It lacked environs. It lacked the innate enthusiasm which time and not money can supply. The Manuscripts on which the young students, guided by elders, are expected to work do not survive in a state of preservation the ravages of India's humid climate. In all India it is only in the dry regions of Nepal and Kashmir, besides spots in Rajputana, where they do not crumble to atoms after about eight hundred years.

First, as regards the paying up by the Parsis. The amounts contributed by the Parsis to the fund for promoting Zoroastrian studies have never been "*paid up*" to Rabindranath Tagore or Visva-bharati. When H. E. H. the Nizam of Hyderabad announced an endowment of one lakh of rupees for the promotion of Islamic studies he made over the amount to Visva-bharati. On the other hand, the generous Parsi donors have kept their donations in their own hands. The proceeds of the fund are administered or not administered mainly by them. After the lapse of some years, because in the meantime the poet not being in possession of the money could do nothing, they chose their own man, Professor Taraporevala, to lecture on Zoroastrian subjects at Santiniketan, and to be paid by them out of the proceeds of the fund. He delivered some lectures, but Visva-bharati has not been able with all its efforts to get these lectures from him in a written form. What is more, he has asked that institution not to mention in its report that he did any work there and was paid for it.

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It is with considerable reluctance that we say anything here about Mr. Hirji Morris for there is no positive proof that Mr Nariman has written what he has about him at his instigation or with his knowledge and consent. But the truth has to be told. Rabindranath Tagore had to go personally from court to court in Kathiawar to get money from the princes. If Mr. Morris accompanied him or went afterwards as his collecting agent, he ought to consider himself blessed that that fact earned for him some influence. His success —whatever it may be—was due to that fact. For obtaining money from the Parsis also, the Poet had to repeat the same process of going from door to door. But whereas the Kathiawar princes and the Nizam have parted with their money, the generous Parsis have kept their money in their own hands, have chosen their own lecturer who is to remain incognito and whose written lectures (like the Parsi money) are not to be made over to Visva-bharati! This is a peculiarly up-to-date form of giving.

Mr. Nariman boasts, "I was frankly against the Parsis making large donations to Vishva-bharati." He ought to be proud that the Parsi givers have responded by patenting a process by which not-giving is made to appear like giving.

Rabindranath Tagore did not want any money from the Parsis for selfish ends or even for the general purposes of his institution. He wanted to found a University chair for study, research and teaching in connection with the ancient history, religion and culture of the Parsis. He toiled to do for them what they had not done for themselves. He has got his reward. No wonder, he should now say, "The generous Parsis did not place in my hands the money I had collected with great trouble. I make a present of it to them, I do not want it."

In the opinion of Mr. Nariman, "an institution like Santiniketan located in India cannot have all the facilities, the paraphernalia of research, such as are commanded by older universities in Europe and America." Assuming his *ipsi dixit* to be true, his argument would apply to all similar existing new research centres in India and all that may be founded hereafter, not merely to Visva-bharati. So there can be no research in these Indian institutions! Would Mr. Nariman be suprised to learn that, as published in a previous number of this *Review*, Prof. Sylvain Levi during his recent visit eulogised the research work done at Visva-bharati?

Another charge against the institution is that "it lacked the innate enthusiasm which time and not money can supply." We confess we do not understand how a thing which is *innate*, that is to say, inborn or natural, can be supplied by time. But supposing Mr. Nariman's dictum has some occult meaning, no institution need be given any pecuniary help;—all should be left to starve and gather or evolve *innate* enthusiasm in the course of centuries. A child should not be given food, because as it grows through fasting it can in the course of decades become an enthusiastic worker—enthusiasm being its innate attribute. We do not claim any credit for this profound observation;—it is merely a corollary and paraphrase of what Mr. Nariman has said.

Another alleged defect of Santiniketan is that "It lacked environs." Of course, it being at a distance of 99 miles from Calcutta, it has not the environs of urban universities. The atmosphere, too, of the place is not surcharged with sewer gas, dust, smoke and petrol-fumes. These are great drawbacks. But possibly there are compensating advantages too. Professor Jadunath Sarkar, who is seldom, if ever, misled by patriotic bias, writes of the ancient Hindu 'forest universities' that the teachers who resided lived in their forest homes (*tapovanas*) "lived in the world, but were not of it."

They "were not lonely recluses or celibate anchorites cut off from the society of women and the duties of the family. They formed groups of house-holders, living with their wives and children, but not pursuing wealth or fame or material advancement like the ordinary men of the world."

"Thus, the ancient Hindu university, without being rigidly isolated, was kept at a safe distance from the noisy luxurious capitals and gave the purest form of physical, intellectual and moral culture possible in any early age, ...

"These hermitages were as effectual for the promotion of knowledge and the growth of serious literature as the cathedrals of mediaeval Europe but without the unnatural monachism of the latter .....

"In the calm of these sylvan retreats were developed our systems of philosophy, ethics, theology and even several branches of literature proper. Witness the vivid scenes of discussion on political science and morality in the Naimisha forest, as described in the *Mahabharata*, Shanti-parva.

"Herein lay the true springhead of the ancient civilization of the Hindus,....."—*India Through the Ages*, pp. 20-24.

It is not suggested that Santiniketan is

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exactly like an ancient Hindu University. What is meant is that it can be said to lack environs if the ancient sylvan retreats, which were homes of learning, can also be said to have lacked environs. They had their own environs, so has Santiniketan. If in the former lay the true spring-head of the ancient Hindu civilization, it is not impossible for the latter to influence modern civilization in a beneficial way.

If everywhere in India, except in the dry regions of Kasmir and Nepal and some spots in Rajputana manuscripts crumble to atoms after about eight hundred years, all research Mss. libraries, situated not only in Santiniketan but everywhere else except the above-named favoured regions, should be removed therefrom to Kashmir, etc., and to Europe and America. Mr. Nariman, it seems, in his benevolent ardour against Santiniketan, proves too much. Besides, eight hundred years is not a very short period !

Another reason why Mr. Nariman is an enemy of Santiniketan is that "It could not secure its continuance after the demise of its great founder." Without assuming that Mr. Nariman's wish is father to his thought, one may say that the best way to bring about the longed-for collapse of the institution during the life-time or after the demise of its great founder, is to indulge in carping and small-minded criticism and to refrain from helping it in any way, or, what would be more effective, to help it in the way Mr. Nariman's generous Parsis have done. And yet, Mr. Nariman may rest assured, in spite of all such magnanimous acts of friendliness, the expected may not happen, the unexpected may happen, and Visva-bharati may continue to be a seat of learning and culture and beneficent influence long after his and our names have been buried in oblivion.

Mr. Nariman's praise of "foreign travel and touch with the foreigners" is as much an argument against Santiniketan as against all educational institutions located in India.

—

Mount Everest

Everest is the name given by the British to the highest peak of the Himalayas. It is the highest peak in the world. It has been named after General Sir George Everest, not because he was its discoverer, but because he was a former Surveyor-General in India who organised the Trigonometrical Survey. The peak was discovered in 1852; Sir George had retired in 1843.

An account of the discovery of Mount Everest is to be found in a lecture on "Himalayan Romances," delivered at Simla by Major Kenneth Mason, and reproduced in *The Englishman* of November 12, 1928, p. 17, from the *Journal of the Society of the Arts.* The relevant passage is extracted below from that lecture :—

"It was during the computations of the north-eastern observations that a babu rushed on one morning in 1852 into the room of Sir Andrew Waugh, the successor of Sir George Everest and exclaimed, "Sir, I have discovered the highest mountain on the earth." He had been working out the observations taken to the distant hills. It was Sir Andrew Waugh who proposed the name Mount Everest, and no local name has ever been found for it on either the Tibetan or the Nepalese side."

This "babu" was Babu Radhanath Sikdar, a native of Calcutta, who was a well-known mathematician in his day.

—

Satish Ranjan Das

By the death of the Hon'ble Mr. S. R. Das the country has lost a really great-souled man. He was a sound lawyer and came eventually to occupy the high offices of Advocate-General of Bengal and Law Member to the Government of India. But these offices did not furnish any correct measure of the greatness of the man. His politics being of a mildly Moderate kind, it was not generally recognised that his enthusiasm for the advancement of the cause of India was as great as that of others who were known as patriots. He was a generous giver to educational institutions and societies for social and religious reform. He supported numerous poor students. As president of the Women's Protection Society, he did much to save the honour and lives of the unfortunate victims of hooliganism and to get the wicked ruffians punished. He was an ideal friend, being some times so generous as to impoverish himself. Honest, honourable and dutiful in every relation of life, it would not be easy to find his equal in these respects. Mahatma Gandhi writes in *Young India*:

Though I had little in common with the deceased in politics, I could not but recognise his

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phenomenal generosity and his open-heartedness. Many do not know how this great man beggared himself so that no worthy cause might knock in vain at his door.

—

Apotheosis of "Dominion Status."

The following passage occurs in an editorial article of the *Indian Daily Mail* of November 7 last :

The late Mr. C. R. Das, in a moment of inspiration, spoke of freedom within the British Commonwealth as being spiritually a higher ideal than the goal of independence. He did not explain his meaning, but it has a very full and real meaning. It is a higher spiritual ideal to transform the conditions, however adverse, in which a people finds itself into opportunities for self-realisation and self-development, than to run away from them in the hope, which may or may not be fulfilled, of lighting upon others which would be wholly different and agreeable. The "Independence" school of thought is entirely alien to the Indian temperament, which through immemorial centuries has established a tradition for continuity. The defects of the present system of administration are patent to all observers, and the *India Daily Mail* has frequently occasion to dwell on them and to insist on their rectification. But what is not so obvious to the newer generation of politicians, is the great work of emancipation which British rule has been the means of accomplishing, consciously and unconsciously. The severance of the connection which has been so fruitful of good, notwithstanding the evils which have come in its train, is not in the best interests of the country, and the assertion of the All-India Congress Committee to the contrary will find little response in the hearts of the people of India.

The speech of Mr. C. R. Das, referred to in the extract, is not before us and we do not remember what he said. Moreover, as "he did not explain his meaning," it serves no useful purpose to drag in his name. It is the Bombay paper's interpretation which has to be considered.

Indians, whose languages, religions, culture, manners and customs, complexions, etc., are in the main different from those of the British people, cannot expect to have a greater amount of freedom than is enjoyed by the white people of the Dominions, who are of British and other European descent and whose culture, complexion, religion, manners and customs and languages are identical with or similar to those of the British people. Let us see what is the political status of the Dominions and what measure of freedom they enjoy. In the new edition of *Chambers's Encylopaedia*, article "Colony," Prof. Berriedale Keith, who is an authority on the subject, writes thus about the Dominions:

In the strict legal aspect all these are colonies; their legislation may be disallowed by the crown, their laws may be overridden by imperial acts, the head of the executive government is appointed by the king on the advice of the British Government, and appeals lie from their courts to the Judicial Committee of the Privy-council. In practice they are almost autonomous ; the governor-generals are appointed in accordance with the wishes of the dominions ; disallowance of their acts is obsolete or nearly so ; the British parliament has ceased to legislate for them save with their consent; and if they desire, the right of appeal to the Privy-council would doubteless be cancelled. Save Canada, they have a wide power of constitutional alteration, though they cannot sever their connection with the British crown. The chief sign of their condition of quasi-dependence is the fact that under international law they are not, for many purposes, treated as independent states, the governors-general and ministers cannot declare war or make peace or enter into treaties except under the authority of the king, on the advice of the British government. But these restrictions are of less importance in practice than in theory, for in all important political treaties since the Peace Conference of 1918, the Dominions (other than Newfoundland) have separate representation and their consent is obtained before ratification, while no commercial treaty since 1880 has been made binding on them without their consent, and special treaties are negotiated for them by their own representatives acting with the authority of the British government. Further, the Dominions (except Newfoundland) are distinct members of the League of Nations, side by side with the British empire as a whole, and as such members act independently of, and sometimes in opposition to, the British empire representatives. The Dominions have not the power to declare themselves neutral in any war into which Britain enters ; but they may refuse any active aid, and they obviously can claim that they should participate in framing British foreign policy, so as to obviate their being involved in war without consultation and full knowledge. Effective arrangements exist under which in matters immediately and directly affecting them, the British government does not act without Dominion concurrence, but the problem of consultation on general foreign policy is not yet solved. It is complicated by the fact that the Dominions, while able to maintain internal order, are not yet prepared to undertake proportionately the same burden of defence expenditure as is borne by the United Kingdom.

It is clear from the above passage that the Dominions are freer than India but do not enjoy as much freedom of action as independent countries like U. S. A., France, Japan, Italy, Belgium, etc., do. Even the Irish Free State, though called *Free*, is not really as free as even the small independent countries of Europe, the two Americas and Asia. Dr. Keith writes in the same article :

"The status of the Free State in Ireland is essentialiy that of a Dominion on the model of Canada, but that status is possessed under the terms of a formal treaty of 1921 between Great

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Britain and Ireland, and the terms of that treaty provide certain powers which Great Britain can exercise in respect of defence matters, and definitely limit the right of the Irish Free State to maintain naval and military forces, matters left indefinite in the case of the Dominions."

So, whatever the spiritual meaning and implications of Dominion status may be, so far as the external, concrete, material or secular aspects of Independence and Dominion status are concerned, Independence would seem to confer greater political and civic rights on people than Dominion Status.

Our Bombay contemporary holds that "it is a higher spiritual ideal to transform the conditions, however adverse, in which a people finds itself into opportunities for self-realisation and self-development, than to run away from them in the hope, which may or may not be fulfilled, of lighting upon others which would be wholly different and agreeable."

Mr. K Natarajan, who, we presume, is responsible for these views, is an experienced publicist having personal knowledge of the political condition of India before the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms and the Morley-Minto reforms. He will admit that the political conditions before the Morley-Minto reforms were more unfavorable than those after the same reforms, and that the conditions under the Morley-Minto reforms were more adverse than those under the present Montagu-Chelmsford reforms. Nevertheless, all Indian politicians, including Mr. Natarajan perhaps, were successively dissatisfied with the *preg*-Morley-Minto rejime and then with the Morley-Minto regime, when obtained. And at present these same politicians would prefer Dominion Status to the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms. It is clear, then, that the elder statesmen of India, including Mr. Natarajan, have never *in actual practice* followed the "higher spiritual ideal" of transforming the adverse conditions in which they found themselves "into opportunities for self-realisation and self-development." On the contrary, they have always tried (and are still trying) to run away from those adverse conditions "in the hope, which might or might not be fulfilled, of lighting upon others which would be wholly different and agreeable."

Taking the case of individuals, if a man suffers from dislocation or fracture of some bone, say, of his left leg, he does not follow the higher spiritual ideal of transforming the adverse condition of lameness into opportunities for self-realisation and self-development. On the contrary, he calls in a surgeon in order to be able to "run away from" lameness and walk again like other normal men. Crutches cannot be spiritualised. If a man suffers from cataract in the eyes, he does not incontinently accept that condition as a divine dispensation to enable him to spend the rest of his days in meditation. On the contrary, he first strives to get cured by an operation.

The history of the world shows that in every age and clime, every dependent country has tried to be independent, and all such countries have been successful in proportion to the earnestness, persistence and wisdom of their efforts. Examples of such struggles and success are to be found in every quarter of the globe. Perhaps the country to be free after the longest period of dependence and disorganisation is Italy. It became united and independent in the last century after fourteen hundred years of servitude.

The ideal advocated by Mr. Natarajan may be the higher spiritual ideal, but there is no example in history of any people under alien rule following this ideal. Perhaps it has been left for a certain school of politicians in India to do pioneering work in this respect.

According to "The Indian Daily Mail," "the 'Independence' school of thought is entirely alien to the Indian temperament, which, through immemorial centuries, has established a tradition for continuity". To us this appears to be a strange reading of Indian history and the Indian temperament. Continuity may be kept up either with dependence or with independence—either with indigenous rule or with alien rule. Every distinct people of the world has treated dependence as a breach of continuity in their national tradition. There is no historical evidence that the people of India has been an exception and has tried to maintain the continuity of dependence instead of treating dependence as an abnormality and trying to establish continuity with independence by becoming free. During a certain period anterior to the Christian era, parts of the north-western region of India were included in the Persian Empire. The people of that region did not try to maintain the unbroken continuity of Persian rule; that rule ended. Greeks and Bactrian Greeks invaded and for a time ruled some of these parts. This alien rule, too, was shaken off. There were successive

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waves of invasion and conquest by various foreign peoples, named Sakas, Huns, Scythians, etc. They were either driven away or absorbed, and the government of the country ceased to be foreign. Coming to times nearer our own, one finds that the Mughals did not try to keep up Pathan rule, nor did the Marathas and Sikhs try to maintain the continuity of the tradition of Mughal despotism. Mr. Natarajan's reading of Indian history and temperament would have been incomprehensible to Sivaji. India has been always for independence. It has been longer a self-ruling than an enslaved country. It is the baneful hypnotism of foreigner-written Imperialistic histories of India which makes us think otherwise. India has not been more subject to foreign invasion and rule than any other part of the earth equally extensive and rich in resources.

We are not blind to the improvements which have taken place in India during the British period of its history. We are aware of the evils, too. Which preponderate we need not say. It is a tenable hypothesis that at the time when India came gradually under British rule she had not the power of initiating and carrying on the process of emancipation. But times are changed. At present emancipation is going on in eastern countries, other than India, which never came under the British yoke and never had British guardians; it is going on there far more rapidly than ever in India. It is to be hoped that it is not an *un*spiritual ideal for us to aspire to carry on the work of national emancipation unaided by the stimulus of British *lathis*, machine guns and bombing aeroplanes.

In spite of Mr. Natarajan's dictum to the contrary, the declaration of the *goal* of independence does find "response in the hearts of the people of India."

If Dominion Status be more within the range of practical politics than independence, let us by all means work for the former. But in the path of human progress in any direction—religious, moral, social, educational political, economic, literary, artistic, scientific, or mechanical—there is no terminus visible to the mind's eye or imagination. Why claim finality for Dominion status alone?

—

"British Commonwealth" a Misnomer

It may be true that the British Dominions and self-governing colonies (meaning their white inhabitants alone) wear no handcuffs and fetters. So far as they are concerned, the British Empire may be a Commonwealth. For the remaining inhabitants under British rule, who are the vast majority, it is an empire and nothing but an empire;—to call it a commonwealth is only an attempt to gild the chains of slavery, which does not deceive any intelligent non-white man, woman or child.

Democracy means government of the people, by the people and for the people. The population of the British Empire is 450 millions in round numbers, of whom 320 millions live in India. So, even without taking into consideration the other dependent peoples in the Empire, one can see that the majority of British subjects are governed undemocratically. Therefore, the British Empire is not a democracy or commonwealth.

In what sense is it, then, British? It is the boast of the British people that their island is governed according to British principles, which, they say, are equivalent to the principles of self-rule and democracy. But we have seen that the majority of the peoples in the British Empire are not self-ruling, are not democratically governed. Therefore, so far as this majority is concerned the British Empire is subject to "un-British rule." Hence the expression "British commonwealth" is a misnomer.

In what sense, then, is the Empire or commonwealth British?

Is it in language?

About 50 millions of people in this empire speak English as their mother-tongue. But a hundred millions speak Hindi or Hindustani. Fifty millions speak Bengali.

And there are other groups speaking other languages. So, linguistically the British Empire is not British.

Is the empire. then, British, judged by the colour of the skin of its inhabitants?

Of the 450 millions of the inhabitants of the British Empire sixty millions in round numbers may be spoken of as 'white.' The non-whites are more than six times as many. The non-white Indian people alone number 320 millions. Judged by the complexion of its inhabitants, then, the British Empire is not 'British.'

Has the religion of the British people, then, given the name 'British' to the Empire?

Of the peoples of the British Empire 220 millions are Hindu, 100 millions Muhammadan, 80 millions Christian, 12 millions

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Buddhist. 12 millions Animist, etc., etc. So, from the point of view of religion, the British Empire is more un-British than British, taking the British people to be Christian.

In every respect and in all respects combined it is more an Indian than a British Empire.

For only one reason can it be properly called British. It is that the British people are masters of this group of countries. Whatever may have been the origins of this mastery, it is coming more and more to be based upon physical force. Of course, strength of mind, the power of certain moral qualities, and scientific and mechanical knowledge act in subservience to and as accessories to this physical force.

Those who believe that the British Empire or Commonwealth will for ever remain one undivided entity and that it will always deserve to be called 'British,' must also believe that superiority in physical force is the only kind of superiority that, counts, that such superiority is everlasting and that the British people or the white people living therein will for ever remain supreme in physical force aided by intellectual power and scientific and mechanical knowledge. Our faith is different. We believe that the *majority* of the 450 millions of people living in the British Empire are destined some day to be *at least* equal to the British or the white or the Christian minority in organisation, in physical force, in intellectual and moral qualities, and in scientific and mechanical knowledge, all combined. We do not yet clearly see how all this will come about. But that it will happen is clear as day. The Power which makes for Righteousness and Ruth—by whatever name called—which during the last fourteen years has created opportunities and provided means, in ways unexpected and unimagined by them, for various small countries to be independent and free, cannot be indifferent to the fate of a country so vast and great as India. But we must will to be free, resolve to be free, dare to be free, and run all risks to be free. Then as surely as day follows night, India will see the dawn liberty!

—

Professor Bose's 70th Birthday

On the occasion of the 70th birthday of Sir J. C. Bose, which will be celebrated to-day (December 1, 1928) a poem written by Rabindranath Tagore will be read. Many congratulatory letters have been received from abroad. The following are taken from the daily papers :

Sir Richard Gregory, editor of "Nature", writes: "As one of many admirers of Sir J. C. Bose in all parts of the world. I offer most cordial congratulations. It has been my privilege to know Sir Jagadis Bose for more than thirty years, when he devised compact apparatus for studying the properties of electric waves; it was then clear to me and everyone, that he was a master in conceiving and manipulating delicate apparatus for the study of physical facts and principles. His remarkable achievements in this physical field were later to be extended to physiological phenomena of plant and of animal tissues. He has found that the physiological mechanism of the plant is essentially the same as that of the animal, and he has been able to lift the veil which had previously enshrouded the analogous workings of plant and animal life. By the foundation of the Bose Research Institute, Calcutta, he has provided in India a centre of scientific investigation which has a purpose and an outlook of far reaching consequence. In common with scientific workers everywhere, who are stimulated by great conceptions, I delight to convey greetings to Sir Jagadis Bose upon what he has already done, and to hope that he may be sustained and encouraged to carry on his valuable work for many years yet to come.'

Sir John Farmer, Professor of Botany, Imperial College of Science, writes :

"The splendid work you have done ensures you a lasting memorial in the Temple of Fame and Science. By your wonderful apparatus you have given a new organ on to those who pursue exact methods of physiological and physical investigations. Your wonderful enthusiasm and power of overcoming difficulties are an example to us all, and have helped to give you the blessings of perpetual youth. May you long continue your work and inspire the love of science in the many students who come to your great Institute."

The eminent plant-physiologist, Prof. Goebel of Munich University, sends the following message :—

"Every biologist in the whole world has read with profound admiration your important discoveries. Your work has made a deep impression not only upon the minds of specialists, but also upon all those who are interested in the intellectual and moral progress of humanity. I also send in the name of my colleagues of the botanical laboratory and the University, our most hearty congratulations on your festival day which will be celebrated not only in India but also in Europe."

Nakhla El Motel Pasha. Minister of Agriculture, Government of Egypt, has written :

In the name of the Egyptian Government I wish you, for the progress of science and agriculture continued success in your investigation which have filled us with wonder. I also wish continued prosperity for the Bose Institute which you have founded and which proudly bears your name."

Bernard Shaw writes :

"I wish you all happiness and many more years of splendid service to humanity."

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The old students of Sir J. C. Bose Presidency College, Bangiya Sahitya Parishad, Ram Mohun Roy Library, Greater India Society, etc. will present him with addresses.

Lady Bose is a public benefactor in her own right. But on this occasion, it would be a serious omission on our part if we did not pay our respectful tribute to her wifely devotion, self-effacement and constant care, to which not a little of the success of Sir J. C. Bose's scientific career is due.

—

Sir J. C. Bose's Convocation Address

Sir J. C. Bose's stimulating convocation address at the Allahabad University deserves a longer notice than we are able to give it. He told his youthful audience that his work has been his true teacher, that strokes of repeated adversity have been the requisite stimulus, and that the best traditions of the past have been an abiding inspiration. He believes that, though from ancient times India has been a home of learning, "The real golden age is not in the past but in the future."

In regard to contributions in the realm of knowledge there is no doubt that by their introspective method, some of our greatest thinkers had theoretic visions of some of the modern speculations in science. But in the advancement of positive knowledge the method of experimental verification is most essential.

We can, however, claim with full justification the existence of ancient schools pursuing exact experimental methods in their investigations.

As regards political systems, he said that "on the whole, the democratic from has been found to possess many advantages on account of which it has been adopted in most countries, both in the West and in the East."

He congratulated the Allahabad University on the honour that has already been won by its departments of Physics and Chemistry. He mentioned particularly the names of Profs. Saha and Dhar, and observed:

My living faith in India's scientific possibilities has at last been fully justified, and it has come to pass that it is not any particular seat of learning but every University throughout India, that is greatly enriching the sum total of human knowledge and the pace at which this progress is being made has been acknowledged as phenomenal.

He expressed his conviction that India should and *can* be more self-contained in education and advancement of knowledge, thus preventing the expenditure, of millions of rupees abroad by our students in search of higher knowledge.

The words printed below were meant for the students of Allahabad, but workers and idealists in all spheres of human life can with profit lay them to heart.

Go forward then in life's great adventure! the more difficult the task, the greater is the challenge. When you have gained the vision of a purpose to which you can and must dedicate yourself wholly then the closed doors will open and the seemingly impossible will become fully attainable.

—

December Gatherings in Calcutta

Great preparations are being made in this city for the political, social and other gatherings which are to take place here during the latter half of the month. Those in charge of making everything ready for the sittings of the Indian National Congress and for the Exhibition to be held under its auspices are astir. There are also to be sessions of the Indian National Social Conference, the All-India Theistic Conference, the All-India Women's Conference, the All-India Muslim League, and many other bodies. We wish them all success.

—

Indian States' Subjects' Rights.

In reply to a question put by Commander Kenworthy in the British House of Commons, Earl Winterton said that "he was unable to accept the claim that subjects of Indian states had a right to present their case to the [Butler] committee. He added that they could publish their views through the newspapers, public meetings and otherwise. The position would be entirely different if the Committee were a commission." It is a most exasperating dictum that the princes, many, if not most, of whom were noisome parasites, had a right to be heard, but that their subjects who fed them had none. Earl Winterton's advice as to how the latter could publish their views was gratuitous and shows the motive behind it. If evidence were given before the Committee on behalf the states' subjects, it would have to be printed along with evidence of the princes and considered in the Report, but what appears in the papers may be totally ignored.

—

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Enquiry into Lajpat Rai's Death

LONDON, Nov. 27.

To Labour questions in the House of Commons yesterday as to whether Earl Winterton would inquire into the circumstances of the death of Lala Lajpat Rai, the Under Secretary for India replied that as at present advised Viscount Peel did not see the need to hold a further inquiry.

He might, however, say that no evidence had been produced to show that death was due to blows received on the occasion of the demonstration on October 30. The general effect of both inquiries was to establish the fact that while the police were compelled to resort to some force owing to the pressure of the crowd from the rear and consequently cause slight injury to persons in the front ranks, among whom was Lala Lajpat Rai, there was no deliberate or unprovoked assault by the police and no person was singled out for assault.

Col. Wedgwood asked if the Punjab Government expressed regret to the Lala's family owing to his death being possibly caused by blows.

Earl Winterton said that no Government, when it had to use force, was justified in apologising to anybody, and no evidence whatever was forthcoming that death was due to the action of the police. The latter used no more force than to restrain the crowd from breaking the barricades and possibly assaulting the Simon Commission,—*Reuter.*

No truth-loving Indian attaches the least importance to the two official inquiries. They were simply whitewashing affairs. Lala Lajpat Rai has left it on record that there was no desire or effort on the part of the processionists to break the barricades, that the police assault was entirely unprovoked and uncalled for and that any statements to the contrary were "contemptible lies."

That any "crowd" led by Lala Lajpat Rai could possibly think of assaulting the Simon Commission is as wild and unbelievable an invention as the informants of Earl Winterton are capable of.

—

Alleged Tyranny over Dhoraji Prisoners in Gondal State

In the last August number of this Review a notice of a Gujarati book contained the following sentences :

"Gondal is ruled by an enlightened ruler" "Sir Bhagwatsinghji has made Gondal an ideal state." His Highness has developed the resources of his state so as to make it a model one" etc.

This has led Mr. Manishankar Trivedi, secretary to the Indian State People' Conference, to draw our attention to certain articles in the *Sourashtra* describing the treatment of some prisoners in Gondal jails. We have no space to print all the details. An extract is given below to show the nature of the allegations.

Friends of Dhoraji reduced to skeletons : Reduction of 41 and 35 pounds in weights of Ismail Belim and Isac respectively : Haji Ajij is confined to bed : Would the grinding stones of tyranny take their lives ?

New startling facts, regarding the brave friends of Dhoraji, being in the grinding stones of the tyranny of Sir Bhagwat behind the Walls of Gondal Jail, are being given.

The grinding stones of the tyranny of the jail, are going on with the same speed and squeezing life out of all the seven friends of Dhoraji. They are treated in an inhuman way as if they be guilty of some worse crime than murder. Details of this treatment have been published in these columns more than once, so figures are given here showing what effect is produced on the bodies of the friends of Dhoraji as a result of all these tortures.

MERE SKELETONS.

At present, all the seven friends being long ground in the grinding stones of Sir Bhagwat's tyranny have become mere skeletons.

The Thakor Saheb of Gondal would be well advised to make a sifting enquiry into these allegations. Failing him, it would be the bounden duty of the Bombay Government to institute an inquiry.

—

Professor Raman on Teaching Universities

In the course of his address at the Convocation of the Andhra University this year Prof. C. V. Raman said :—

There is a feeling abroad, which is often voiced from high places, that you have only to do away with affiliating Universities, and put in their places unitary and residential and teaching Universities, and that by doing so you would straight away usher in, educationally, a new heaven and a new earth. Let me warn you that this is only a half-truth and a very dangerous half-truth. It is possible to have a unitary teaching and residential University which is quite as bad as any affiliating, examining and territorial University. A residential University which propagates ignorance, communalism and religious fanaticism under the guise of education, is even worse than an affiliating University which leaves its students severely alone to learn whatever they can. Whether a University is good or bad is determined entirely by the ideas and ideals that inspire its activities. No University can be great which has not men of outstanding ability as its teachers, which does not attract the ablest and most ambitious students, and does not provide its teachers and students with opportunities for the highest and most original kind of work. A University is a Republic of Learning. It needs, of course, material resources in the shape of well-equipped laboratories and workshops, libraries, lecture-halls, hostels, residences and playgrounds. But above all it needs great men as teachers. There is no tragedy more deplorable, no waste more appalling than to have huge buildings filled lavishly with books and apparatus and equipment and spacious lecture-halls and to find within them mediocre teachers and misguided students doing an inferior type of work. A tragedy of,

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this kind is much commoner in India than many of you realise. The essence of University work is that it marches with the frontiers of human knowledge. You require for it men who are explorers in the unknown territories and sailors on the uncharted seas of new knowledge.

Speaking generally, Professor Raman has in this passage stated correctly the essential requirements of an ideal University. It is not clear, however, whether he considers it the special vice of affiliating universities to leave their students *severely* alone to learn whatever they can. An affiliating university may indirectly see that its students are properly taught. And it has also been stated on good authority that it would not be difficult to point out a teaching university and the teaching side of an affiliating university which leave their students *mildly* alone to learn whatever they can.

As for "a residential university which propagates ignorance, communalism and religious fanaticism," if any such institution exists, it certainly deserves the professor's severe condemnation. If it exists, it can be either Aligarh or Benares. Which does he mean? It would have been also good if the professor had given concrete examples of the tragedy of "mediocre teachers and misguided students doing an inferior type of work" in "huge buildings filled lavishly with books and apparatus and equipment and spacious lecture-halls."

—

All-India Medical Conference

The Reception Committee of the All-India Medical Conference, of which Dr. Sir Nil Ratan Sircar has been chosen to be the Chairman, are glad to inform the public that the proposal to hold a Medical Conference in Calcutta this year during the Christmas Holidays, as already notified in the Press, has met with a ready response, and many medical practitioners, in independent practice as well as in service, have signified their intention to join the Conference.

It is the duty of the medical profession to guide public opinion in shaping the policy of the Medical and Public Health administrations of a country and here in India efforts to this end have been made from time to time by the Profession through Medical Conferences, Associations, Congresses and the Press.

Having regard to the fact that various important questions affecting the Public and the Profession have recently attained great prominence, it is desirable that a large number of medical representatives from different parts of the country should meet in conference, at this time, and formulate their definite, considered views about these and other questions and also take such steps as may be necessary to give effect to their ideas.

It appears to be essential that a permanent organisation should be at once formed representing the Profession throughout India to look after all the interests of the Profession. It is expected that the members attending the proposed Conference before they disperse will take steps to form the nucleus of such an organisation whose duty it will be to focus the views and opinions of the whole profession in India and reflect them to the Public and to the State. There is no doubt a great deal of benefit will accrue to the Profession and to the Public by mutual exchange of views and ideas.

—

Who Discovered Pre-historic Remains at Mohen-jo daro

It was pointed out in the last issue of this Review how Sir Arthur Keith had managed to omit in his article in the *Referee* all mention by name of the Indian archaeologists who actually discovered the pre-historic remains at Mohen-jo-daro. Professor Rakhaldas Banerji, then a Superindent of the Archaeological Survey, at present of the Benares Hindu University, who was the first to excavate the site and make the discoveries, has contributed a profusely illustrated article on Mohen-jo-daro to the excellent fourth anniversary number of the *Calcutta Municipal Gazette*, which begins thus :—

Writing in a recent issue of "The Referee" (London), Sir Arthur Keith has summarised the results of the excavations of Mohen-jo-daro during the last four years. Mohen-jo-daro in the Larkana district of Sindh was excavated by the present writer for the first time in December, 1922. The following year Mr. Madho Swarup Vats, of the Archæological Survey, continued the excavation at the same place. He was followed by Mr. K. N. Dikshit, of the Archæological Survey, in 1924-25. From the beginning of the cold season of 1925-26, Sir John Marshall took direct charge of these excavations. In his article referred to above, Sir Arthur Keith has referred to me as "a prospecting officer of the Archæological Department", who, "six years ago, arrived on the scene", and, "under the alluvial covering of the mounds, often thirty feet in height, found mouldering bricks." The real history of the discovery is given below.

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Mr. Banerji says :

"There was no mound covered with alluvium at Mohen-jo-daro, as Sir Arthur Keith supposes and none of us had to go thirty feet down to find, 'mouldering' bricks. Incidentally I may mention that Mohen-jo-daro bricks, though 5,000 years old, are very well preserved and may be used even now."

Again :—

In his article in "The Referee "Sir Arthur Keith makes certain misleading statesments. He says. "Several trial shafts were dug and by 1924, Sir John Marshall realised that he had gained access to a lost and buried world of humanity." Systematic excavations were carried out by me at Mohen-jo-daro over extensive areas in 1923-24 and by Pandit Madho Swarup Vats in 1923-24, even before the news of the discovery reached the ears of Sir John Marshall who did not know anything of Mohen-jo-daro before May, 1924, and paid his first visit to that place in January or February, 1925. It is, therefore, hardly correct to describe the excavations of 1922-23 and 1923-24 as "trial shafts."

The article should be read in its entirety for other statements of facts and exposures of falsehoods and for a description of the architectural and engineering skill possessed by the people of the Indus Valley five thousand years ago.

—

The Ancient Hindu State

The note printed below is taken from *New India*.

The Hindu State—Dr. Beni Prasad, who has done extensive research work in Ancient Indian History, writes :

"The Hindu State was generally alive to some vital interests of the people. It encouraged agriculture and looked after irrigation. It stepped in to save the consumer from exorbitant profiteering and allowed all classes of craftsmen to band together. It cared for the means of communication and had no small share in promoting the homogeneity of culture throughout the country. The rulers often provided for the comforts of travellers and sick people and showed unstinted generosity to the poor people. The Hindu courts favored poets and scholars and endowed academies and veritable universities, which won the enthusiastic admiration of great Chinese scholars. The Hindu State succeeded in maintaining conditions favorable to the rise of systems of philosophy which still command respect, religions which, in certain aspects, touch the sublimest heights, and a literature which ranks among the great literatures of the world. Sometimes the State directly took the lead in moral and religious reform. Under Asoka and Kanishka it helped to transform the higher life of India and transmitted to the Far East a gospel which still warms and illumines its spiritual life."

—

Anti-Indian Moves in Ceylon

Since Mr. St. Nihal Singh wrote his article on the above subject in the present number of this Review, the moves initiated in the Ceylon Legislative Council for discriminating against Indians in that Island in respect of the franchise have been defeated. According to the account we have received, the Sinhalese members (the largest single *bloc*), with which these moves originated, voted solidly in favour of them with one exception. The members representing the other communities, with some exceptions, however, voted against the substantive motion and amendment directed against our people, and both were lost.

An amendment imposing a literary test upon voters, without discrimination of race or religion, was, however, carried. Many of the members, including the Sinhalese belonging to the Ceylon National Congress, who had spoken in favour of adult suffrage in and out of the Council cast their ballots in support of it and it was passed by a small majority.

This measure will have the effect of preventing a large number of Ceylon Indians from getting on to the electoral registers. Some four-fifths of them are estimated to be unlettered. Indians who are literate in language other than English, Sinhalese and Tamil are, moreover, to be debarred: and therefore, many of the Malayalis and Telugus, though literate in their own mother-tongue, will be treated as illiterate under this test. In fairness it may be added, however, that the test imposed is no other than that which obtains now, and, therefore, no new hardship has been imposed upon our people. It was felt as an injustice and complaint was made to the Donoughmore Commission, which refer to this matter in a somewhat ambiguous manner in their report.

The measure passed will prejudicially affect the Ceylonese (including the Sinhalese) too. Some two-third of them are still unlettered in this year of the Christian era. They all will be excluded from the electoral register, whereas under the Donoughmore Commission recommendation every Ceylonese male adult and every Ceylonese woman above 30 would have been enfranchised, irrespective of literacy or property qualification. The Sinhalese who have succeeded in their design of keeping a very large number of Indians off the register have, therefore, paid

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a very heavy price. Their political opponents, themselves Sinhalese, say that the Sinhalese Councillors who have thus acted are reactionaries, that they do not love their own people, that by keeping the vote confined to a small clique they hope to be able to preserve their own power. This statement is too sweeping to be wholly correct. Some of the members who have acted in this undemocratic manner do not deserve to be thus stigmatised, but the cap fits the others.

—

Greater India Society at the Oriental Conference

The Amrita Bazar Patrika of November 27, has published the following item of news :—

CALCUTTA ABLY REPRESENTED
(Free Press of India)

Calcutta was ably represented in the Oriental Conference. Dr. Kalidas Nag. D. Litt. (Paris) and Dr Sunity Kumar Chatterjee, D. Lftt. (London), workers of the Greater India Society, took active parts in the conference. Special mention was made of the good work done by the Society in the Presidnntial address and in the adresses of the sectional presidents of the History, Archaeology and Art sections. Dr. Nag the Hon. Secretary, who has already lectuered before many University groups of India (Madras, Mysore, Andhra, Agra. etc.) delivered a highly interesting address under the presidency of the Hon. Mr. Manoharlal, Educational Minister. The Lahore gathering included many distinguished men e. g., Mr. Woolner, the Vice-Chancellor, Hon. Justice Tek Chand, Mr. D, R. Sanni Deputy Director of Archeological Survey, India and Dr. Hiranand Sastri of Bangalore.

—

How C. I. D. opens Letter

The Tribute of Lahore rendered good service to the public by publishing proofs of the activities of an agent provocateur named K. C. Banerji. A more recent feat of the same kind stands to its credit. The details will be clear from the following extract from our contemporary.

We reproduce below a letter received by Sardar Sohan Singh "Josh", a well-known worker of the "Workers and Peasants' Party, from another fellow worker, Mr. Muzaffar Ahmad. That letter was delayed in transit ; and the addressee might not have noticed it, had he not got along with it an office-note showing that the C. I. D. had opened and photographed it. The subject-matter of the letter will show that even the most innocent letters are photographed by the C. I. D,

"I am sending herewith a letter from Muzaffar Hussain to Sohan Singh which may kindly be sent at once to the photographer and requested to photograph it as soon as possible and return the original through the hand of the bearer in a closed cover for delivery here.

Please treat it as urgent.

(Sd.) Arjan Singh, 9-11

Supdt. Office.

The letter has been photographed and the original returned.

(Sd.) Illegible. 10. 11. 28.

(Sd.) Arjan Singh,

The Tribune has published a photographic facsimile of the C. I. D. office note inadvertently left within the cover addressed to Sardar Sohan Singh which was opened by the C. I. D. man.

—

The Lahore Oriental Conference

The fifth All-India Oriental Conference held at Lahore on November 19, 20, 21 and 22, was a great success and presented certain remarkable features. Although special arrangements were made by the organisers for the accomodation of delegates the local residents, teachers, professors, etc., kidnapped the delegates from outside and gave them all the attention and comforts of a home. The delegates were taken round the important sites, the most remarkable being the visit to the historic region of Taxila, once the great international university of ancient India, where the Greeks and Iranians, Scythians and Chinese lived to master and transform the art and culture of the Indians. Rai Bahadur Dayaram Sahni, M. A, Deputy Director of the Archaeological Survey of India and a distinguished scholar, personally took the whole party round, explaining the different things, passing from site to site and finally taking them through the splendid museum of Taxila.

Select exhibits from Harappa and and Mahenjo-Daro were collected in a special gallery of the Lahore Museum, which were shown round by Dr. Sita Ram, the present curator. Punjab, the earliest seat of Vedic culture, now seems also to mark the beginnings of *human* civilisation along the bank of the historic *Sindhu*. The pre-Aryan chapter of our history seems no longer a mere hypothesis but an established fact compelling us to revise all our theories about the dawn of civilisation in India nay—in the entire Orient.

The address of the General President, M. M. Pandit Haraprasad Sastri, was keenly appreciated by the audience and the sectional Presidents also made a deep

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impression on the distinguished gathering. Prof. Dr. S. N. Das Gupta's address on Indian Philosophy was a profound *tour de force* of exposition and in analysis, as it was brilliant in expression, Dr. S. K. Chatterjee and Mr. O. C. Gangoly also threw a flood of new light on their respective subjects—Philology and Fine Arts. The variety of topics discussed by the scholars assembled in diverse groups does credit to Indian scholarship.

An important feature—one may almost say a new departure—lay in the fact of the first enfranchisement of greater Indian studies in the domain of Indology. The General President generously appreciated the activities of the Greater India Society, which was strongly represented in the Conference. Dr. K. S. Ayangar, the President of the History and Archaeology section, devoted half of his time in discussing Greater Indian antiquities and Mr. O. C. Gangoly brought out splendidly the inseparable connection between the Arts of India and of Greater India The Lahore Conference further arranged a public lecture on the "Art and Archaeology of Greater India" by Dr. Kalidas Nag, the Hony. Secretary of the Society. The lecture was presided over by Mr. Manohar Lall, the Minister of Education and Industries, and representative men of the Punjab attended the Lecture. The genuine enthusiasm of the Punjab public took shape in the immediate formation of a provisional Committee to consider the ways and means of establishing a Greater India Society—Punjab section.

X.

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Romain Rolland's Congratulatory Letter to Sir J. C. Bose on his 70th Birthday

[Specially translated for *The Modern Review*]

Dear Friend,

Permit me to associate myself with those of India and of the world, celebrating your seventieth anniversary. I bring to you my fervent homage and that of your friends of France.

Others more qualified than myself will glorify the scientific genius in you. I glorify the Seer: He who by the illumination of the eye of a religious poet, had penetrated the very heart of Nature whose palpitations are enveloped under the cover of barks and stones. Like Siegfried in the forest victorious over the dragon, discovering the secret of the language of warblers, you have drawn out of the silence of plants and stones, the key to their enigma; and you have made us listen to their ceaseless monologue—that perpetual flow of Soul, streaming through beings from the humblest to the highest—frantic and tragic songs of Life Universal whose joy and sorrow set their ebullition into rhythm.

It is not mere accident that makes me evoke the name of a hero of the ancient Indo-Germanic Epics. In you also I discover and acclaim that Hero of the Spirit who loyal to the virtues of true warriors proved to be the conqueror of an unknown continent of Soul. In this epoch while the intellectual *elites* of your country, are justly awakening the memories of *Greater India*, you have boldly annexed to the vast domain of Indian thought, a Hemisphere of Being which the intuition of your ancient sages have already recognised as their own;—those innumerable beings of the vegitable and the mineral world encircling our Humanity, just as the world known to the Ancients was but a lost island against which dashed the dark currents of the ocean of mystery and around which deepened the misty veils of Barbarism. You came to incorporate into the Empire of Spirit, that new Universe of life which only yesterday was taken as unconscious, dead and buried in the night.

I salute you, benign Magician! Pardon this poet for having greeted you in these imageries so inadequate to express the rigorous precision of Science and her serene objectivity found in you! In future it will not be the least part of your glory, to have brought or re-brought to the spirit of the Orient the exact methods of the science of the Occident. One will see in course of this century India following your example, without sacrificing in the least her wealth of spiritual profundity and of that inner world which had endowed her with millions of thoughts,—to combine with it the intellectual weapons of Europe which will be given to India so that she may make them more perfect for mastery over Nature and for the glorification of the Atman, the Universal Spirit.

X.

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Prof. Molisch on the Bose Institute

On the occasion of the recent anniversary of the Bose Institute Prof. Hans Molisch paid the following tribute to Sir J. C. Bose and his Institute :—

"I am deeply touched by the welcome that has been extended to me It is now more than fourteen years ago that I had the honour of welcoming Sir Jagadis in my Physiological Institute in Vienna ; he was again invited this year by the Rector of the University of Vienna and his marvellous results which revealed the secrets of life, aroused unbounded enthusiasm among our leading investigators in physiology and in medicine. I had since the fullest opportunity of watching the working of his marvellous instruments. By his Crescograph the growth of plants becomes visualised at a magnification of many million times, the effect of light, of heat and of different narcotics and drugs being instantly registered by the plant. This has opened out new fields of investigation of greatest importance. I have also seen his "Photosynthetic Bubbler" recording carbon-assimilation of green leaves by means of bubbles of oxygen evolved under the action of light. I have seen many startling experiments in my life, but I have never witnessed anything which held me so breathless with wonder as the marvels revealed by this extraordinarily beautiful and highly sensitive apparatus. The plant not only writes down the rate of assimilation of its gaseous food but also rings a bell at the same time. My heart beat faster at the sight which surpassed the highest reach of experimental art. I also observed the speed of impulse of excitation in the plant being recorded by the "Resonant Recorder", which automatically inscribes intervals of time as short as a thousandth part of a second. All these are even more wonderful than fairy tales ; nevertheless those who see the experiments become fully convinced that they are are true laboratory miracles revealing the hitherto invisible vital reactions underlying life.

"I regard it as a great opportunity to be able to come to the Bose Institute and become acquainted first-hand with the new methods of investigations which have opened out new gates of knowledge. It will be a great privilege to me to be able to offer the scholars of the Institute the benefit of my experience ; I shall here have also the rare opportunity of studying some of the biological problems in which I am greatly interested.

"Though the Bose Institute is held in very high esteem as an important international centre of science, yet my expectations have been very greatly surpassed by what I have actually seen. In European laboratories the advancement of physiology of plants has often been obstructed by excessive specialisation. But in Sir Jagadis we find the very rare combination of a physicist, a physiologist and an electro-physiologist: this accounts for the astounding rapidity of his numerous discoveries each one of which has evoked our deepest admiration. I believe that there exist only a few such institutions in which the highest ideal and the greatest practical service to humanity have found so perfect an expression. The rare aesthetic beauty of this Temple of Science profoundly impressed me. When walking in the experimental garden in the heart of this busy city, the quiet and peace was so great that I felt myself in the solitude of a forest where alone man can commune with the spirit of Nature. I regard it as a great fortune that I should have come to know the Founder of this wonderful Institute, who has taught the dumb to speak and made the inarticulate world of plants write down the secrets of their inner life."

—

Renewal of Subscription

The attention of our subscribers is invited to the notice on the cover for the renewal of subscriptions.

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A Message from China for Sir J. C. Bose

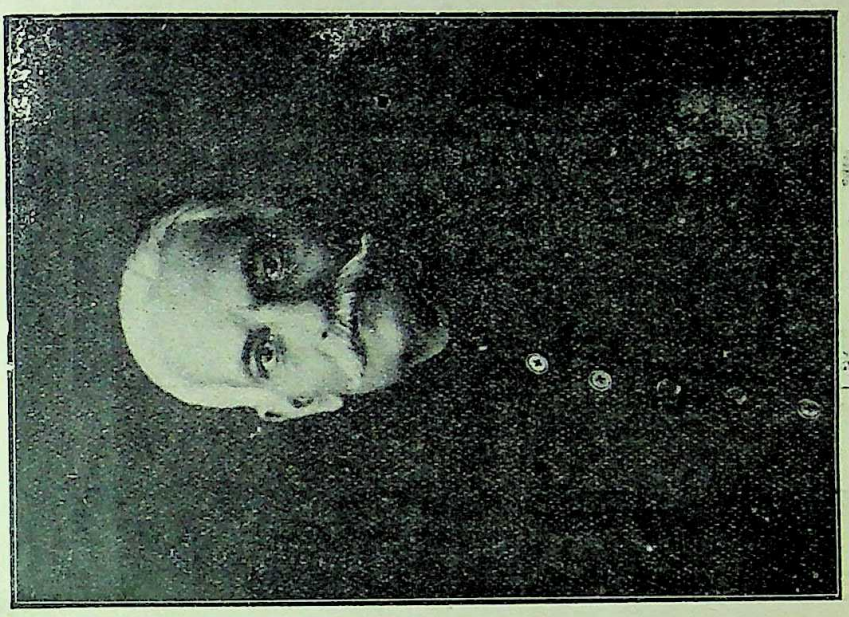
The following telegram was sent by the National Research Institute, Nanking.

Many happy returns to a life devoted to discovering Ultimate Truth and Mystery of Life. The world looks to you to lift Science into realm of spiritual Reality. All Asia shares in your glory.

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OUR PORTRAIT GALLERY



Pandit Motilal Nehru
President 43rd. Session of the Indian National Congress to be held at Calcutta

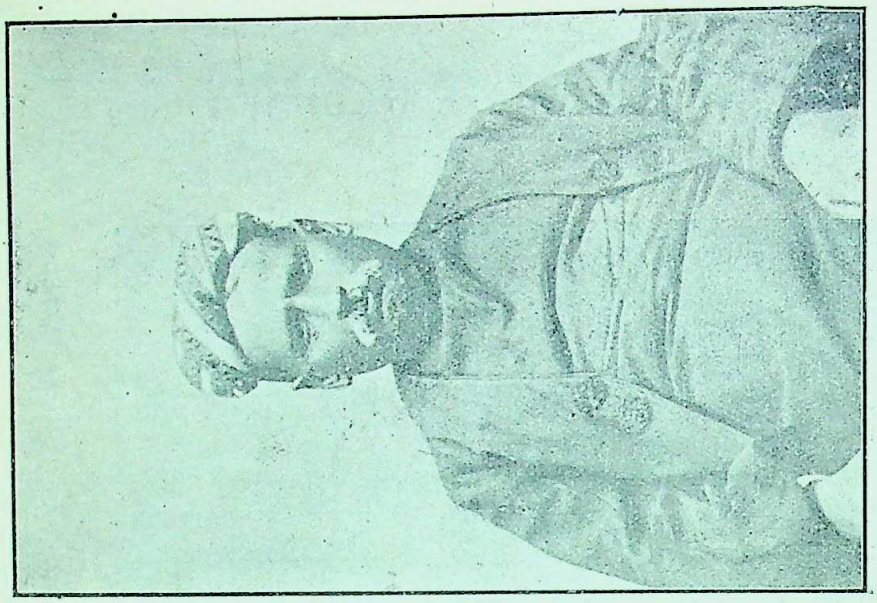


Mr. J. M. Sen Gupta
Chairman of the Reception Committee of the XLII Season of the Reception Committee

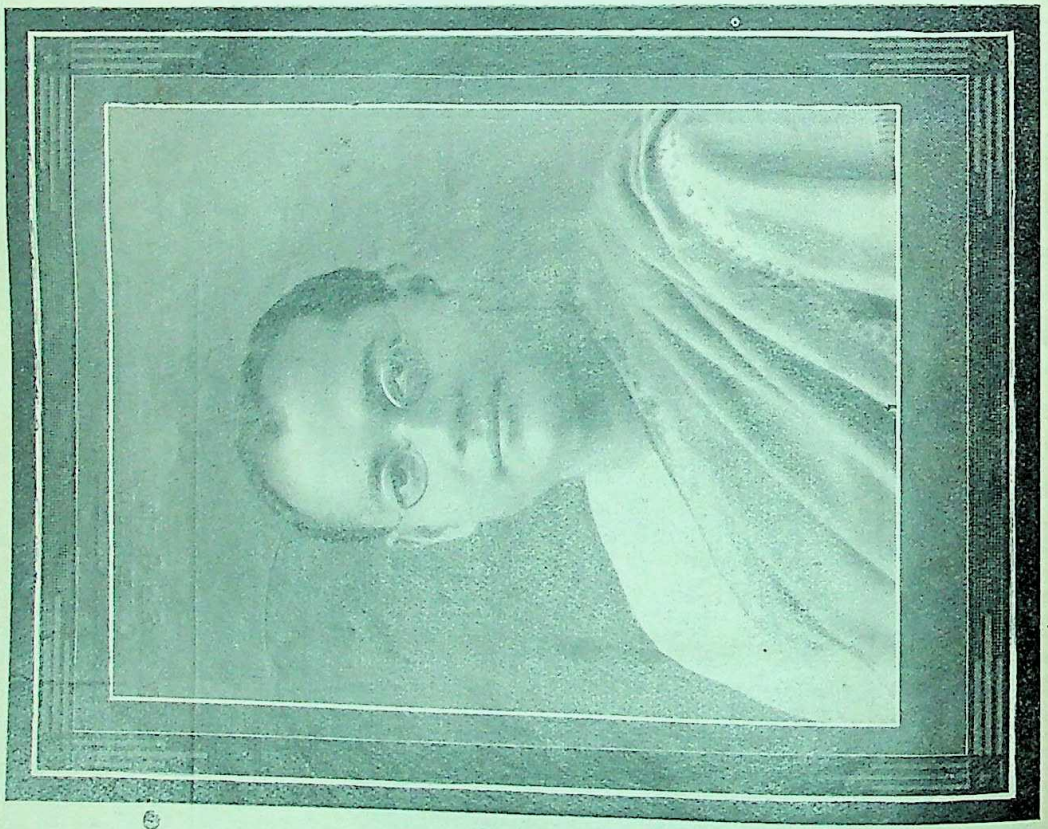
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Mahamohopadhyay Haraprasad Shastri
President T. Session of the Indian Oriental
Conference held at Lahore



Sj. Subhas Chandra Bose
President of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee

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OPINION

OF

Mr. R. Chatterjee, M.A.

Editor—THE MODERN REVIEW & PRABASI.

The three-colour, two-colour, half-tone and line blocks made by the Indian Photo-engraving Company have given me complete satisfaction. The firm is prompt and punctual in the execution of orders. The blocks made by it give the minimum of trouble in printing, and produce excellent results.

Ramananda Chatterjee

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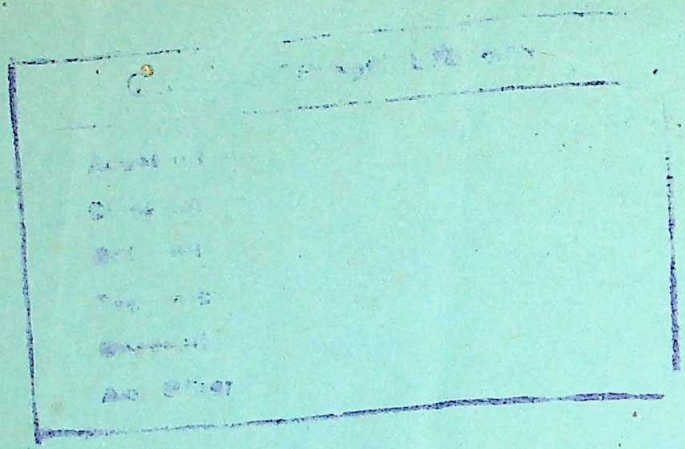
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